GUIDE TO THE MZ2 BAHRAIN FILE

/Bahrain is an independent Arab state or sheikdom which has been a British protectorate since 1861. Physically, Bahrain consists of an archipelago of small low-lying islands situated about half-way down the Persian Gulf. There are five principal islands in the group: Bahrain, which is about 30 miles long by 8 to 10 miles wide, and is the site of the capital city, Manamah; Muharraq, which has two main urban centers, Muharraq and Hedd; Sitra; Nebih Salih; and Umm an-Nasaan. According to a census conducted in 1950, the total population was about 110,000. Over 61 per cent of the population lived in the three towns of Manamah (pop. 39,648), Muharraq, and Hedd; the rest were scattered about in numerous small villages and hamlets concentrated mostly on the largest island, Bahrain (cf. 1: Belgrave, p. 25; 6: Faroughy, p. 95; and 8: Qubain, pp. 269-271).

This is a multi-group society divided primarily on the basis of religion, tribal loyalties, and nationality. Approximately 96 per cent of the population is Muslim, but they are split into two major conflicting sects, Shi'i and Sunni, which coordinate with other variations. The Shi'i are nearly all Baharnah, the original inhabitants of the islands. They are probably of mixed Arab-Persian origins, but they now all speak Arabic and are regarded as Arabs. Although the Shi'i equal or exceed the Sunni in population size, they constitute the poorer and lower classes of society, and are a minority group from the standpoint of power relations. The Sunni are Arabs deriving chiefly from the mainland of Arabia. They have been the majority power group since a Sunni tribe established political dominance over the islands in the 18th century. The Sunni are divided into several communities and tribes. The largest Sunni community is the Huwalah, whose members are townsmen living by trade; but the Utab are the most influential tribe, since it is one of its sub-tribes,

the Khalifah family, which has ruled the islands for almost 200 years (cf. 8: Qubain, pp. 271-272; and 63: Simmons et al., p. 265(A), in the M1 Middle East file).

While Arabic is the national language, most educated Bahrainis and town-dwelling laborers are familiar with English. "In the past Bahrain owed its importance to its position as the centre of the pearl industry of the Persian Gulf; today it is better known for its oil field and refinery" (1: Belgrave, p. 25).

This file consists of eight sources, but it also includes a fair amount of data from sources processed for other files. The early 1950's constitute the temporal focus of the file, with four of the sources providing data pertaining to this time period. The spatial focus is the islands of Bahrain and Muharraq. 1: Belgrave (1953) is a travel guide which includes a good deal of cultural information, making it a useful general introduction to the country. Basic social, economic, demographic, political, and related data are presented in sources no. 3 and 4 issued by the Government of Bahrain. Source no. 3 consists of an analysis of the 1950 census results, while source no. 4 is the annual report for the year Oct. 1952 - Sept. 1953 of the activities of the various government departments such as public health, education, police and judiciary, imports and exports, and so forth. The fourth source falling within the temporal focus is 8: Qubain; this is a very interesting sociological analysis, based on fieldwork in 1952-1953, of social tensions and conflicts based upon religious, political, economic, ethnic, and social class cleavages.

5: Bahrain, Gov. of, which is an administrative report for the years 1926-1937, provides a comparative baseline for a analysis of trends in many sectors of the society.

Finally, there are three historical sources. 6: Faroughy is a general but relatively superficial history of the islands from 750 to 1951. It should be noted that the statistical data in this source are of questionable

reliability, especially those regarding population. 2: Belgrave and 7: Khadduri are more narrowly specialized studies, the first covering events during the period 1521-1602, while the second analyzes the historical and juridical aspects of Iran's claim to the sovereignty of Bahrain./

Processed in 1955.

1; Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# Part I.—GENERAL INFORMATION.

## CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

BAHRAIN is an independent Arab State ruled by His Highness Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed al-Khalifah, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E. The state consists of an archipelago of small low-lying islands situated about half-way down the Persian Gulf, some 20 miles from the Arab coast and slightly less distant from the Qatar Peninsular. In the past Bahrain owed its importance to its position as the centre of the pearl industry of the Persian Gulf; today it is better known for its oil field and refinery.

"Bahrain" or more correctly "al-Bahrain" means "The Two Seas" and this name, which was formerly applied to the whole coast of Eastern Arabia from Kuwait to Qatar, has long puzzled Arab philologists. Many derivations of the name have been suggested. One is that the two seas are the Persian Gulf and the pool of sweet water below the sands which irrigates the gardens of Qatif and Bahrain. Another, suggested by the writer al-Ashari, is that there was once a great salt lake near Hasa, which was the second of the two seas. A third suggestion is that the name "Bahrain" has some connection with the submarine springs (Ar. singular 'Ain) of fresh water that are found in many places along the coast of Arabia. However a serious objection to this theory is that 'Ain starts with an Arabic letter which is not present in the spelling of "Bahrain." There are other places called Bahrain in Egypt, North Africa and in Persia.

There are five principal islands in the group, whose total area is approximately 231 square miles; the largest is Bahrain itself, which is about 30 miles long and from 8 to 10 miles wide. A causeway 1½ miles in length, carrying a motor road, links Manama, capital of the State, which is on the north-east tip of Bahrain island, with the neighbouring town and island of Muharraq. Half-way down the east coast of Bahrain a bridge connects Bahrain with Sitra island. Among the other islands of the group are Nebih Salih, north of Sitra, whose prolific fresh water springs irrigate the date groves which cover the island and which are said to be the best in Bahrain; Jidda, a small rocky islet off the west coast of Bahrain, now used as a penal settlement; and Umm an-Nasaan, a large low-lying island to the south-west of Jidda, which H.H. The Ruler has developed as a breeding place for gazelle and black buck.

Some miles south of Bahrain and very near the coast of Qatar are the 16 islands of the Howar group, the largest of which is 11 miles in

# Part II.—THE HISTORY OF THE BAHRAIN ISLANDS.

175 Of all the Persian Gulf shaikhdoms the Bahrain islands have had by far the most interesting and varied history, of which this brief outline must of necessity mention only the most outstanding events. The riches of Bahrain's ancient pearling industry have drawn the attention of many rulers to the islands, whose strategic position and fresh-water springs have meant that for centuries there has been a settled population.

●101 175 It is believed that the names Niduk-ki and Dilmun (or Tilwun) which appear in Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions found in Iraq were the ancient names of the Bahrain islands, in which case events in Bahrain's history are recorded from the third millennium B.C., as long as 5,000 years ago.

Unfortunately only one cuneiform inscription has been found in Bahrain itself, an inscription which has been translated as follows: "The Palace of Rimugus, the servant of Inzaq (Mercury) of the tribe of Aqiru."[1]

This inscription appears to have been removed from a Bahrain mosque by its finder, Captain Durand, and its present whereabouts is unknown.

The place-name Niduk-ki appears in the Babylonian myth of the Creation, while the Assyrians also had a tradition that their civilisation, and more especially the invention of the cuneiform script, originated in Dilmun. The tumuli of Bahrain bear a very striking resemblance to Phoenician graves, a fact noticed by many writers from the time of Strabo to the present day. Archaeologists who have studied them are, however, still unable to agree as to their origin beyond saying that they are of great antiquity.

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175 The first historical reference to Bahrain appears in an inscription concerning the conquests of Sargon of Akkad, who reigned in the third millennium B.C. In this inscription he is described as having reduced Niduk-ki and another seaport, and during the following centuries there are many references to Niduk-ki and Dilmun, giving the impression that the places referred to were both islands and trading centres. In 1820 B.C. a king of Larsa, in Southern Mesopotamia, sent a trading expedition to Bahrain, obtaining there stone, metals, wood and ivory, materials probably brought to Bahrain from India. Towards the end of the eighth century B.C. another Sargon, the Assyrian monarch also gained control of Dilmun by means of threats and economic pressure, and we have an interesting description of the contemporary Bahraini ruler: "Uperi, king of Dilmun, who lives like a fish, thirty double hours away in the midst of the sea of the rising sun, heard of my lordly might and brought his gifts."



1 [For footnote see Cat. 116, p. 87 — Analyst]

The inhabitants of Dilmun also sent tribute to Sennacherib the son of Sargon, after he had sent them some of the debris of Babylon, which he had destroyed, as a sign of the fate in store for cities that incurred his displeasure.

After the fall of the Assyrian empire in the seventh century B.C. we hear no more about Bahrain until the time of the Macedonian adventure in the East, when Alexander sent three vessels on voyages of exploration down the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf. Two ships under the commands of Archias and Androsthenes sailed only as far as the island of Tylos, which has been identified with Bahrain. Later Roman geographers seem to have become somewhat confused in their descriptions of the Persian Gulf, and while Arrian applies the name of Tylos to Bahrain, on the map of Ptolemy Bahrain appears as Ichara and Tylus and Arathus are shown at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Whatever were the ancient names of Bahrain, it is interesting to note that the name Aradus is still applied to part of Muharraq in the Arabic form *Arad*.

After the fall of the Mesopotamian civilisations no foreign power seems to have controlled Eastern Arabia until early in the fourth century A.D., when Arab tribes from that area raided Fars and sacked many of its cities. The young Sassanid king Shapur II repelled the invaders and carried the campaign into their own territories. He landed on the Arabian coast and annexed East Arabia and Bahrain to Persia, which acquisitions were later placed under the authority of the King of Hira, an Arab buffer state on the south-west border of Sassanid Persia.

## THE COMING OF ISLAM

A somewhat confusing aspect of the history of Bahrain is the change in nomenclature which took place in the Persian Gulf during Portuguese activity there. From the third to the sixteenth century, the name "Bahrain" was applied to the whole coast of Eastern Arabia from Kuwait to Qatar, while the main Bahrain island was known as *Awal*, but since the last date the name "Bahrain" has been applied to the islands. In the following passages the modern names will be used to simplify matters.

When the first Moslems came to Eastern Arabia they found there a people strangely mixed in their beliefs. There were Christians and Jews, Zoroastrians who followed the state religion of Sassanid Persia, and pagan Arab Bedouin. The local governor for the Persians was a Christian Arab, Mundhir bin Sawa by name, and according to Syrian Christian records of the late seventh century, there were in Arabia at this time five Nestorian bishops, one of whom appears to have been bishop of the Bahrain islands. The Christian viceroy and many of his Court accepted Islam, but on his death, and again on the death of the Prophet Muhammad, the bedouin, who made up the bulk of converts, if indeed they had really been converted, "apostasized," and it required expeditions from Medina to restore the country to the Moslems.

There is a bus service between Hedd and Muharraq and also a few taxi cabs in the town.

In addition to the towns of Muharraq and Hedd the island of Muharraq is fringed by many villages ; going north round the coast from Muharraq town they include Busatin, Dair, Raiya, Galali and Arad. The first three villages contain many homes of members of the Ruling Family and are especially popular in the summer when the Muharraq weather is considered superior to that of Manama. Galali is a sizeable village inhabited by fishermen and industrial workers, while Arad is the centre of the agriculture of the island and is built near a large pool in the centre of the date gardens on Arad peninsular. The inhabitants of the village work in the gardens, but on the shores of the Bay near the old Omani fort is a large village built entirely of barastis. In the summer this temporary village is entirely filled with people from Muharraq who spend the nights here, crossing by ferry every day to Muharraq town.

In general Muharraq island is very low-lying, so much so that it was thought at one time that there was a danger of the sea affecting the efficiency of the Airport, but this has been removed by pumping stations around the field which remove, when necessary, surplus water from the runways. It was, however, found necessary to build a raised road from Muharraq town to Hedd, for when there was any rain or an exceptionally high tide the road was often blocked.

## UMM ASH-SHAGAR ISLANDS AND UMM ASH-SHIYAIRA

These are the two islands that lie to the south of Hedd town; the former, to the north, is covered with small stone and barasti houses; the second, whose name is a diminutive of the first, contains only barastis and is inhabited by fishermen.

## THE ISLANDS

In addition to these two, there are several other small islands south of Muharraq, of which the three largest, although none of them is more than a few hundred square yards in area, are Halat-as-Suluta, Halat-al-Khulaifat and Abu Mahur.

The first two islands lie to the south of Arad peninsular and at low tide they are joined by a sand-bar which permits walking between them. They contain small villages, whose people derive their livlihood from fishing, and they are lucky enough to have on them fresh water springs. Abu Mahur, the third and largest island, is in fact named after one of the largest of these springs, which is in the sea a short distance from the shore. The fort of Abu Mahur is now in ruins but the island is now used as a quarantine station.

The fresh water submarine springs south of Muharraq and the manner in which the people obtain water from them has astounded

312 many of the travellers who have visited the islands. Men with deflated sheepskins dive down to the spring and place the mouth of the skin over the place where the fresh water emerges ; the skin then fills with fresh water and when full the diver comes to the surface. Before artesian wells were drilled in Bahrain both Muharraq and Manama obtained much of their water in this way, but today, owing to artesian piped wells and water systems, the undersea springs are little used except those to the north of Bahrain near the pearling banks. A Turkish traveller who visited Bahrain in 1554, Sidi Ali, says of the submarine springs, "The sailors provided with a leather sack, dive down into the sea and bring the fresh water from the bottom for Rais Murad's (the Governor of Bahrain) use. This water is particularly pleasant and cold in spring time. God's Power is boundless !" There is a 173 legend concerning the spring of Abu Mahur which says that in the time of the Caliph Merwan (684-685) a certain Ibn Hakim, a chief in Qatif, wished to marry the lovely daughter of a Bahrain shaikh. His suit was refused and so he attacked the islands and captured all the wells which supplied the towns on Bahrain Island, but the guardian diety of the Bahrainis caused the well Abu Mahur to appear in the sea near Muharraq to succour his people.

### NABIH SALIH

101 A most attractive island is Nabih Salih, set in the Khor-al-Kab
529 between Umm al-Hassan and the mainland of Bahrain. With its thick cultivation, for the date palms run right down to the sea shore, and its many springs, including a large pool much frequented by
[788] bathers, Nabih Salih is a very popular place for visitors. In addition to its pool it is a place of pilgrimage for the Shia of Bahrain who go to pay their respects to the tomb of Salih after whom the island is named. The date palms of the island are particularly fine, they compare very favourably with those elsewhere in Bahrain, which is mainly due to the pool already mentioned, Safahiya, which irrigates much of the island.
[E05] Nabih Salih can be visited by launch or sailing boat, the nearest point to it on Bahrain is Ain al-Hakim ; boats can also be obtained from Umm al-Hasan or from Sitra. People have been known to swim to the island, but this is not the only way of getting there and in the summer this method is inclined to be rather exhausting.

### SITRA

[101] South of Nabih Salih and close to the coast of Bahrain is Sitra
361 Island, which in addition to its many villages and gardens contains the Tank Farm and Drum Plant of BAPCO and the land end of the jetty. The site of these installations is a strip of bare and often sea-swept sands, but to the north of the island there are many gardens and a sizeable pool, Ain Raha, which is much visited by the people of Muharraq and Manama. Among the villages of North Sitra are Wadiyan, Sufala, Kharijya and Kuriya. Near the third village is a school and police station. To the south of the island is Umm al-Baidh, literally "Mother

of the Egg," a small village with many seafaring inhabitants. To the north of Sitra there is a very pleasant sandy beach looking towards Umm a-Hasan where there is excellent bathing; the view also includes Nabih Salih and Jaziyra. There is deep water to the north of Sitra, and it is here that the Bahrain Government is building the new Port of Manama with a pier running into deep water from the shore between Umm al-Hasan and Jufair.

361 [504]

### JIDDA

This island is about 2½ miles from Budaiya. It is small and rocky and in appearance unlike any of the other Bahrain Islands. Its high cliffs rise abruptly from the water and a few fort-like buildings are silhouetted against the sky-line. On the south side of the island there is a level strip of land which is extensively cultivated. Jidda is Bahrain's penal settlement; here all long term prisoners are detained, spending their time cutting stone, weaving and working in the gardens. There is a small house on the top of the cliffs above the jetty which catches all the wind in the summer and which is used by the Adviser to the Bahrain Government. Being a prison island, Jidda is forbidden to general visitors.

101 133 697 [486]

The stone quarries at Jidda are of great age and it is likely that the large stones which line the graves in the burial mounds were cut here. There is an Arabic inscription roughly cut on one of the cliffs which reads as follows :

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"During the month of Shaban in the year 968 (April/May, 1561) there was completed the cutting of the 100,000th rock for the mending of the tower of the Bahrain fort in the wazirate of the Great Wazir Jilal ad-Din Murad Mahmud by the hand of the slave . . . " (a few words after this are unreadable).

### UMM AN-NASAAN

This, the second largest of the Bahrain islands, lies a few miles across the shallow water to the south of Jidda. It is sandy and flat, with the exception of two small limestone hills towards its centre which break the monotony of its shape. At the north end of the island there are several natural springs and artesian wells from which extensive date gardens are irrigated; they were planted by the late Ruler of Bahrain, H.H. Shaikh Hamed, who also established on the island a herd of black buck and gazelle, the former being imported from India and the latter from the mainland of Bahrain.

101 133 312 [136]

There is evidence of ancient habitations on Umm an-Nasan, foundations of many old houses are visible and sherds of pottery can be picked up. Local legend has it that Nasaan, after whom the island is named, was one of the early rulers of Bahrain, but this legend has not been substantiated by historical research.

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## HOWAR ISLANDS

101 This group of 16 islands is about twelve miles south-east of Ras al-Barr. It consists of one large island, Howar itself, which is about eleven miles long and a mile in breadth, and fifteen other islands much smaller in size. In the centre of the main island there is a rocky [361] eminence known as al-Jebal. There are only two villages, the larger one at the northern end on the shore of the bay consists of stone huts [625] with mat roofs (Kubbar); it also has a small mosque. The Bahrain State Police maintain a garrison on the island, in a fort which dominates [162] the bay and from the roof of which the Qatar peninsular is visible. The islands are inhabited by fishermen from Bahrain and also by men [312] who come to cut gypsum which they sell in Bahrain. The water supply of the island is very limited and consists of old cisterns cut out of living rock which are filled by rain. Attempts to drill for water have failed, but in the years when there is normal or plentiful rainfall the island provides good grazing for camels and sheep. Fishing in the 133 bay is excellent, the water is comparatively deep and a launch can 503 come alongside the short jetty. The southern tip of the island is so close to the Qatar coast that when the tide is out boats cannot pass between the island and the shore, but at one place between Howar and Qatar, a long narrow channel has been hewn out of the coral sea bed to allow boats to pass through a shallow stretch of water. This submarine canal was made by a certain Isa ibn Tarif, a notorious pirate, who played an important part in the history of Bahrain during the middle of the last century; he used the channel as a passage to his fortress on the Qatar coast from where he sallied forth to attack the shipping around Bahrain.

132 The climate of Howar is noticeably better than in Bahrain, it is drier and cooler during the summer nights, but has no other amenities to attract visitors fleeing from the dampness of Bahrain, and at present its only visitors go there for work and not for pleasure.

## ZUBARA

361 On the coast of the Qatar peninsular opposite the Bahraini village 172 of Jaw is the ruined town and the bay of Zubara, which has already been mentioned in detail in the history of Bahrain in Part II. The town of Zubara is on the east of the bay and stretches about 1½ miles along the coast and 2 miles inland. The ruins of the town are still impressive. The high wall which surrounds the wide straight streets and the fine mosques, the obvious care with which the town was laid out, speaks well for those who governed it. Further east of the town, at a distance of about two miles across the desert, is the great fort; some of the walls and the mosque are still standing. At the corners of the walls are towers with slits for rifles and the domed roof of the mosque presents an attractive picture. The whole building is made from local stone and little gypsum was used in its construction. Within the fort there are two wells one of which is dry, but the other still

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# INTRODUCTION

About midway of the Persian Gulf and some fifteen miles off the coast of Arabia, lie the Bahrein Islands at the mouth of the Gulf of Bahrein, of which the Qatar Peninsula forms the western side. There are five principal islands, only two of which are of real consequence. The largest and by far the most important is variously called Awal, Al Manāmah after the principal city, or more commonly just Bahrein. The last is the modern designation.

In ancient times, the name "Bahrein" was applied to a larger area which included the Arabian mainland of Qatar and Hajar and the land situated between Mesopotamia and the Gulf of Oman (the Indian Ocean); this area took in the entire southern coast of the Persian Gulf. This has caused widespread misinterpretation of much of the writings of pre-Islamic and Medieval historians. Throughout this book we shall use the term "Bahrein" in its modern sense to refer to the archipelago of Bahrein proper or to the central island, except where the mainland province is clearly indicated.

Bahrein today has few attractions. There is not much to recommend it as a place of residence, as it is intensely hot for about seven months of the year, and for many of the native inhabitants lacking in comfortable living conditions. For tourists it is rather off the beaten track. Nevertheless, through the centuries these bits of land have been considered well worth fighting for by both European and Asiatic empires.

The reason for Bahrein's unusual and enduring importance can be summed up in two words—pearls and strategy. The pearl fisheries of Bahrein have been known all over the world since the dawn of history and, thanks to an abundance of fresh water springs, the island was a frequent stopping place for ships on the trade routes to India and the Far East.

The Portuguese, the first European power to have an Asiatic colonial empire, fought hard for possession of the islands.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# THE BAHREIN ISLANDS

## THE NAME

"The name of Bahrein, which means 'Two Seas,' is derived, according to the natives of the country, from the existence of two strata of water located there. The higher film is extremely salty, whereas the deeper consists of sweet water with a very pleasant taste." So wrote Masoudi, the famous Arabian author.

Ibn Khallakan has a different explanation. He cites the Persian lexicographer Al-Ashari as follows: "Al-Bahrein ('The Two Seas') is so named because in the region where its towns are situated, near the gate of Al-Ahsa and the village of Hajar, there is a lake at ten parsangs distance from the Great Green Ocean [the Persian Gulf]. The lake is three miles long and as many broad. It does not overflow, and its waters are tranquil and salt."

According to Al-Jawahari, the author of *Sahah,* the inhabitants are called Bahrani rather than the more usual form Bahri, because "the latter term might be misunderstood, having as it does another meaning, namely 'Belonging to the sea.' "[1]

## GEOGRAPHY

The Bahrein Islands are situated at 26° latitude north and 50° longitude east on the southern side of the Persian Gulf. They are about fifteen miles from the main coast of Saudi

1. Throughout this book, however, we shall use the modern designation "Bahreini" when referring to the people.



[pp. 10, 11, 12 have no textual information]

### *Muharraq Island*

This is the second largest island of the group and in all probability the "Aradus" of the classical writers. It is located northeast of Bahrein and is about five and a half square miles in area, horseshoe shaped and only a mile wide. It is separated from Bahrein by a channel spanned by a causeway a mile and a half long with a motor road and by a swinging bridge which was completed in 1941.

The chief city is MUHURRAQ, on the western side, the second largest city in the islands and the summer residence of the Sheik. Its population is about 26,000. Muhurraq and Manama, on Bahrein Island, are each administered by a Municipal Committee which in addition to civic duties are jointly responsible for the upkeep of thirty per cent of the roads in the archipelago.

Other towns among the sixteen or more on Muhurraq which should be mentioned are:

ARAD. This is an important date producing center with some sixteen thousand palm trees, on the southern shore of the Gulf of Arad. It is inhabited by the Baharinah.

HADD. Second in importance only to Muhurraq, Hadd is the leading pearl fishing center of the islands. It has a population of almost 10,000, consisting of Sādāt and Beni Yās. Since the English began to take a direct hand in the administration of the island it has become possibly the most modern of the cities, with many up-to-date homes and an agricultural experiment station as well as a modern penitentiary and the cottage of the British Financial Adviser.

The villages of Basatin, Qalali, Samahij and Dair, on the north and northeast coasts, are also important. Their population follows the Sunnite faith exclusively and those in Qalali belong to the Manani'a tribe.

Muhurraq Island has a military and civil airfield used by the British Overseas Air Service. The field has limited fueling and repair facilities for normal traffic as well as minimum lighting, runway lights, and lighted wind indicators. There are hard surface, all weather runways with an elevation of two feet; the

longest runway, to the nearest hundred feet, is 7400 feet long. 508
There are radio communication and direction finder with voice, 712
and the Radio Bahrein tower operates on 6440 kilocycles, 117.9 mc.

The other principal islands of the Bahrein group are: 101

SITRA, which is separated from Bahrein by the Sitra Canal, 162
which is about a quarter of a mile wide. The southern part of 361
the island is completely barren but in the north there are small villages, mostly inhabited by Baharinah farmers and fishermen. The most important are Wadiyan, Kharijia, Muhazza and Sufala, all of which are important date growing centers.

NABBI SĀLIH, the smallest of the five islands, situated about three quarters of a mile off the coast of Bahrein. There are palm groves and two small fishing centers, Kaflan and Karya. The island has many gardens and orchards as well as palm groves with some fifteen thousand trees. It is entirely inhabited by the Baharinah.

UMM NA'SAN, two miles west of Bahrein, a low and sandy island four miles long and triangular in shape. The island is dominated by two rocky peaks, one rising to an elevation of sixty-six feet at about half a mile from the western point of the island, and the other twenty-five feet high situated about half a mile farther to the east. Near the west coast there is a water source used by the people of the west coast of Bahrein, mostly the towns of Badaiya'a and Zallāq, whose custom it is to send their cattle to graze there during the summer.

Besides these principal islands there are a number of smaller 101
ones, mostly inhabited. From north to south and west to east 162
these are:

KHASAIFA.

JARDI.

SAYA, with its fresh water spring, located about half a mile off the west coast of Muharraq Island.

ABU MAHIR, a small island south of Muharraq and connected to it at low tide. There is a small fort on the [712]
island erected for the defense of the water source which [3 12]
formerly supplied the people of Muharraq

101
162 formerly supplied the people of Muharraq. The inhabitants, who are divers and fishermen, belong to the Sunnite sect.

NAIM, SULUTA, and KHULAFFAT are three small islands in the Gulf of Arad.

Farther east are:

[312] ABU SHAHIN, with its fresh water spring.

UMM SHAJAR.

UMM SHIYARA.

Mention should also be made of the three small, rocky islands north of Sitra bearing the name of Kasr (Castle) and farther south, opposite the village of Askar, the little island of Mashaikh with its fishing huts.

Off the east coast there are many others which are rocky islands or mere shoals and of no interest to us. Among them are the small islands of Raka and Cliff, El Ben farther north, and Yusuf closer to the coast.

## ANTIQUITIES

172 The north central part of Bahrein Island is covered with thousands of large tombs in the form of mounds of rock heaped with earth which are among the unsolved mysteries of Near Eastern archaeology. Their number has been variously estimated at from fifteen thousand to several hundred thousand—so many in fact as to be completely out of proportion to the size of the island and its possible ability to support in ancient times a population to match the size of this enormous cemetery.

The tombs are ancient burial vaults of large dressed stones erected at ground level, sometimes with a second story. After the interment the vault was covered with a mound of gravel, stone chips, and earth, obtained largely at the foot of the cliffs surrounding the central basin of the island. The mounds vary greatly in size, ranging from four to eighty feet high and up to one hundred feet in diameter. Some of the largest tombs show the remains of outer walls, while others seem to have been surrounded by rings of heaped up gravel to keep intruders

7:Khaddurí S-4 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2
Iran MA1



I 648 B 648

protests against this concession and considers itself at liberty to claim and demand the restitution of any profit that may accrue from such concessions, as well as compensation for any damage that may result therefrom. . . .[3]

In view of the fact that Iran's claim to sovereignty over Bahrayn had been reiterated in the past on several occasions, it is likely that such a claim might be put forth again under favorable circumstances. After the second World War the issue was revived by Prime Minister Qawam as-Sultanah in 1946. He announced that all oil produced in Bahrayn and shipped to the Iranian mainland would be taxed at the same rate as that produced by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. If Iran's claim to the sovereignty of Bahrayn is valid, the Oil Nationalization Act, unless it specifically excludes Bahrayn or unless the Act by its terms applies only to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, must *ipso jure* apply to the Bahrayn Petroleum Company. While such claims have often been disregarded, they might assume a certain seriousness should the *Tudeh* Party seize power and, supported or inspired by Russia, seek excuses for intervention in the Persian Gulf by raising the question of Iran's claim to sovereignty over Bahrayn.

B 101 131

Before turning to a discussion of the validity of Iran's claim, a word on the geography of the Bahrayn Islands might be useful. The term "Bahrayn" (which means the "two seas") was originally applied to the continental coast of Arabia (al-Hasa), the peninsula of Qatar, and the group of islands which separate the bay between Hasa and Qatar into the "two seas." But this term came to be applied only to those islands which form the "two seas." The Bahrayn Islands are an archipelago of coral formation (except perhaps the rocky hills in the center of the largest island) which includes Bahrayn, the largest (it is 27 miles long by 10 wide), Muharraq (second in size, five miles in length, and situated to the north of Bahrayn), Sitrah, Umm Na'san and a number of smaller islands. This archipelago was famous for its pearl fisheries from antiquity and more recently for the oil resources which have been discovered since the first World War. Its strategic value may assume an increasing importance should Communism penetrate southward towards Iran, Iraq, and the Persian Gulf.[4]

[3] The British Government had already objected to the grant of oil concessions to other Powers, but the United States State Department, pressing for equal opportunities for American interests, secured British agreement to the participation of American interests in the oil of Bahrayn. For an exchange of notes on this matter see Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1929, Vol. III (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1944), pp. 80–82.

[4] For the geography of the Bahrayn Islands, see J. Theodore Bent, "The Bahrayn Islands in the Persian Gulf," Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. XII (January, 1890), pp. 1–19; Captain A. W. Stiffe, "Ancient Trading Centers of the Persian Gulf, VII: Bahrein," The Geographical Journal, Vol. XVIII (September, 1901), pp. 291–294; Maynard Owen Williams, "Bahrein: Port of Pearls and Petroleum," The

[FOR The rest of the footnote see p. 633]

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# SOCIAL CLASSES AND TENSIONS IN BAHRAIN

*Fahim I. Qubain*

(See map, facing p. 239.)

ONE OF THE more interesting principalities in the Persian Gulf is the tiny island shaykhdom of Bahrain. Its geographical location, its maritime commerce, and its ancient pearl industry have all combined to create a multi-group society of its small population of about 110,000. On the whole, the country is well and efficiently governed, the various groups in the population have by generations of experience learned to tolerate each other, and crime in the Western sense of the word is almost nonexistent. At the same time, latent tensions exist that can be exploited if the proper circumstances arise. For instance, riots broke out between the Sunnis and the Shi'is during Muharram in September 1953. It took the use of the whole police force and the imposition of a curfew to bring peace back to the country.[1] In July of the following year, when some Shi'is were convicted for being involved in a fight with Sunnis, the whole Shi'i sect staged a demonstration, conducted an attack on a police post during which four Shi'is were killed, and finally all Shi'i workers went on strike.[2] Six months later, in December 1954, another general strike took place in support of demands made to the government for certain reforms which had already been promised by the ruler.[3] We propose, in this article, to examine the nature of these tensions and to evaluate their seriousness for the future.

## *POPULATION BREAKDOWN AND DISTRIBUTION*

Until 1941 only estimates existed regarding the population of the Bahrain cluster of islands. In that year, the government, primarily for food control purposes, conducted the first census in the history of the islands; in 1950 a second census was taken. At that time the population was 109,650.[4] (See Tables I, II, and III.)

[1] Government of Bahrain, *Official Gazette*, September 24, 1953, p. 3.
[2] *Times* (London), July 13, 1954, p. 7.
[3] *Ibid.*, December 6, 1954, p. 7.
[4] Government of Bahrain, *Census 1950* (Bahrain, 1950).

FAHIM I. QUBAIN is Research Associate in charge of the Middle East section of the Human Relations Area Files, New Haven. Most of the material for the present article was collected during field work in the Persian Gulf area in 1952–53, while on a fellowship grant from the Social Science Research Council. The Council is not to be understood as approving, by virtue of its grant, any of the statements or views expressed in this article.



[See p. 270, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



Over 61 percent of this population lives in the three towns of Manamah, Muharraq, and Hedd;[5] the rest, 38.5 percent, is scattered about in 90 villages and hamlets concentrated mostly in the northern and northeastern tip of the largest island. In the 9-year period between the two censuses the population had increased 22 percent, mainly in the three towns mentioned. The village population remained almost stationary (actually an absolute increase of 3.5 percent and a relative decrease of 5.5 percent). The concentration of increase in the towns can be explained by the better sanitary conditions existing there and the influx of foreigners. Evidently there was little local migration during this period from village to town, although in some cases it was found that villages had been deserted or greatly reduced in size.[6] It is interesting to note that the only population movement took place in some of the Arab Sunni villages.[7]

Tables I and III are in a certain sense misleading, for they give a false picture of homogeneity in the population (84 percent Bahrain subjects, 96 percent Muslims) that does not exist. Society in Bahrain is divided into several groupings, in most cases distinct and recognizable. Association with one group in many instances implies a certain occupational specialization, but the main forces that have determined social division are religion, tribal loyalties, and nationality.

### *THE SHI'IS AND THE SUNNIS*

The Muslim Arab population of Bahrain is divided into Shi'is and Sunnis, who in almost all cases never live in the same village. The Shi'is live in their own tightly-knit communities and do not intermix with the rest of the population to any considerable degree. Fighting — especially in the larger towns, when the two communities do come into contact — frequently breaks out between the two groups, necessitating the intervention of the police and even the British navy.[8] A recent index of the feeling between the two groups is the fact that for the last several years there has been no municipal council for the capital city, Manamah, for the simple reason that no agreement could be reached on the number of seats to be allotted each of the two Muslim groups.

Aside from the small minority of Persians, the Shi'is are all Baharnah. There is no agreement as to the ethnic origin of these people; however, they now speak Arabic and are regarded as Arabs. They are the oldest group among the present inhabitants of the shaykhdom and have been subjected through the centuries to successive conquests, so that altho gh at present they equal or exceed the Sunnis in number — as the 1941 census

[5] See Table II.
[6] *Census 1950*, p. 6.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[8] Abbas Faroughy, *The Bahrain Islands* (New York, 1951), p. 99.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



indicates — they constitute the poorer and lower classes of society and manifest all the markings of a minority group. Until recently they lived hardly above the servile state, their occupational specialization being exclusively the cultivation of the soil and other menial labor. The arrival of the British, which has assured them some security in person and a guarantee of minimum rights, and the development of the oil industry, which has opened possibilities of alternative employment, have had the effect of gradually raising these people from their status as second-class citizens.

The Sunnis act as the majority group. This has been especially true since a Sunni tribe established its political dominance over the islands in the 18th century. The Sunnis present a common front toward other groups; among themselves, however, they are divided into several communities and tribes. The largest Sunni community is the Huwalah. Its members are townsmen living by trade; and as townsmen everywhere, they do not manifest marked feelings of solidarity. They can perhaps be regarded as the nucleus of a future middle class.

The Utab, if not the largest Sunni tribe, is the most influential. This is due to the fact that the Khalifah family, one of its sub-tribes, has ruled the islands without serious interruption for almost 200 years. Every member of the Khalifah family has the title of "shaykh." Along with the privileges and prestige he enjoys as a result of his position, he has certain obligations and restrictions on his conduct and manner of life. For instance, in recent years many Bahrain subjects, especially among the younger city population, have taken to wearing European dress. No member of the ruling family may do so.

The two other Sunni tribes of any importance are the Sadah and the Dawasir, the first because of its alleged sacred origin, the second because of its comparative wealth.[9]

Unlike the Shi'is, the Sunnis are relatively mobile. They depend for their livelihood on trade, pearling, fishing, and more recently on employment in the oil industry. Boat building also used to be a fairly important industry. It is very seldom that a Sunni is found engaged in agriculture as a life occupation except as a landowner.

As has been shown, among the two main native elements social division and social tensions rest on religious foundations. Religious affiliation determines to a considerable degree the social and economic position of the individual. When mass violence breaks out it has so far been in terms of Shi'is and Sunnis, never in terms of economic groups.

An interesting development in recent years is the stress of the dominant

[9] Most of the Dawasir returned in anger to the Arabian mainland in the early 1920's, soon after Shaykh Hamad, whom they disliked, assumed control. For the story of their return see Government of Bahrain, *Administrative Report for the Years 1926–1937* (Bahrain, 1937), pp. 8–9.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia MJ1
BAHRAIN MZ.2



SA 361 621 311

Turks had previously established a small garrison, which was withdrawn in 1910. The ownership of the island of *Qrān*, about 36 miles NE. by E. of Ras el-Bidya', is undetermined. It has an anchorage on the S. side, and is frequented by fishermen from Bahrein, Musallamīyah, and Jinnah, who dry fish and make turtle oil.

## C. BAHREIN

### Area

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The present Sheikhdom of Bahrein consists of the archipelago formed by the islands of *Bahrein*, *Muharraq*, *Umm Na'asān*, *Sitrah*, and *Nebi Sālih*, with a number of lesser islets and rocks. The whole forms a compact group almost in the middle of the gulf which separates the promontory of El-Qatar and the coast of Qatīf; the Sheikhs of Bahrein have had relations of a political nature with El-Qatar (see p. 328).

The principal island has an extreme length of 30 miles from N. to S. and a maximum breadth of 10 miles. Muharraq, which lies NE., and is separated from Bahrein by a strait 1½ miles broad, has a maximum diameter of 5½ miles, but owing to its horseshoe form contains little territory. Umm Na'asān, which is less than 4 miles by 2½ miles, lies 3 miles off the W. coast of the main island. Sitrah, separated from the E. coast by a narrow channel, has a length of 4½ miles from N. to S., and a maximum breadth of 1½ miles. Nebi Sālih, commonly called *Jezīrah*, lying in the inlet of Kabb on the E. coast of Bahrein, NW. of Sitrah, has a diameter of only ½ mile.

### Physical Characteristics

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Bahrein Island is mostly flat and low, but rises gradually to an interior plateau 100 to 200 ft. high, in the middle of which is an oval depression about 13 miles long from N. to S. by about 4 miles broad, containing the solitary hill Jebel Dukhān, about 440 ft. in height. The descent inwards from the plateau to the depression is in most places too steep to be practicable for animals; at the N. end there is a nearly vertical drop of 20 ft., followed by a slope of 30 ft. The plateau is extremely stony, presenting on the N. side a low cliff-line of about 15 ft., with a sandy plain below it, extending in all directions to the coast, and draining from W. to E. On the same side of the plateau is a great field of ancient tumuli covering about 12 square miles, called by the Arabs *Murāqīb*. A large inlet, Khōr

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZR



361 Qasabīyah clear of the town, at the customs pier, and at the jetty
438 of the British Agency.

2. **Budeyya'**, near the NW. corner of Bahrein Island, stretches for about a mile along the sea with a depth of about 300 yards. It has three quarters with about 8,000 inhabitants, *Farīq el-'Amāmarah*, *Farīq ed-Dām*, and *Farīq el-Budayya'*, containing a considerable number of stone houses, five or six buildings of solid masonry with upper storeys, and a tower. The people are all Sunnis, the most numerous Arab communities belonging to the Dawāsir (800 houses) and 'Amāmarah (100 houses). There are a large number of negro slaves (450 houses) and free negroes (200 houses), with about 50 households of *Hūwalah*. Most of the people are engaged in the pearl-fisheries, and more than 100 boats are owned. The Dawāsir, whose Sheikh administers the town without interference from the Sheikh of Bahrein, chiefly occupy the Budayya' and Dām quarters, obtaining their water-supply from wells in the date-plantations of *Dirāz* and *Beni Jamrah* villages; the well of the 'Amāmarah quarter is a little to the E. of the houses.

### 2. *Muharraq*

101 This island lies immediately NE. of Bahrein, from which it is
131 separated by a narrow strait a mile and a half broad; it is of horse-shoe shape, with the open side to the S.; the maximum diameter is about 4 miles. The island is really a low sandbank surrounded by flat coral reefs which almost triple its surface at low tide; from this projects on the NW. a rocky spit called *Ras el-Khaseifah*, extending seaward for nearly 4 miles and constituting the chief danger to ships entering Manāmah harbour. Several marine
361 springs rise near the coasts of the island. There are some 15
438 villages or hamlets in addition to Muharraq town, the more important of which are: *'Arād*, on a promontory on the S. coast: 100 huts of *Bahārinah* date-growers, fishermen, and pearl-divers. There is a rectangular ruined fort, with sides about 90 ft. long, at the E. point of 'Arād Bay. Plantations with about 12,000 date-palms. *Buseitīn*, on the W. coast, 1 mile N. of Muharraq town: 400 houses, some of stone, but most of date-mats. The people are Sunnis, chiefly of the Madhāhakah tribe, owning about 50 boats, mostly used for pearl-fishing. Date-palms number about 1,000; carrots and lucerne are cultivated beneath the trees. Two wells in the date-grove, with brackish water. *Deir*, on NW. coast, 2 miles N. by E. of Muharraq town; 300 houses of mud or date-mats; 3 mosques. Inhabitants are *Bahārinah* engaged in the

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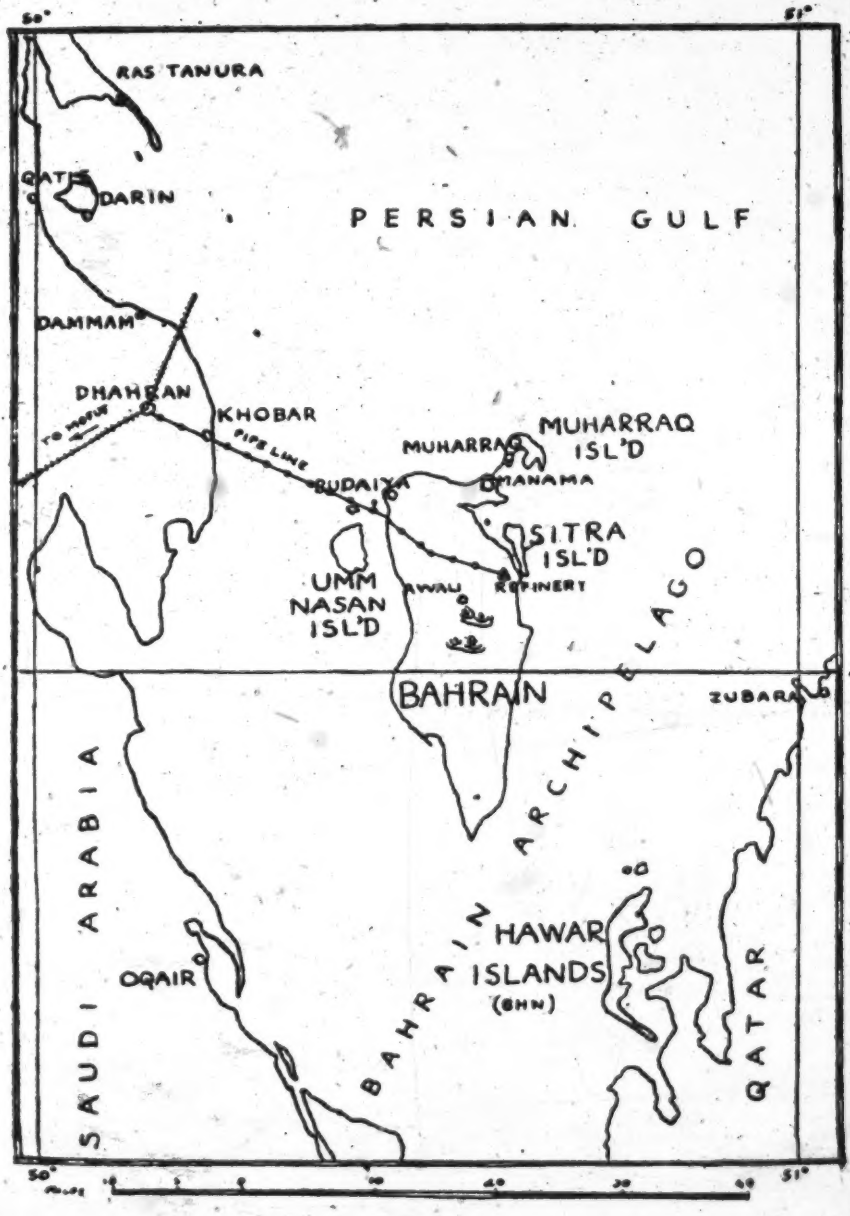


BAHRAIN AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

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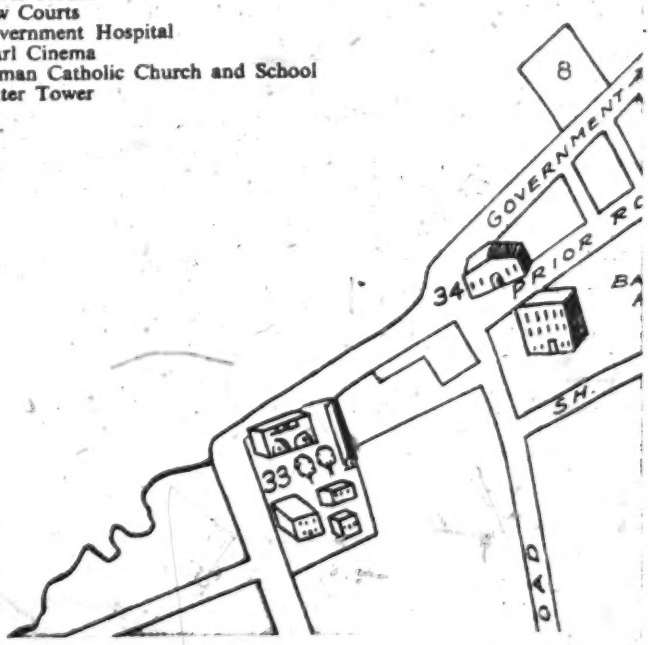
2 Eastern Bank.
3 British Bank of the Middle East
4 Aruba Club
5 Markets
6 Quarantine Office
7 Education Department
8 Bus Rank
9 BAPCO Bus Park
10 Taxi Rank
11 Custom House
12 Passport Office
13 Firdausi Club
14 Gulistan Club
15 Municipal Offices
16 B.A.O.C. Office and Rest House
17 Qosaibi Travel Office
18 Kanoo Travel Office
19 American Mission, Church and Hospital
20 ARAMCO Office
21 P.C.L. Office
22 Chamber of Commerce
23 Residence and Office of BAPCO Government Relations Officer
24 R.A.F. Residence
25 Telephone Exchange and Cable Office
26 BAPCO Filling Station
27 Pakistan Club
28 Bahrain Sports Club
29 Adviserate
30 H.B.M.'s Political Agency
31 Power House
32 Law Courts
33 Government Hospital
34 Pearl Cinema
35 Roman Catholic Church and School
36 Water Tower



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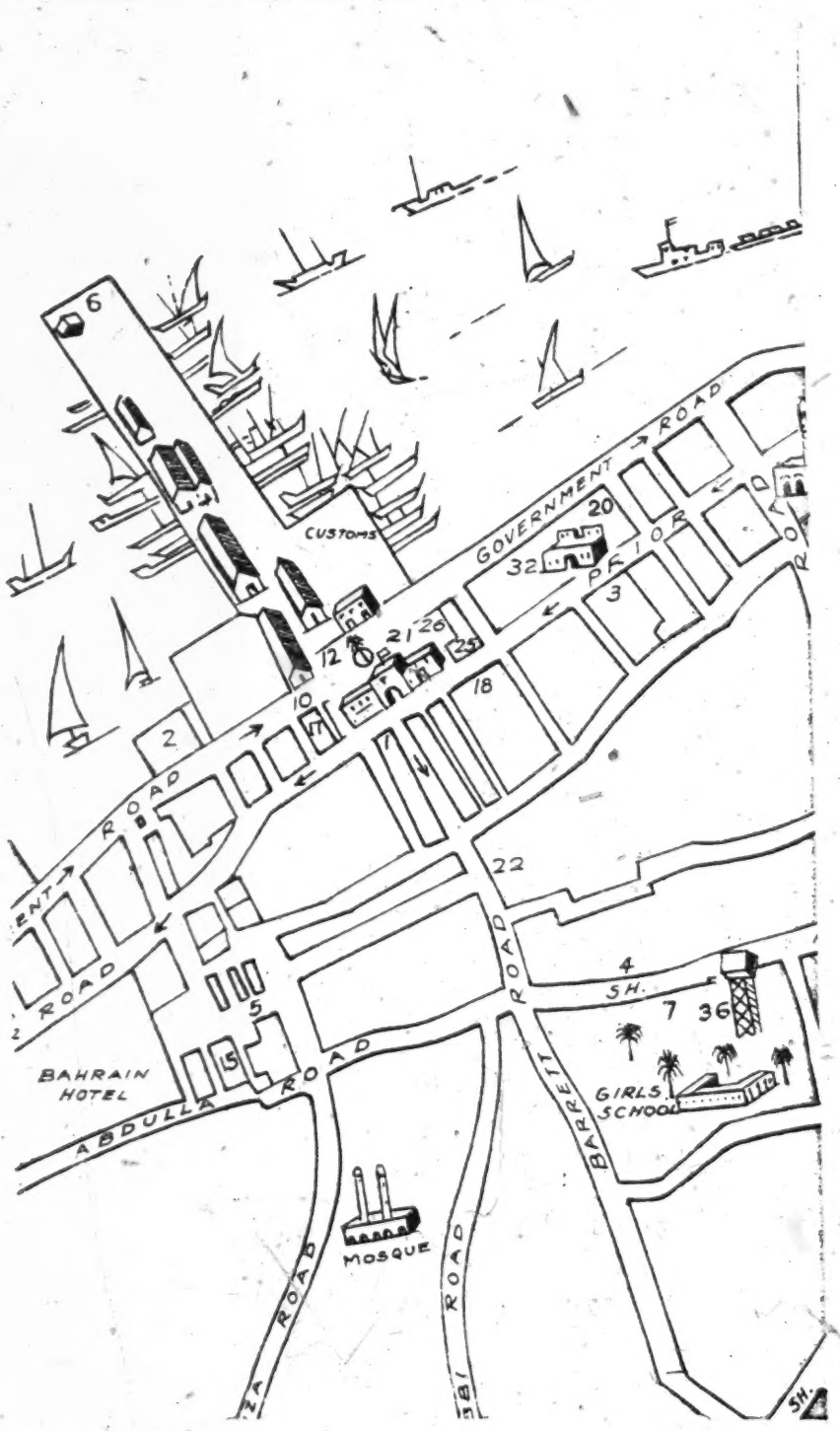

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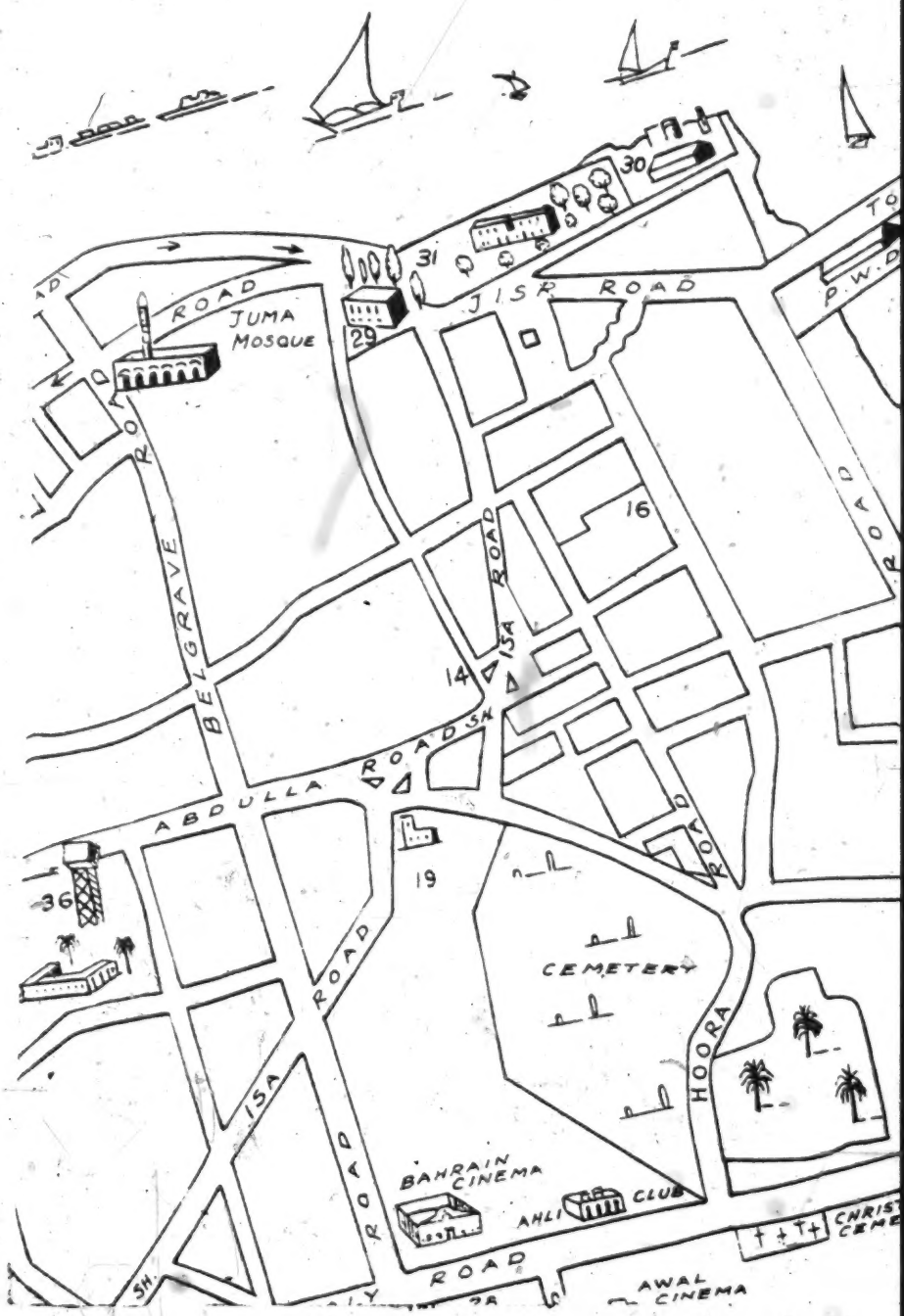

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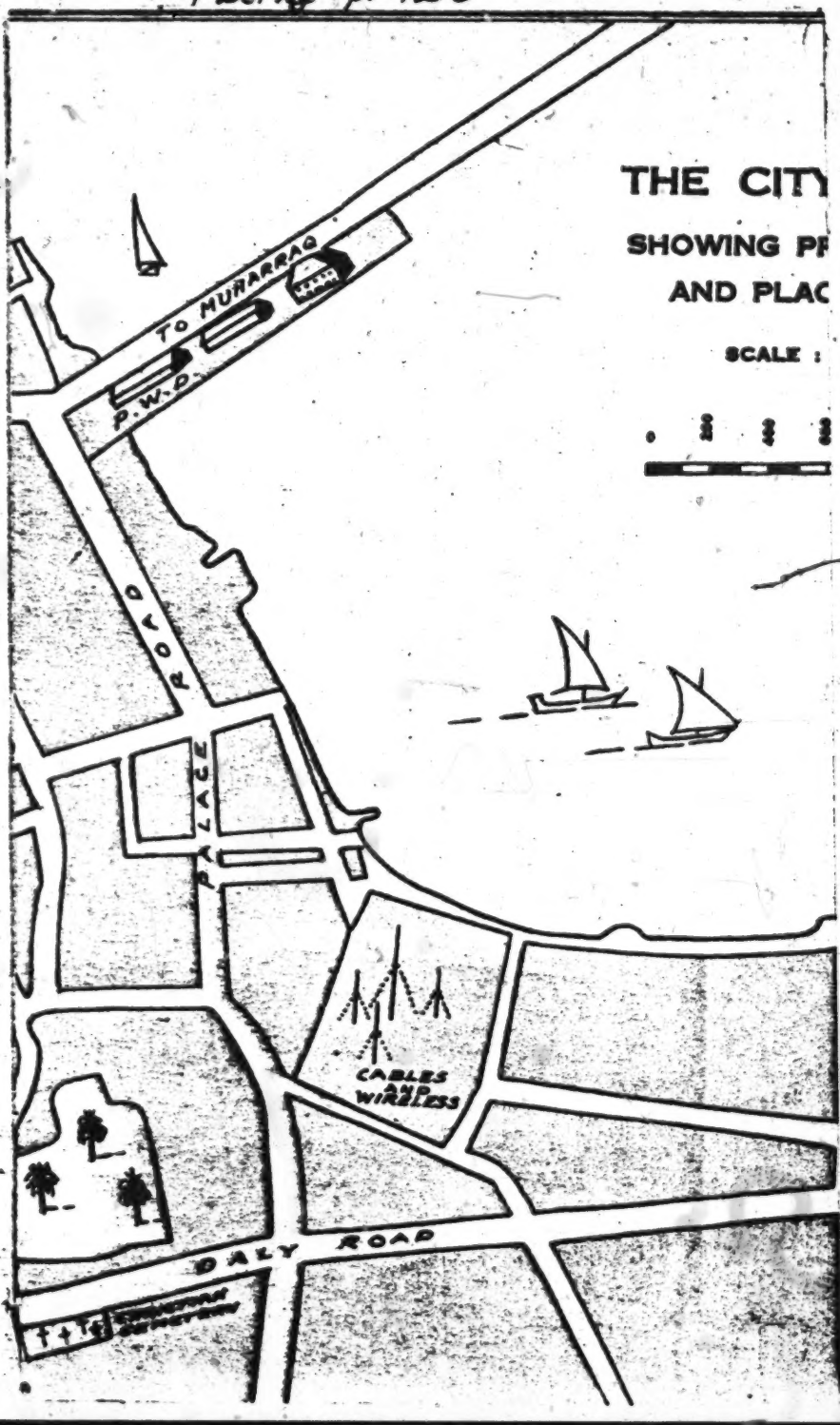

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# THE CITY OF MANAMA

## SHOWING PRINCIPAL BUILDINGS AND PLACES OF INTEREST

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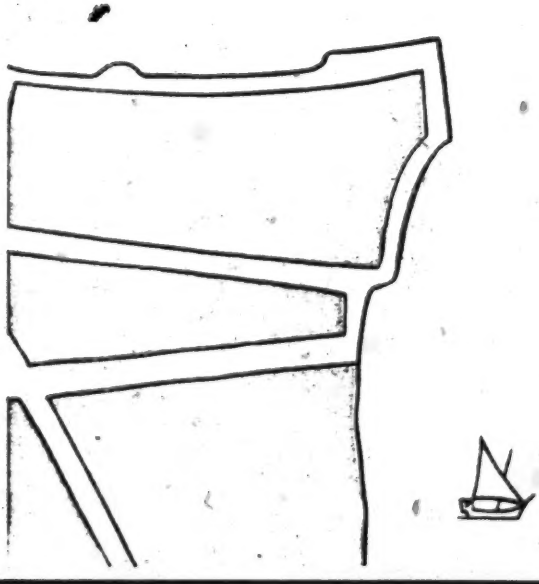

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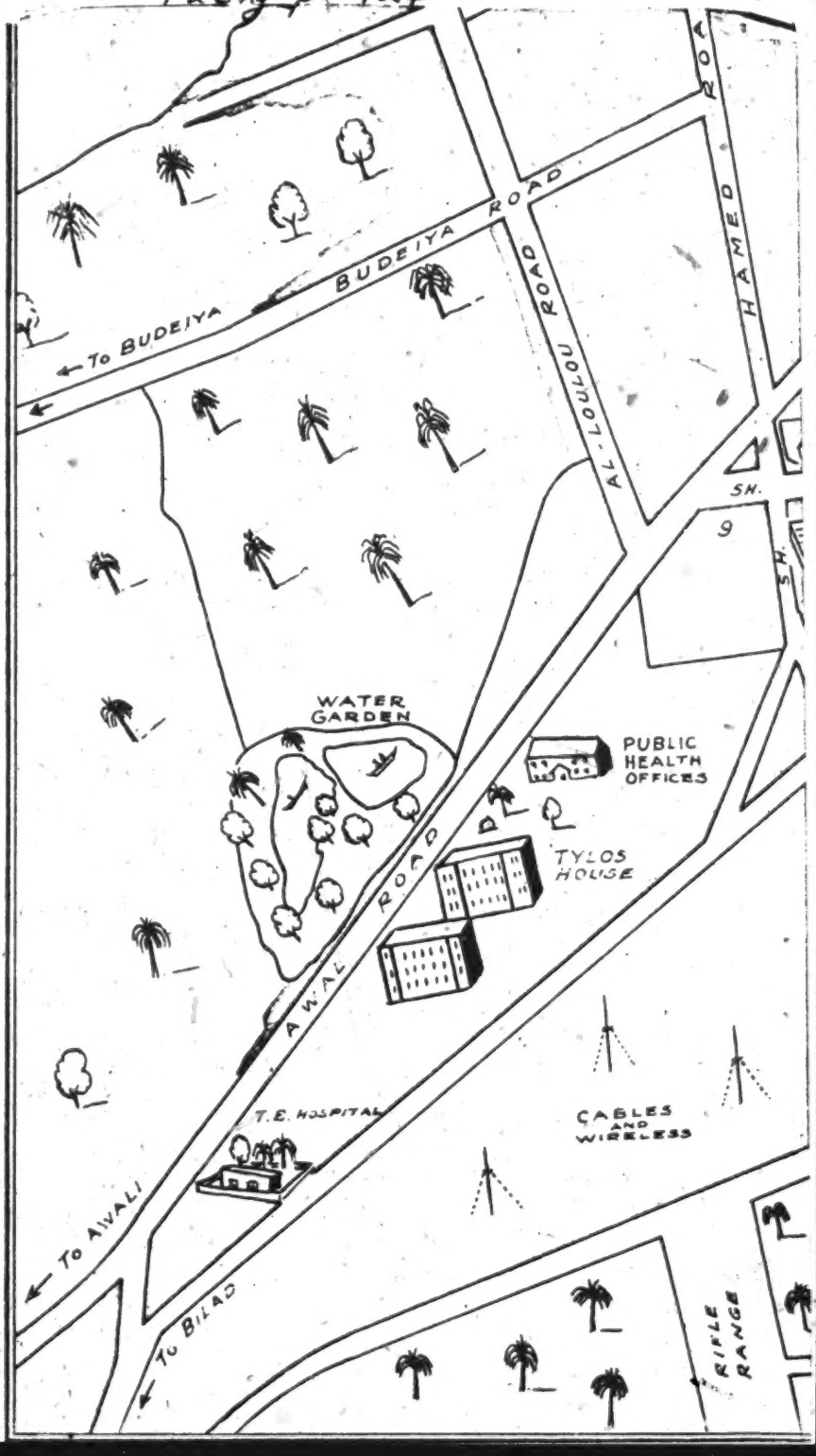

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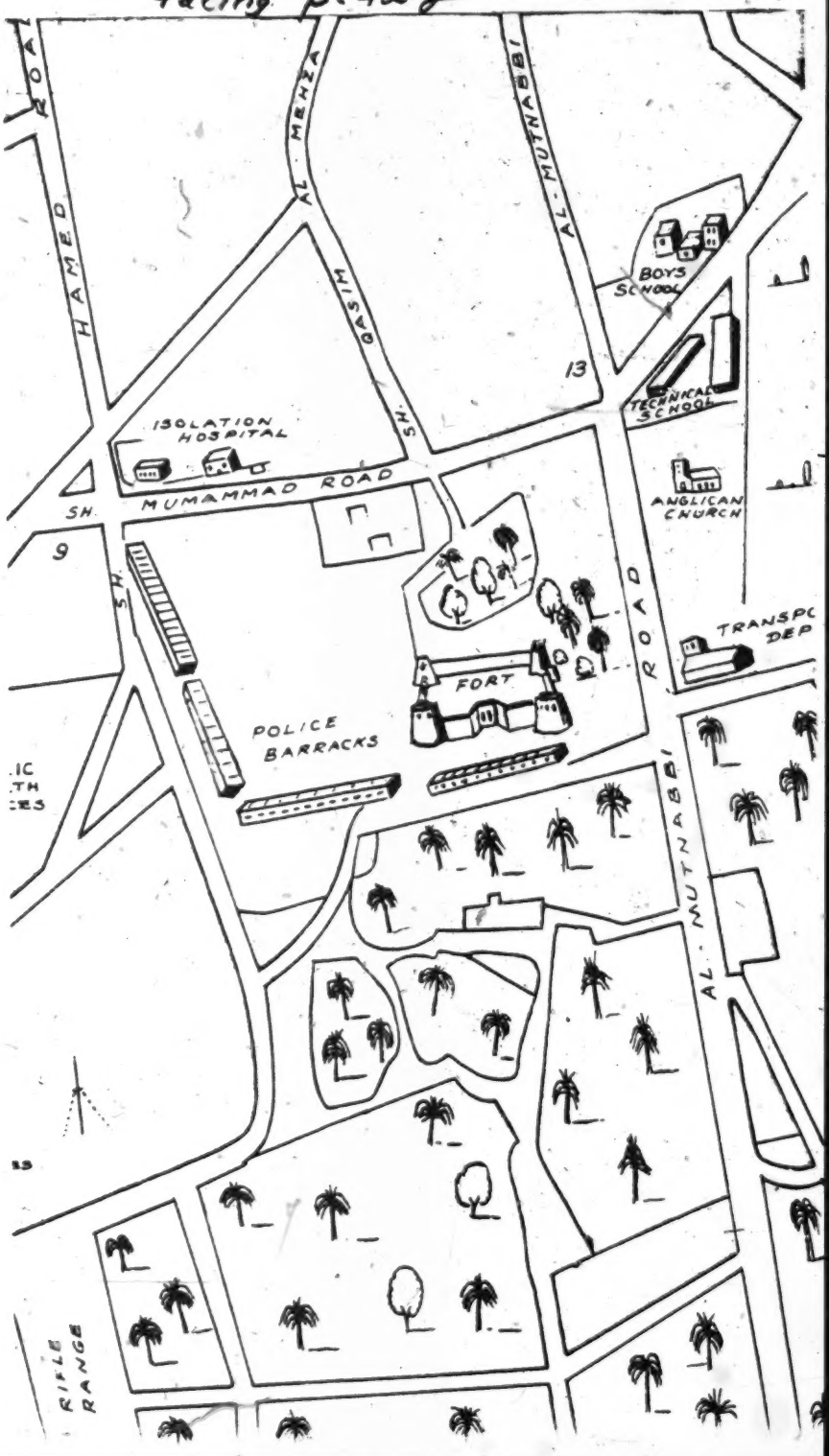

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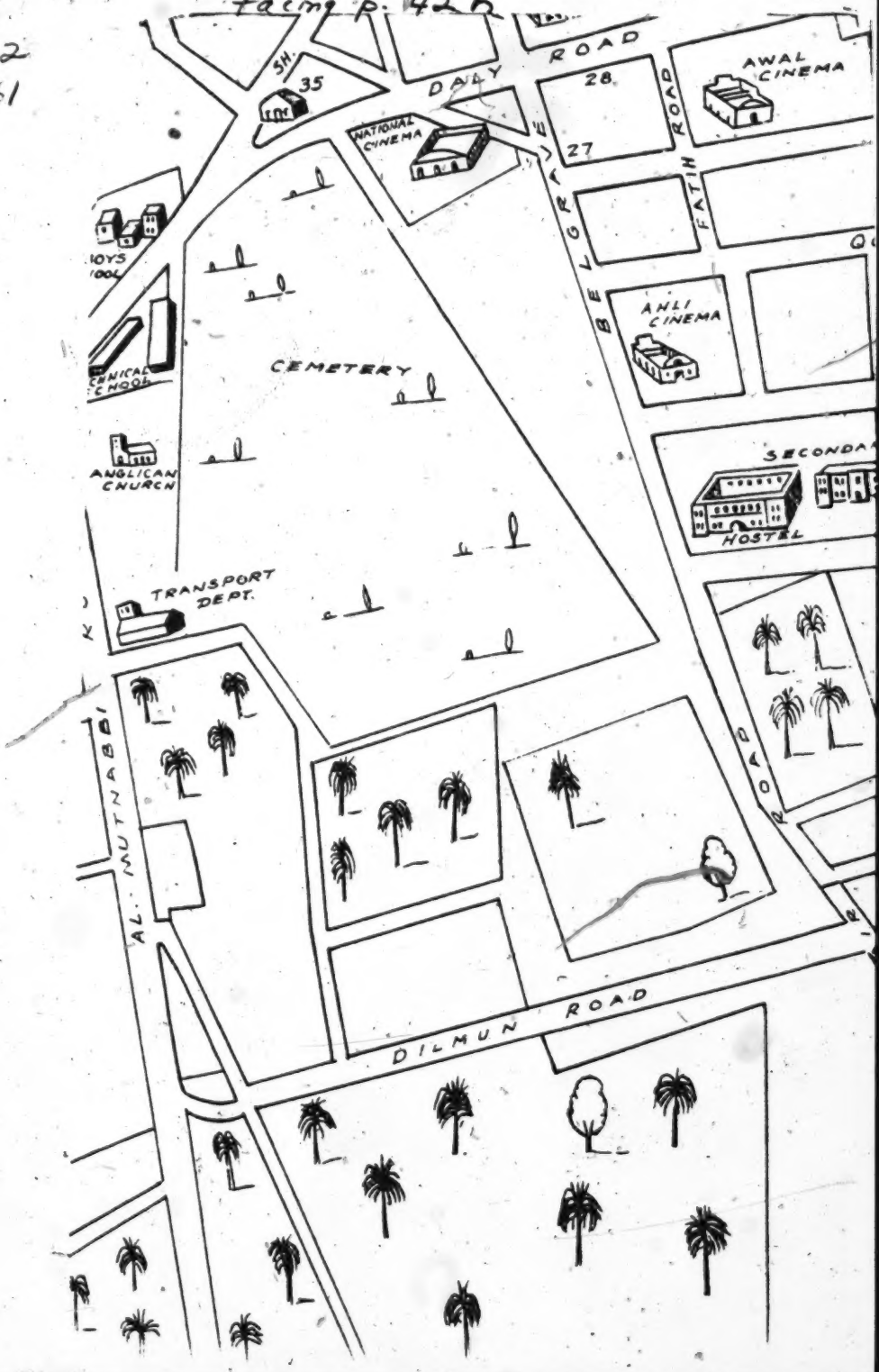

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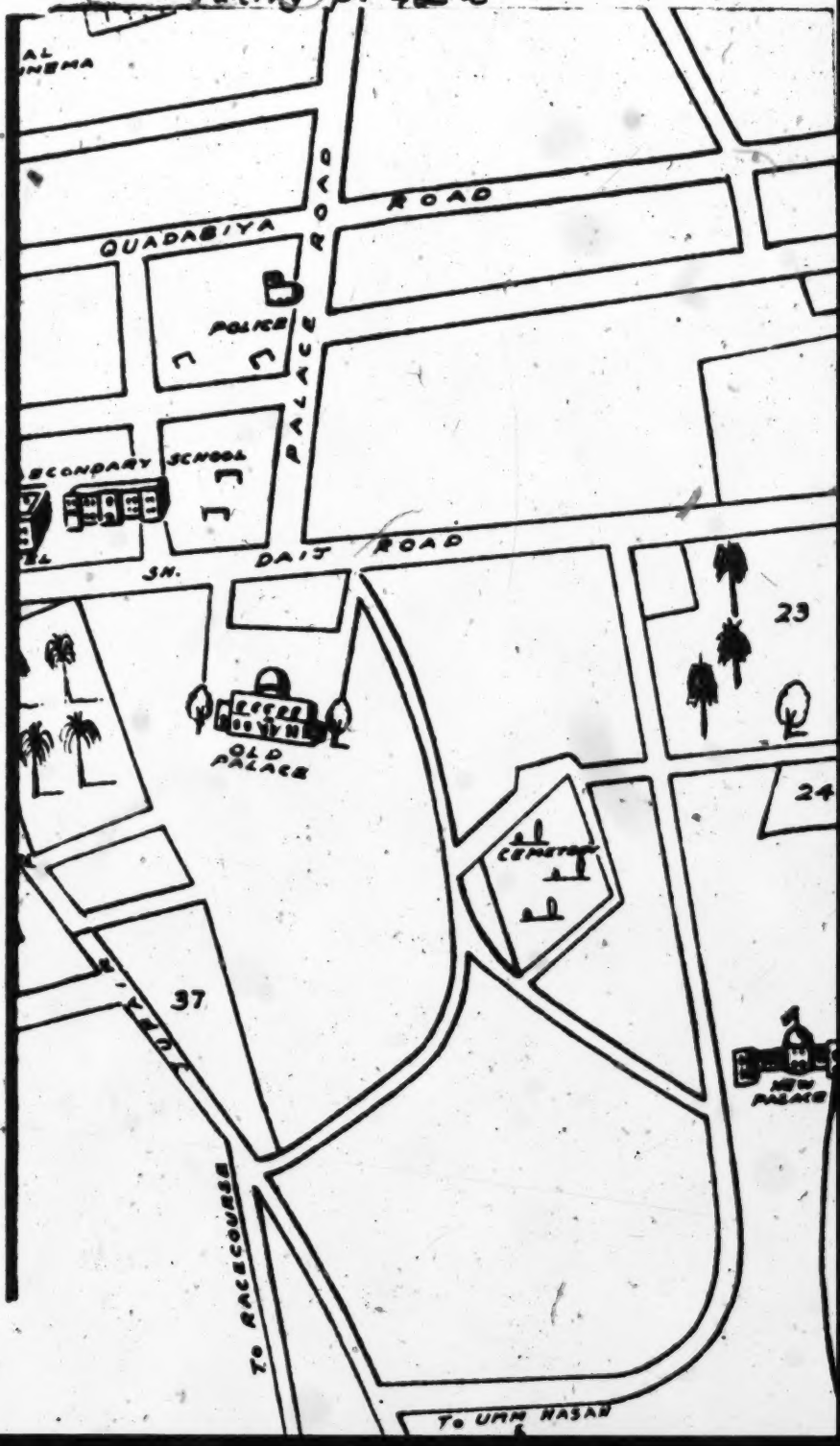

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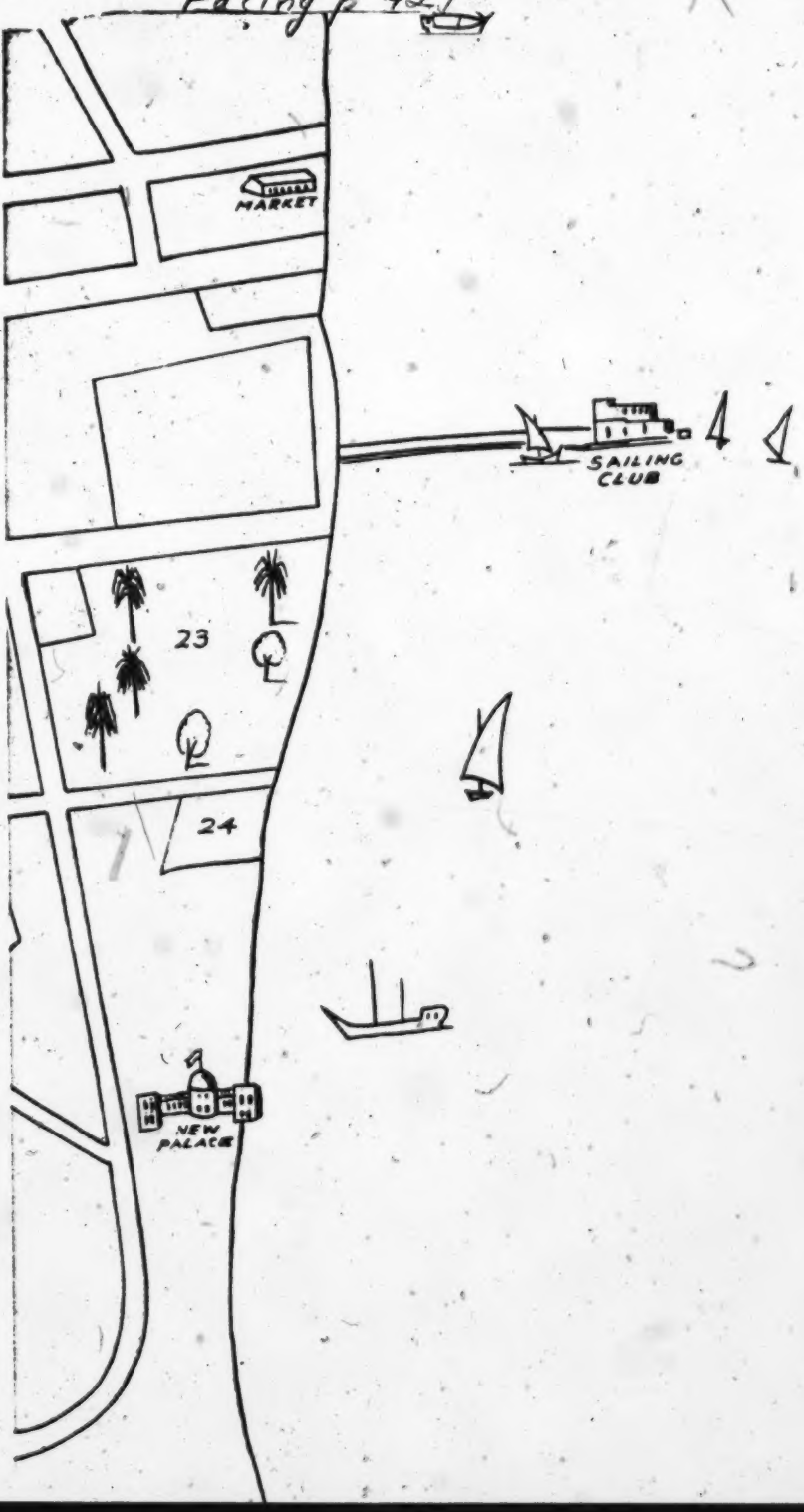

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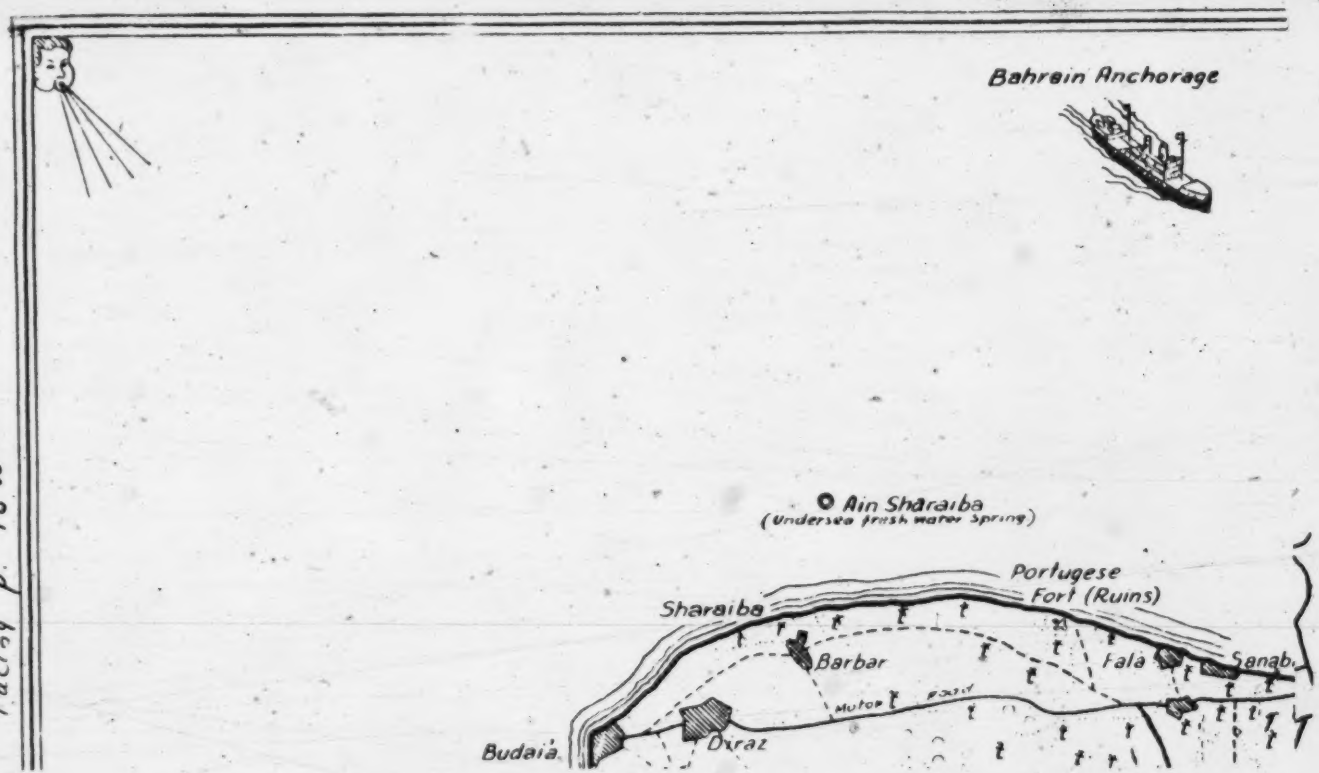


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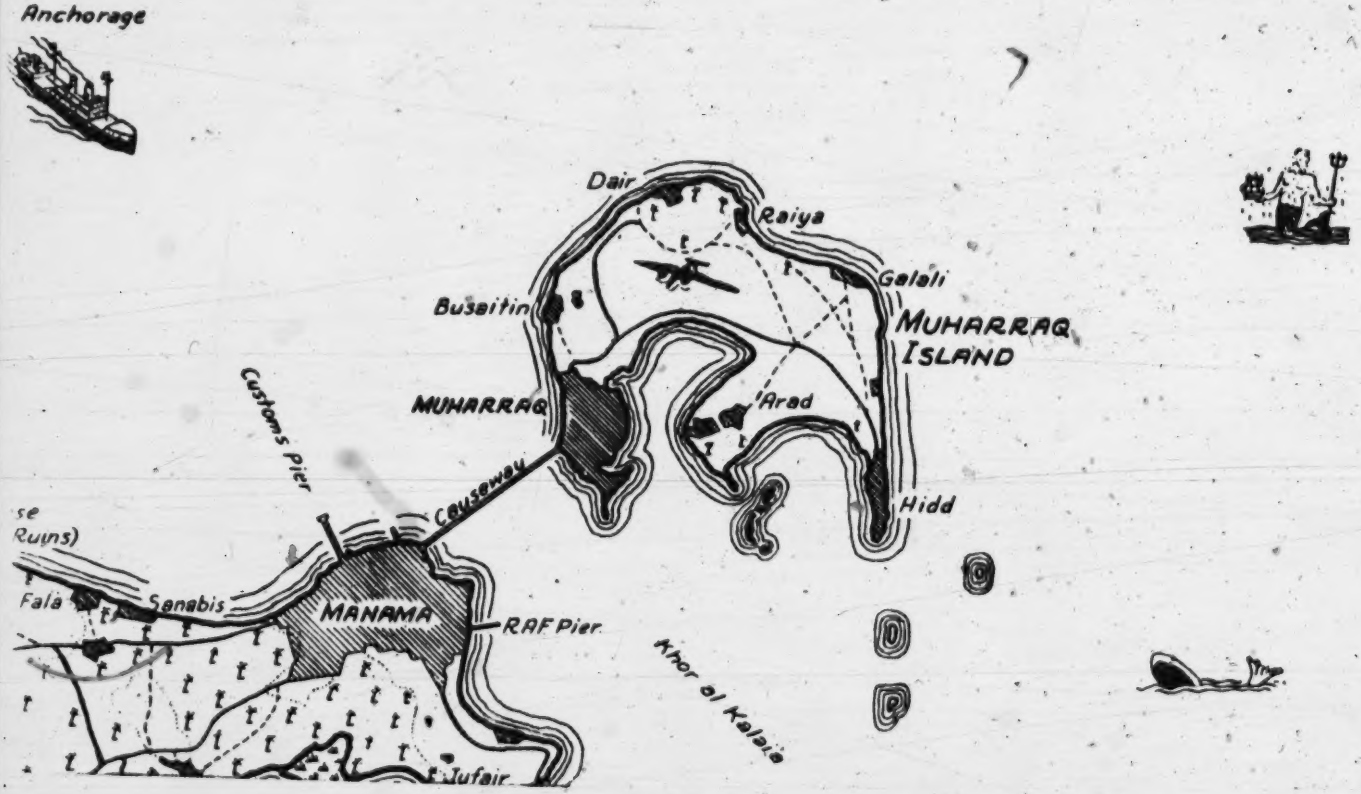


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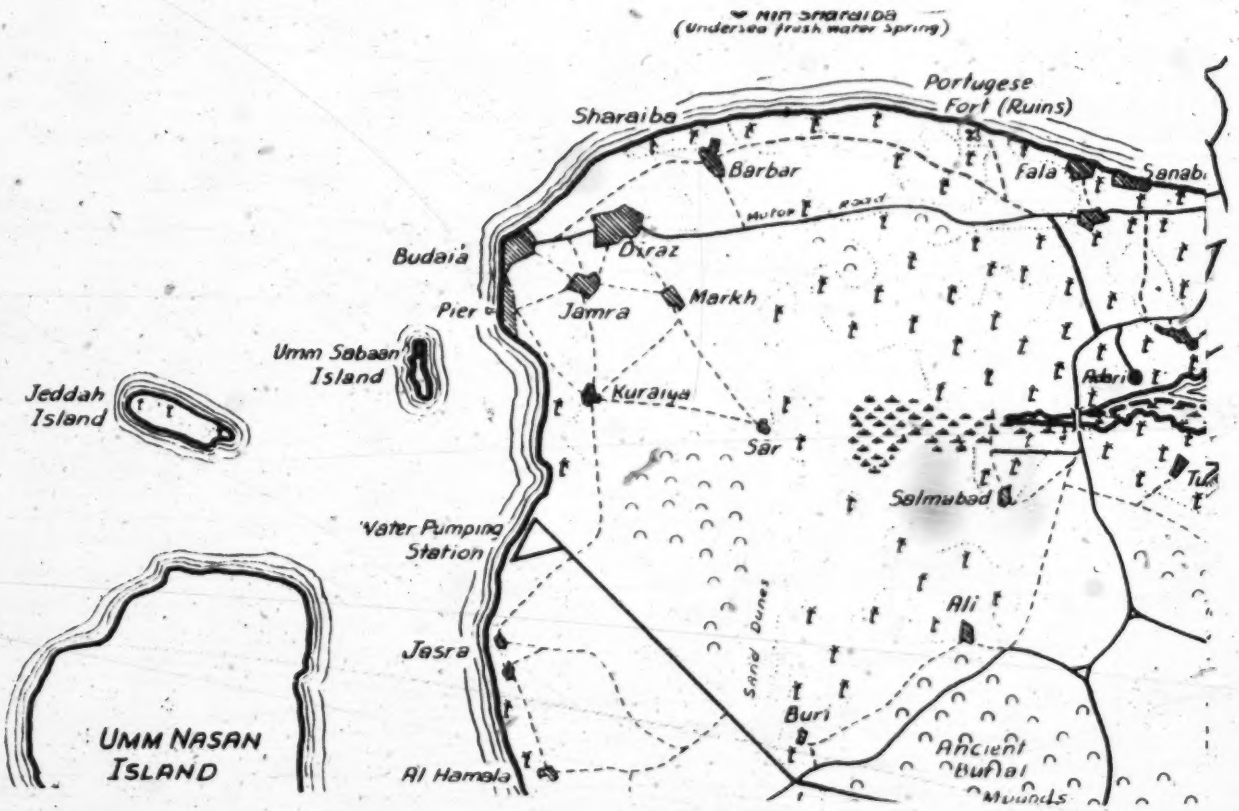

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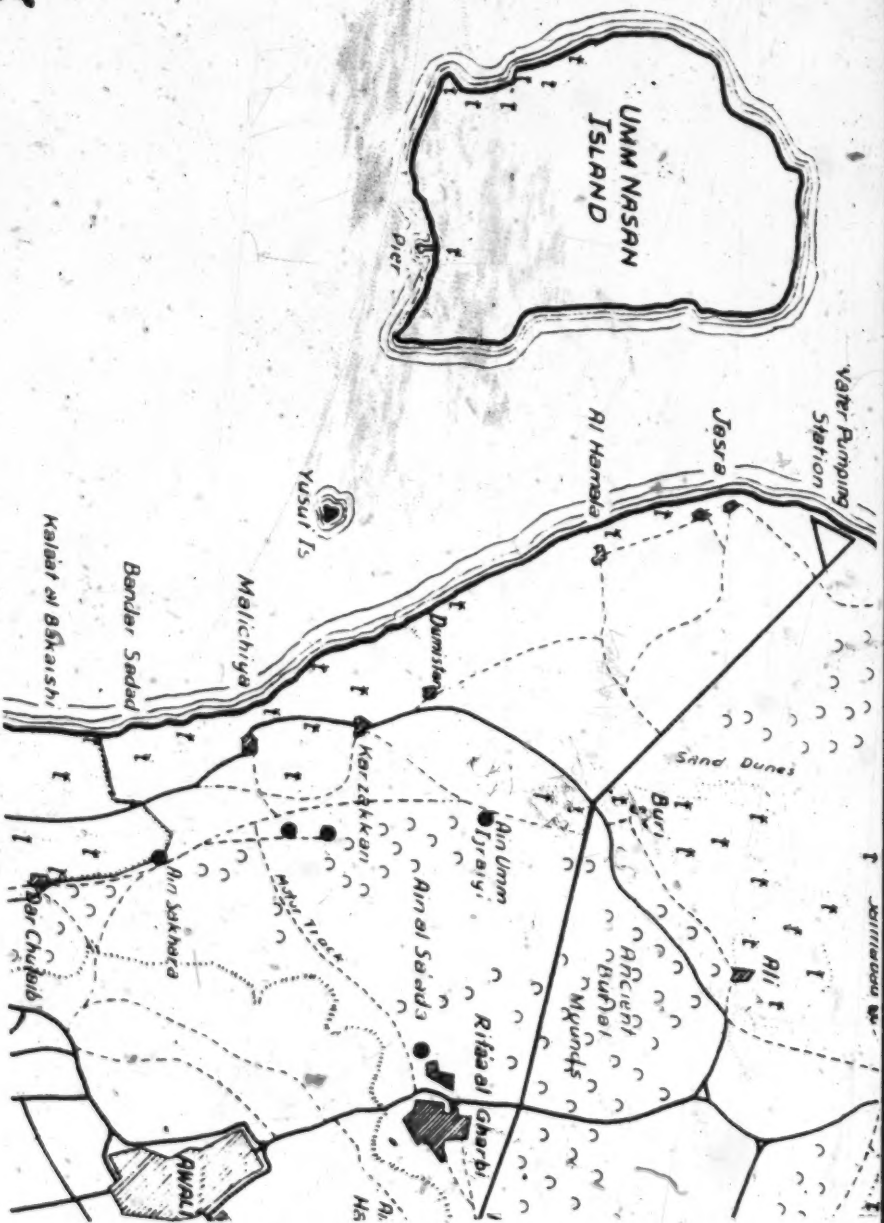

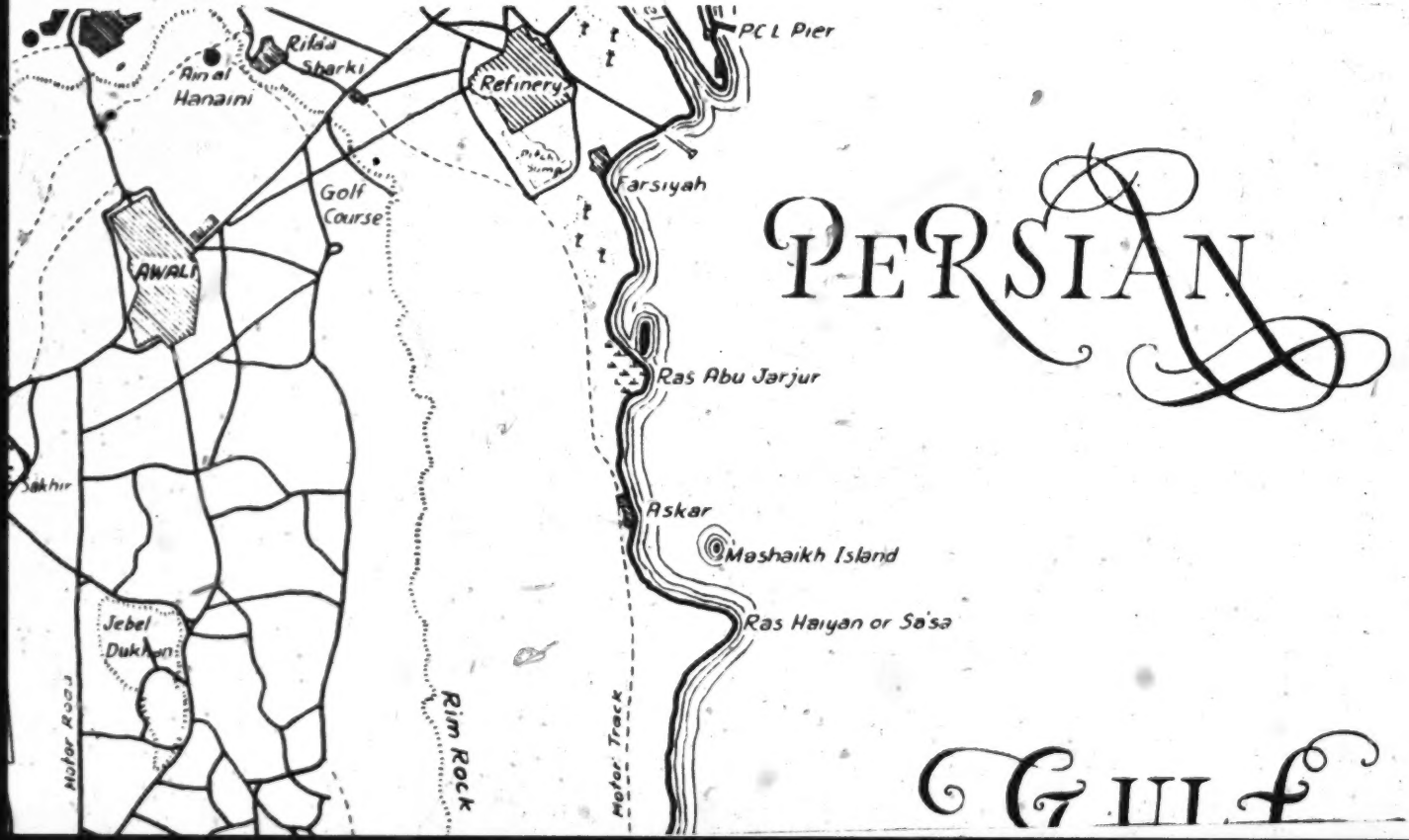


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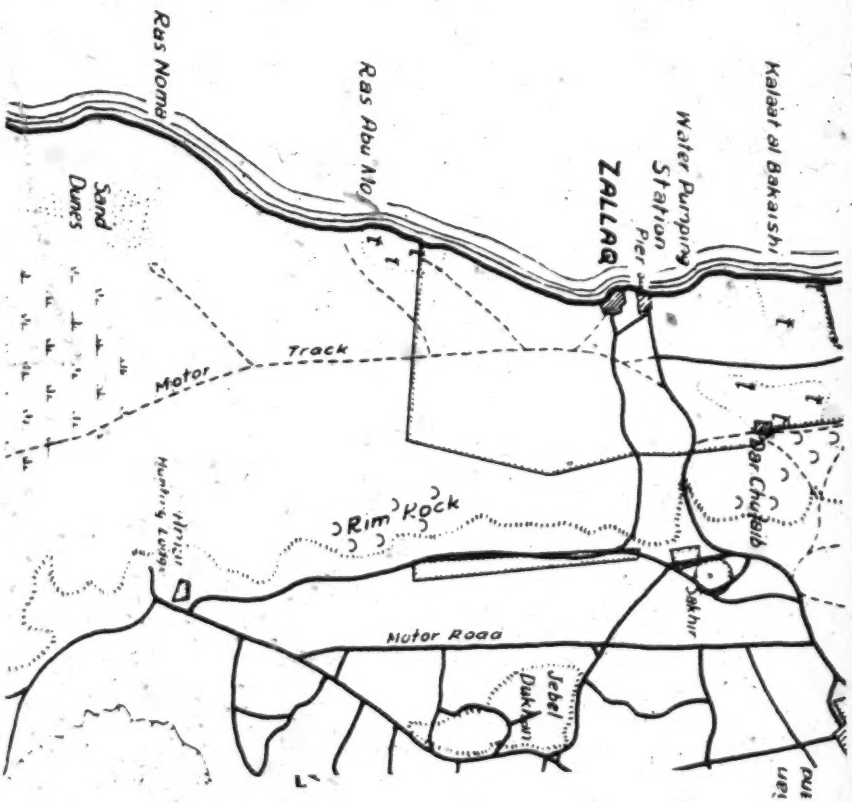

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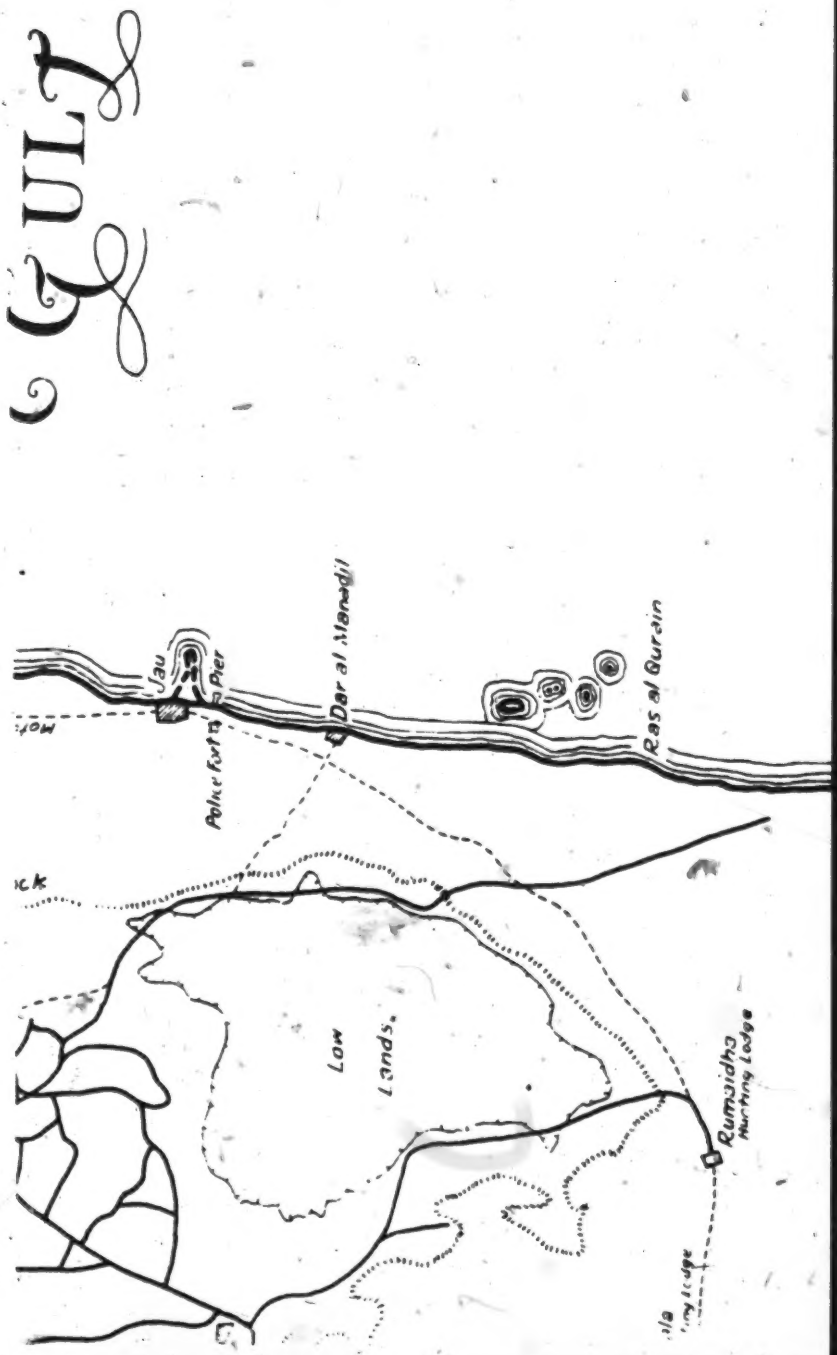

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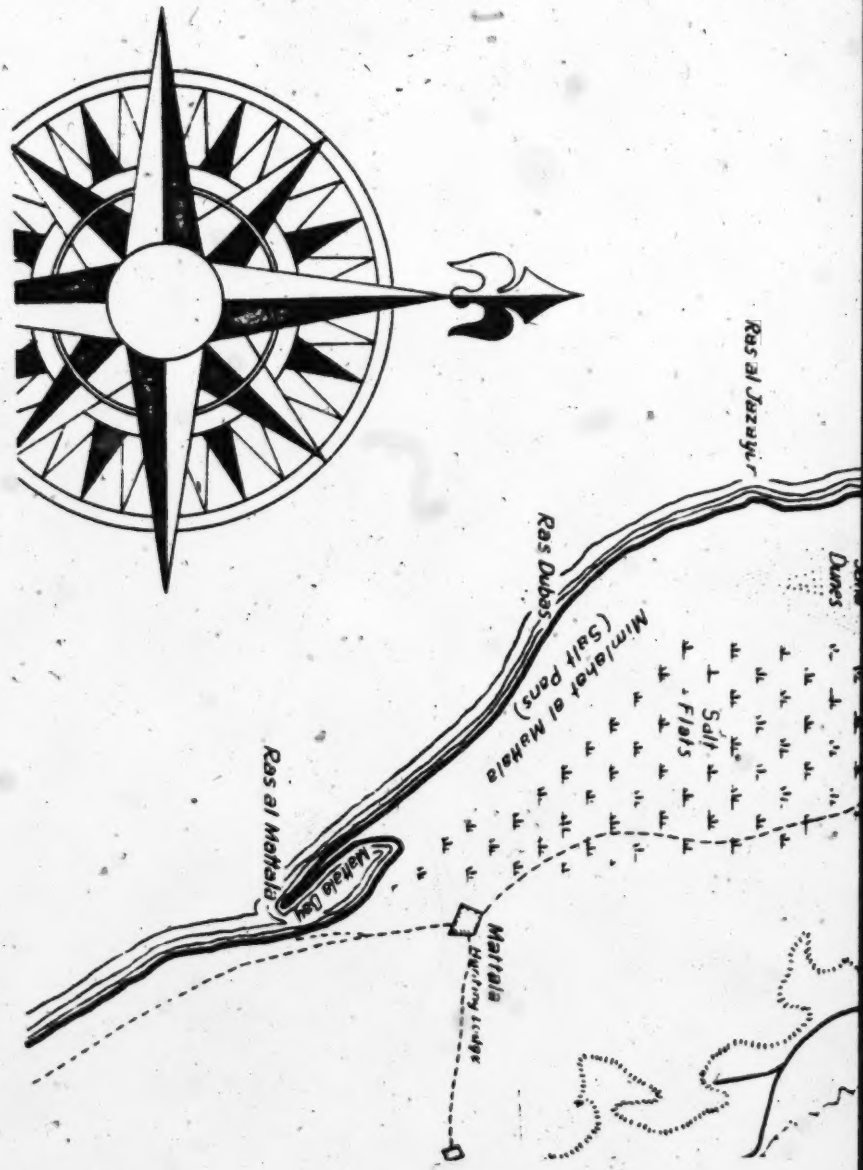

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tala
Hunting Lodge

Rumaidha
Hunting Lodge

Ras al Qurain

Jasaira

Salt
Flats

Sand Flats
and Scrub

Hadd al Jamal

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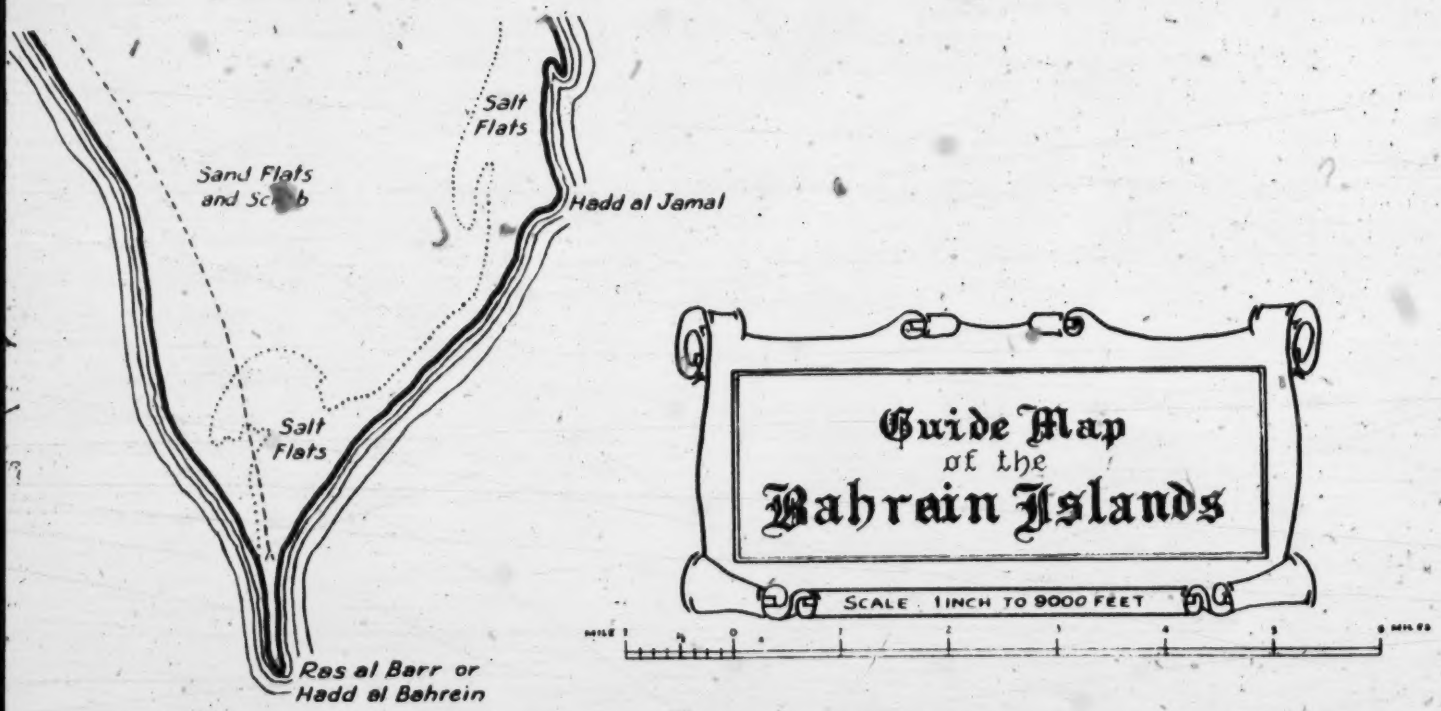


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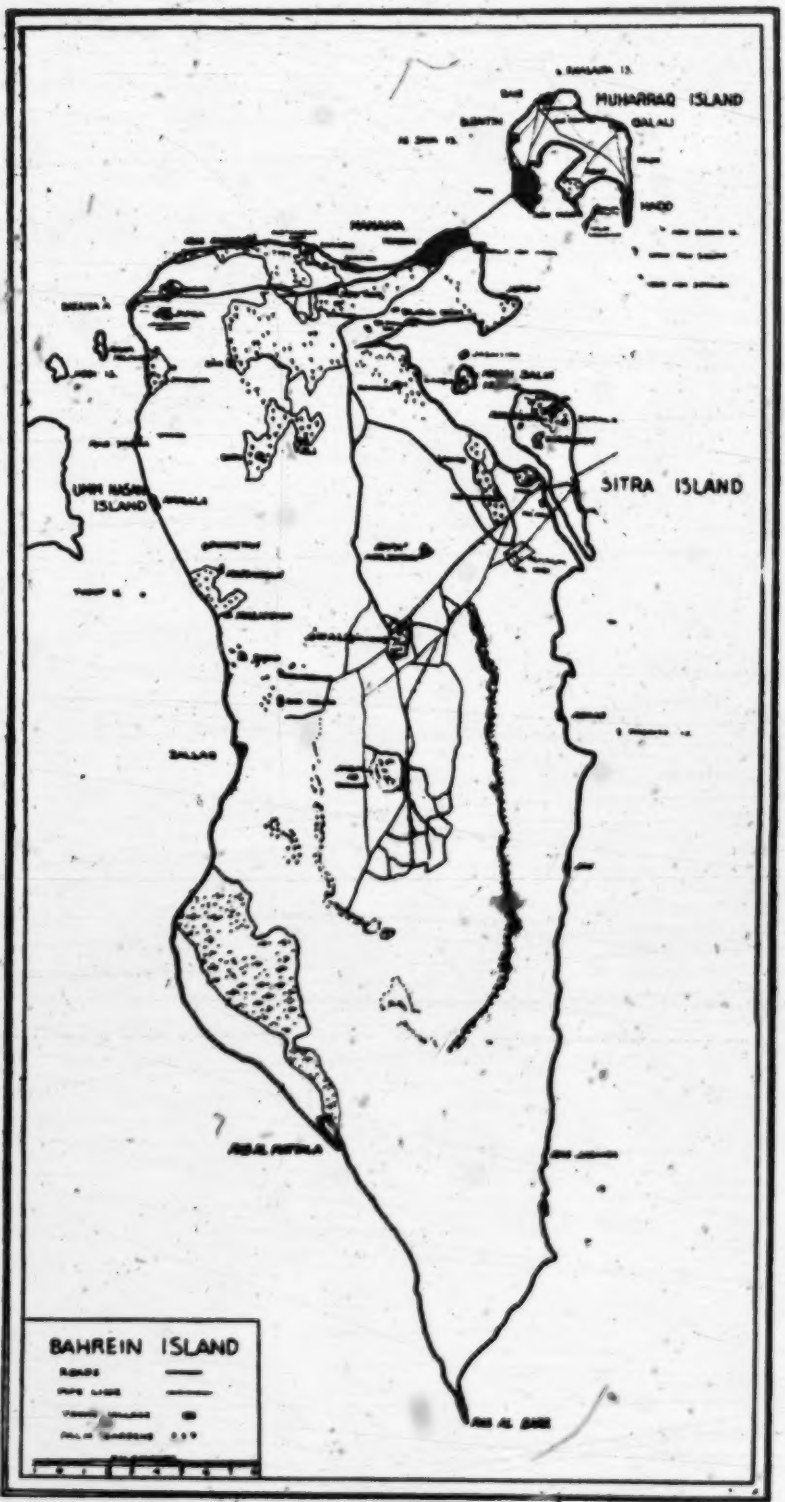


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8: Qubain S-5 (1952-53) MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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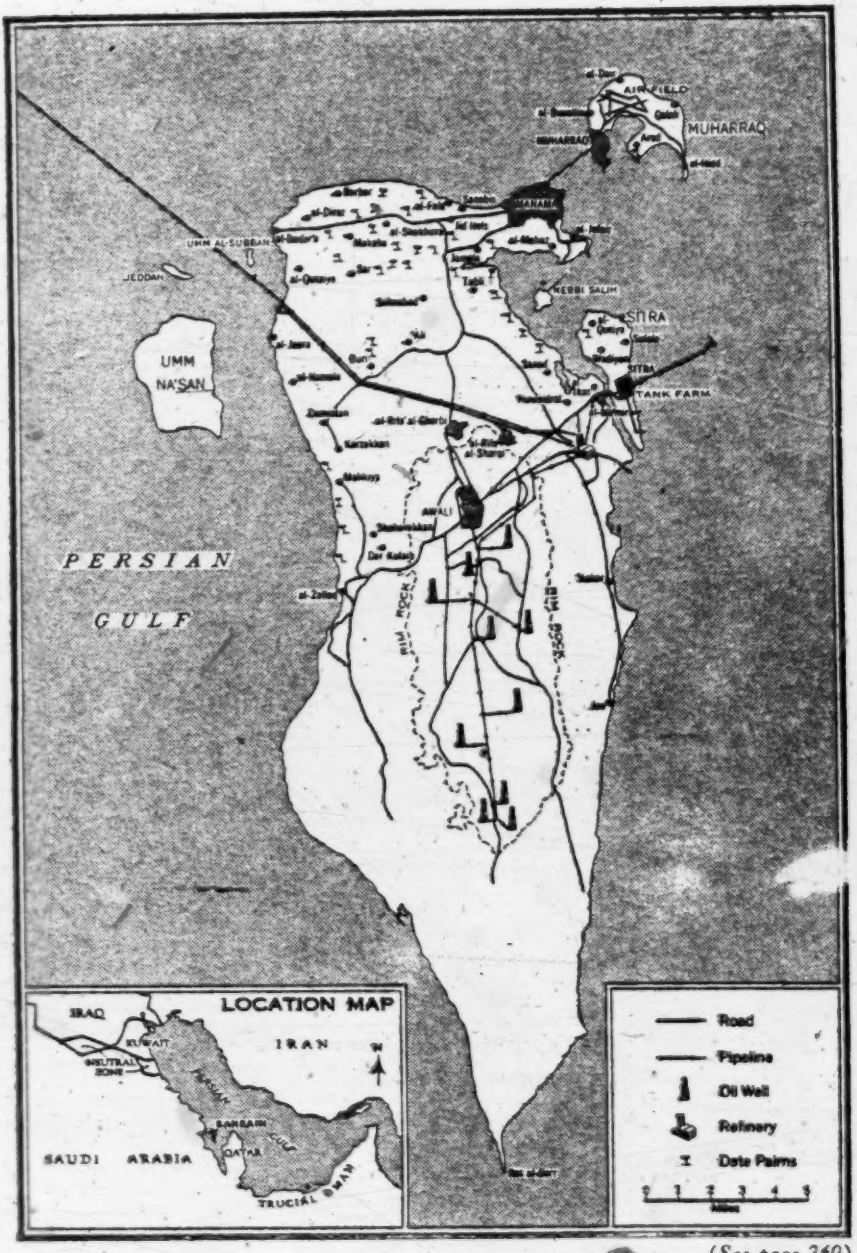


(See page 269)

*The Shaykhdom of Bahrain*

Facing p. 239

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East

BAHRAIN MZ2

122 The climate is typical of the Persian Gulf region, with intense heat and high humidity for 6 months of the year. According to observations for the 10-year period 1942-51, the maximum temperatures averaged 107° to 109° F. in July and August; the minimum temperatures, 83° to 85° F. Corresponding temperatures for January, the coolest month, were 70° F. and 50° F., respectively. The rainfall, which is normally around 3 inches a year, is distributed irregularly between November and May, with the maximum precipitation from December through February. Sand-laden winds, known locally as the *shamal*, often blow with con-

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p. 255(8)

1; Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# Part I.—GENERAL INFORMATION.

## CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

BAHRAIN is an independent Arab State ruled by His Highness Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed al-Khalifah, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E. The state consists of an archipelago of small low-lying islands situated about half-way down the Persian Gulf, some 20 miles from the Arab coast and slightly less distant from the Qatar Peninsular. In the past Bahrain owed its importance to its position as the centre of the pearl industry of the Persian Gulf; today it is better known for its oil field and refinery. 101

"Bahrain" or more correctly "al-Bahrain" means "The Two Seas" and this name, which was formerly applied to the whole coast of Eastern Arabia from Kuwait to Qatar, has long puzzled Arab philologists. Many derivations of the name have been suggested. One is that the two seas are the Persian Gulf and the pool of sweet water below the sands which irrigates the gardens of Qatif and Bahrain. Another, suggested by the writer al-Ashari, is that there was once a great salt lake near Hasa, which was the second of the two seas. A third suggestion is that the name "Bahrain" has some connection with the submarine springs (Ar. singular 'Ain) of fresh water that are found in many places along the coast of Arabia. However a serious objection to this theory is that 'Ain starts with an Arabic letter which is not present in the spelling of "Bahrain." There are other places called Bahrain in Egypt, North Africa and in Persia. 103

There are five principal islands in the group, whose total area is approximately 231 square miles; the largest is Bahrain itself, which is about 30 miles long and from 8 to 10 miles wide. A causeway 1½ miles in length, carrying a motor road, links Manama, capital of the State, which is on the north-east tip of Bahrain island, with the neighbouring town and island of Muharraq. Half-way down the east coast of Bahrain a bridge connects Bahrain with Sitra island. Among the other islands of the group are Nebih Salih, north of Sitra, whose prolific fresh water springs irrigate the date groves which cover the island and which are said to be the best in Bahrain; Jidda, a small rocky islet off the west coast of Bahrain, now used as a penal settlement; and Umm an-Nasaan, a large low-lying island to the south-west of Jidda, which H.H. The Ruler has developed as a breeding place for gazelle and black buck. 131

Some miles south of Bahrain and very near the coast of Qatar are the 16 islands of the Howar group, the largest of which is 11 miles in

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# Part III.—AROUND BAHRAIN.

## MANAMA

361 THE capital of Bahrain, Manama, with a population, in 1950, of 39,648, is situated on the low lying coast at the north end of Bahrain Island. Most parts of the town are only two or three feet above sea level and close below the ground there is brackish water which accounts for the excessive humidity during the summer. The town extends for 1½ miles along the northern shore and about the same distance down the east coast. [103] Although Manama, which means "The Place of Sleeping," is known to have existed in the 15th century and is mentioned by the Portuguese, it contains no ancient buildings, and possibly the oldest relic of the past is the tomb of Shaikh Ahmed al-Khalifah, who conquered Bahrain in 1782, situated near the Awal Cinema.

The most attractive view of Manama is from the sea. Approaching the port from Saudi Arabia one sees a long line of tall, white houses with deep-shadowed verandahs, rising above the brilliantly coloured water. Around the Customs Pier, which extends for a quarter of a mile into the sea, there are usually 70 or 80 local sailing craft and launches whose crews and cargoes fill the pier to overflowing. The skyline of the town is broken by two or three minarets, the tallest being that of the Juma Mosque, while on the shore to the east of the town can be seen the graceful wind-towers which were used to catch the breeze before the days of electric fans and air-conditioning.

342 Most of the houses are built from coral stone, quarried from the bed of the sea at low tide, plastered and painted white. A noticeable feature of Bahrain architecture is the use of large flat sheets of coral stone set between masonry pillars in the walls of the houses. In some districts of the town there are still numbers of "barastis", huts made of palm branches, but these are rapidly being replaced by stone and cement houses.

361 344 The centre of the town is Shaikh Sulman Square with, on the north, the Pier and the Customs premises and on the south "Bab al-Bahrain," the Gate of Bahrain, a large block of Government offices with an archway in the centre leading through to the principal street in the bazaar. In the centre of the Square is a circular garden, the walls of which are made from cement panels decorated with traditional Bahraini designs, arabesques, of pleasing appearance. The bazaar extends for some distance on each side of Barrett Road, the main street. To its west are the Municipal Buildings and an open market where, on Wednesday mornings, the people of the villages bring their produce to sell.

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The Manama bazaar rightly claims to be the emporium of the Gulf, it contains both narrow streets of picturesque little shops, full

to the days when the Rulers of Bahrain lived here and ruled the Islands from the castle. Below the fortresss is the spring of Hanani, whose water is the best in Bahrain, and a plain where, in the rainy season, a small lake forms and on disappearing leaves in its place a bright lawn of grass. Rifaa has been expanding rapidly during recent years, the town is spreading to the south-east, and it now possesses boys' and girls' schools and a Municipality. Some members of the Ruling Family still live in the town which has expanded owing to the development of the oil industry, in which some 500 of its male inhabitants are working.

The situation of the town is ideal for strategical purposes, from it it is possible to see Manama, Muharraq and Sitra while the land around it is free of vegetation which could have served to hide the enemy. It has an excellent climate and is drier than Manama in the summer. To the north of the town are two small graves where members of the Khalifah family are buried; these fell in battle during a civil war which took place in the 19th century.

There is a tradition connected with the fortress of Rifaa. It is said to have been built in the 17th century by the Wazir of the then Ruler, a certain Shaikh Jabbara. For years the Ruler and his wazir worked together, but one day the Shaikh was told about the beauty of the wazir's wife, and he desired her. He was tricked into believing that he had visited her, though in fact he was entertained by her maid-servant. He was so angry at the deception, about which the wazir knew nothing, that he killed him. The Wazir's widow thereupon fled from Rifaa to the mainland, from where she wrote to the Shah of Persia sending him a minature palm tree of pearls and gold and saying that so rich was Bahrain that such a tree was given to a child as a toy. She succeeded in exciting the avarice of the Persian Shah, who sent an army to Bahrain, defeated and killed Shaikh Jabbara, and annexed the Islands to Persia, thus avenging the Wazir's wife. This same Shaikh Jabbara is said to have lived in the fort of Amr, south-east of the Jebel, which is mentioned in Chapter VIII.

There is a third Rifaa, a small community built by BAPCO for its Indian and Pakstani employees; this is mentioned in the Chapter on Bahrain's Oil.

### AWALI

Meaning "The High Places," this name was given by Shaikh Hamed, the late Ruler of Bahrain, to the oil camp when it was first established in its present location. Before the oil company arrived in Bahrain the site was deserted—for who would live in the middle of a waterless desert? But the company wanted to build their town near the oil field, and so the small, 240 foot, hill was chosen. Today Awali somewhat resembles a London surburb or a small American town. As in London, varied gardens and different coloured exteriors of the houses serve to disguise their basic similarity. In these gardens children play while their mothers chat to each other over the fences. Happy

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## INTRODUCTION

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About midway of the Persian Gulf and some fifteen miles off the coast of Arabia, lie the Bahrein Islands at the mouth of the Gulf of Bahrein, of which the Qatar Peninsula forms the western side. There are five principal islands, only two of which are of real consequence. The largest and by far the most important is variously called Awal, Al Manāmah after the principal city, or more commonly just Bahrein. The last is the modern designation.

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In ancient times, the name "Bahrein" was applied to a larger area which included the Arabian mainland of Qatar and Hajar and the land situated between Mesopotamia and the Gulf of Oman (the Indian Ocean); this area took in the entire southern coast of the Persian Gulf. This has caused widespread misinterpretation of much of the writings of pre-Islamic and Medieval historians. Throughout this book we shall use the term "Bahrein" in its modern sense to refer to the archipelago of Bahrein proper or to the central island, except where the mainland province is clearly indicated.

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Bahrein today has few attractions. There is not much to recommend it as a place of residence, as it is intensely hot for about seven months of the year, and for many of the native inhabitants lacking in comfortable living conditions. For tourists it is rather off the beaten track. Nevertheless, through the centuries these bits of land have been considered well worth fighting for by both European and Asiatic empires.

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The reason for Bahrein's unusual and enduring importance can be summed up in two words—pearls and strategy. The pearl fisheries of Bahrein have been known all over the world since the dawn of history and, thanks to an abundance of fresh water springs, the island was a frequent stopping place for ships on the trade routes to India and the Far East.

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The Portuguese, the first European power to have an Asiatic colonial empire, fought hard for possession of the islands.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# THE BAHREIN ISLANDS

## THE NAME

"The name of Bahrein, which means 'Two Seas,' is derived, according to the natives of the country, from the existence of two strata of water located there. The higher film is extremely salty, whereas the deeper consists of sweet water with a very pleasant taste." So wrote Masoudi, the famous Arabian author.

Ibn Khallakan has a different explanation. He cites the Persian lexicographer Al-Ashari as follows: "Al-Bahrein ('The Two Seas') is so named because in the region where its towns are situated, near the gate of Al-Ahsa and the village of Hajar, there is a lake at ten parsangs distance from the Great Green Ocean [the Persian Gulf]. The lake is three miles long and as many broad. It does not overflow, and its waters are tranquil and salt."

According to Al-Jawahari, the author of *Sahah,* the inhabitants are called Bahrani rather than the more usual form Bahri, because "the latter term might be misunderstood, having as it does another meaning, namely 'Belonging to the sea.' "[1]

## GEOGRAPHY

The Bahrein Islands are situated at 26° latitude north and 50° longitude east on the southern side of the Persian Gulf. They are about fifteen miles from the main coast of Saudi

1. Throughout this book, however, we shall use the modern designation "Bahreini" when referring to the people.



[pp. 10, 11, 12 have no textual material]

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Table 4. NON-MOSLEM POPULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Hindus | 150 |
| Jews | 50 |
| Syrians | 60 |
| British | 10 |
| Assyro-Chaldeans | 5 |
| Total | 255 |

Table 5. SECTS AND TRIBES

| Tribe | Race | Sect |
|---|---|---|
| Utūb | Zuzara Arabs | Malekites |
| Bahārinah | Iranians | Shiites |
| Dawāsir | Arabs of Nejd | Sahabites |
| Huwāla | Arabs of Persia | Sunnites |

The discovery of oil, the essence of foreign trade and international traffic, has brought a considerable increase in the number of non-Moslem residents. At the present time there are some four or five hundred Christians, mostly employees of the Standard Oil Company, five hundred Jews, and about the same number of Hindus.

## TOWNS AND VILLAGES

There are about two hundred centers of population in the islands. The most important are:

### *Bahrein Island*

MANAMA,[1] the largest city and the commercial center of the islands, is located in the northern part of Bahrein. It is traditional headquarters for the pearl fisheries and today is the center of the petroleum industry. At present there are about 45,000 inhabitants. The city has a government operated electric plant which also supplies the city of Muharraq on Muharraq Island, and commercial establishments include an ice plant, a large

1. Manāmah literally means a "scala" or "port."

Bapco" has some two hundred homes for married members of the oil company staff and others are under construction. In addition there are office buildings, bachelors' quarters, a club, an eighteen hole golf course, a restaurant, and a new, completely air conditioned hospital for the native employees of the company. All homes and living quarters and most of the commercial buildings are connected with three central air conditioning plants where water is chilled to a temperature of forty-five to fifty degrees Fahreinheit then piped underground to each building, where it is circulated through grilles. In the winter heat is furnished by circulating hot water in the same manner. All drinking water in both the refinery and camp is distilled.

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The other villages of importance on the west coast, reading from north to south, are:

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HUWAR—Located close to the coast of Qatar.
HAMALA.
DAMISTAN.
KARZAKKAN.
MALIKIYA.
SADAD.
SHAHRAKAN.
DAR KULAIB.

On the east coast, from north to south, the important villages are:

JUFAR.
GHURAIFA, with a loading terminal and a nearby military seaplane base with anchorage facilities and limited refueling service.
SILHAT.
KUWARA.
SANAD.
NUWAIDRAT, near the refinery. It has palm groves and is an important center of native trade, where most of the local employees of the oil company live.
MA'AMIR, a small village located on the canal separating the island of Sitra from Bahrein.
FARSIYA.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

175 and destroyed a number of the cities of the Persian littoral. These expeditions provoked a war with the Bowid dynasty of Persia, whose army was able to occupy Oman and a great part of the southern coast of the Persian Gulf and drive the Karmats out. But the latter, though terribly weakened, succeeded, despite Persian efforts, in maintaining themselves at Hasa. When the Moslem traveler, Nasir Khosrow, visited the Gulf in 1050, Hasa and the island of Bahrein belonged to six Karmatian chiefs, who ruled it jointly with their six advisory ministers. The capital of Bahrein was even then an important city. Date plantations flourished and pearls were fished, half of the pearls found going to the chiefs.

Serious trouble resulting in the fall of the Karmats began on the island of Bahrein shortly after the visit of Nasir Khosrow. The Bahreinis refused to pay additional taxes demanded by the Karmats, and revolted. Their leader, Abul Bahlul, defeated the Karmat forces and declared himself Emir of the country. He did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory, however, for in 1076 the island became a tributary of Yahya, a chief of Qatif on the mainland of Arabia.

It was at this time that the expeditions of the Seljoucids took place, resulting in the complete annihilation of the Karmats. The disappearance of Karmat power left the chiefs of the little tribe of the Uyunis[1] as masters of Hasa. Abdallah, the founder of this dynasty, conquered Bahrein in 1081 and his heirs assumed the powers of the family of Yahya.

These new conquerors, like their forerunners, did not long remain in power, for they were forced to recognize the sovereignty of the rulers of Kish, who policed the Gulf in the name of the Caliph.

The little island of Kish (or Qais) had belonged since the twelfth century to a local dynasty of merchant origin, the Beni Kaisar, who had extended their influence over the coast of the Persian Gulf, and whose fleet controlled the trade with

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1. The Uyunis took their name from the district of Uyun, in the north of Hasa. *Uyun*, which means "the springs," is so called because of the large number of springs (nearly four hundred) that water its date plantations and fields.

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1: Belgrave, James H. D. Welcome To Bahrain. Stourbridge, England: Published privately, 1953.

Pp. 154; 3 maps; 30 illustrations.

Omitted from the file; Pp. 1-17 and 133 - 154 (advertisements).

Private copy.

/This book is intended to be a guide for tourists and travellers in Bahrain. In it the author, who was born and brought up in the country, describes the economic and political structure of Bahrain and gives a brief history of the islands. The local customs of the people are described and a survey of the towns and villages is made. A chapter is devoted to information likely to be of interest to the visiting Westerner: clubs, sports, the cinema, travel regulations, currency, clinics, etc. The book, in its entirety, is something more than a mere guide book. -- Analyst/

Field date: none
Analyst: Elizabeth Young

Evaluation: Foreign Resident-3
Processed in 1955

111 MZ2 Bahrain

2: Belgrave. The Portuguese in the Bahrain Islands, 1521-1602. The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, Vol. XX, pp. 617-630. London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1935.

Yale: Bj23-17-22

[The author describes the conquest of the rich pearl-fishing islands of Bahrain by the Portuguese in 1521, the struggles between the Portuguese, Turks and Persians for supremacy in the islands and the various rebellions against this foreign domination by the native peoples. Belgrave also relates a story from one of the local Shi'a histories of Bahrain about its occupation by the Portuguese--Analyst.]

Field date: none
Analyst: Olivia Maldonado

Evaluation: Government Official-4
Processed in 1955

111 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

3: Bahrain, Government of. Census, 1950. Bahrain: Government of Bahrain, 1950.

PP. 16; 9 tables

Private Copy.

[Introduced with a colorful account of how the census was taken in 1941 and again in 1950, the Government of Bahrain publishes the result of the 1950 census. This census is broken down for locality, sex, nationality, occupation, religious affiliation, literacy and the number of dwelling houses. Both the actual number and the percentage are given. Due to the lack of birth registration, the ages of the population could not be ascertained. -- Analyst.]

Field date: 1950
Analyst: Elizabeth Young

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1955

MZ2 Bahrain

4: Bahrain, Government of. Annual Report for Year 1372 ( October 1952-September 1953)

Pp. 76; 8 plates; 3 charts; index.

Library of Congress Reading Room.

[This annual report of the Government of Bahrain consists of statements by the persons in charge of the various government departments as to the progress and services of said departments in the 1952-1953 fiscal year. Detailed accounts are presented, among which are those concerning medical services provided, efforts in the realm of public health to promote hygienic practices and prevent disease, the academic and health procedures of the school program at all levels (including vocational and professional training which was slight), efforts of the police and judiciary to maintain public security, the electrification program, and imports and exports. Government income and expenditures are noted in each instance, with much of the data in this report appearing in the text as unnumbered tables. For complete listing of the departments covered, see Index, p. 2, category 116.]

Field date: none
Analyst: Robert J. Smith

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1955.

5: Government of Bahrain. Administrative Report for the Years 1926-37. Pp. 56; 1 chart: 30 plates.

Library of Congress: J. 693. B3R17. Near East Section.

[This source is a condensed report on the administration of Bahrain during the years 1926-1937. The Report is based upon the annual reports on financial and government departments. It deals mainly with the activities of the Bahrain government and contains pertinent information and statistics on the following topics: public finance, police customs, the judiciary, property system and regulations, agriculture, public works municipalities, the pearl diving industry and social and political development. --Analyst]

Field date: 1926-1937
Analyst: Majed Elass

Evaluation: Government Official - 5
Processed in 1955

6: Faroughy, Abbas. The Bahrein Islands (750-1951). New York: Verry, Fisher & Co., Inc., 1951.

Pp. 128: 1 map, 3 plates

Yale: AOS. Vn. F23

[The author, a professor of Persian and Islamic history, refers to this volume as a contribution to the study of power politics in the Persian Gulf. In relatively few pages Faroughy succeeds in producing a clear and concise presentation of the fact about the Bahrain Islands and their strategic importance. In the first section the author gives a general description including physical aspects of the Islands, pearl fishing, the discovery of oil etc. The second part of the book is concerned with history from ancient times to the present. The author relates the events which occur when the major European powers and Persia converge in the Persian Gulf area in modern times and which indicate the enduring strategic value of the Bahrain Islands. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Claire Nader

Evaluation: Historian-5
Processed in 1955

111 MZ2 Bahrain

7: Khadduri, Majid. Iran's Claim to the Sovereignty of Bahrayn. The American Journal of International Law. Vol. 45, No. 4, Pp. 631-647. New York: The American Society of International Law, 1951.

Middle East Institute Library

/This article, written by a political scientist, discusses Iran' claim to the sovereignty of Bahrain. The merits of the claim are discussed from both the historical and the juridical aspects. The article also contains information on the political history of Bahrain and a discussion of its international status in the present. --Analyst/

Field date: none
Analyst: Majed Elass

Evaluation: Social Scientist--4
Processed in 1955

8: Qubain, Fahim I. Social Classes and Tensions in Bahrain. The Middle East Journal, Vol. 9, pp. 269-280. Washington, D.C.: The Middle East Institute, 1955.

Yale: Bj59a. M58. v9.

This article discusses the social status of the peoples of Bahrain and the religious, political, and economic bases of tensions among them. The peoples considered are the Shi'is, Sunnis, Jews, Persians, Indians, and the foreign Arab groups. Four tables are included in the text from Government of Bahrain census material, three on the population by nationalitites, towns and villages, and religion, and one on foreign teachers in Bahrain. Also included is a map of the shaykhdom indicating roads, pipe-lines, oil wells, the refinery, date palms, and the rim rock area. The author, Research Associate in charge of the Middle East section of the Human Relations Area Files in New Haven, gathered material for this article while doing field work in the Persian Gulf area on a fellowship grant from the Social Science Research Council --Analyst/

Field date: 1952-1953
Analyst: Beverly Meeker

Evaluation: Social Scientist-5
Processed in 1955.

the first reference to the pearls of Bahrain. Tylos, the classical name for Bahrain, was stated by Pliny to be "famous for the vast number of its pearls." In more recent years the merchant Suliman, an Arab traveller of the 9th century, mentions the pearl fisheries of Bahrain, while in the 10th century we have the first description of the actual methods of diving left by a certain Abu Zaid Hassan. From an examination of his description it can be seen how little the methods of diving have changed during the past 1000 years.

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Many later travellers and geographers have been interested by the pearl fisheries; the famous geographer Idrisi, after mentioning the political state of affairs describes the method of diving ; Bakri in 1273, Abu'l Fida in the early 14th century and Ibn Batuta all mention the pearl fisheries. In 1485 Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese explorer, says of Barem (Bahrain) "Around it grows much seed pearl, also large pearls of good quality. The merchants of the island itself fish for these pearls, and have therefrom great profits."

At the turn of the 16th century the Portuguese had firmly established themselves in India and were expanding into the Persian Gulf. In 1514 Don Albuquerque, Governor of India, visited Bahrain and noted with envy its pearl fisheries, which he said were superior to those elsewhere in the Gulf, and on his return to Hormuz, in the following year, he ordered from Bahrain many pearls which were required by the King of Portugal for the "pontifical of Our Lady." It is probable that the subsequent seizure of Bahrain by the Portuguse in 1522 was due to the wealth of the pearl traders, for the Portuguese were firm believers in monopolies and wanted to ensure their complete control over the pearl industry. This is confirmed by a Dutch traveller who said, in 1598, that "The King of Portugal hath also his factor in Bahrain, that stayeth there only for the fishing of pearls."

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In the 17th and 18th centuries the pearl fisheries became better known to Europeans, and also to Arabs, for it was the presence of the pearl fisheries of Bahrain that attracted the al-Khalifah from Kuwait, first to Zubara and then, after their victory over the Persians, to Bahrain. Although in the 19th century the British became politically supreme in the Persian Gulf, they did not interfere in the pearl industry, but on the contrary they helped to preserve the rule that only the inhabitants of those countries bordering on the Gulf could fish on the pearl banks. Recent laws passed in Bahrain and Saudi Arabia forbidding the use of diving suits have also been aimed at giving all an equal chance to fish without the richer merchants gaining an unfair advantage by the use of mechanical equipment.

The origin of the pearl has fascinated many peoples, but it is surely the Arabs who have the most colourful stories about its origin. Shaikh Nabhani in his *Tarikh al-Jazirat al-Arabiya* quotes the following as being a local tradition, although he rejects it as baseless. "In the spring the pearl shells rise to the surface of the sea and when it rains or when there is a heavy dew the oyster swallows one or more drops of water which then turn into pearls." Nabhani does, however, believe the

level of the ground. Every 10-20 yards along the length of the channels are airholes, round chimneys lined with stone and varying in diameter from 2 to 5 feet. The top of the shaft, which resembles a well head, is surrounded by a low wall. Page 116 shows the channel which has been uncovered and in which the construction of the airholes can clearly be seen. At the shaft of the water channel which runs west of the village of Shakhura there is a large subterranean room which serves the purpose of a bathing hall. It has a high arched roof with columns branching out from a central pillar. It is roofed over and has a hard gypsum floor covered with fine white sand. There is a continual stream of cold water through the chamber, which is still used by the inhabitants from the surrounding villages as a bathing place to which they go in the heat of the summer and sit in comfort in the shady coolness below. It is rumoured that there are more such chambers, but this is the only one that the author has personally visited.

The channels in most cases carry water from springs in the hills a few miles inland to the coastal gardens. Many of them are still used, although others have long since fallen into ruin, but very skilful work was involved in their building and the fact that water still flows in many of them is a conclusive proof of their scientific construction. So far, no inscriptions have been found within them, but there is no doubt that if they were examined with care some signs would be found of their exact origin.

In these four sections most of the antiquities of the Bahrain Islands have been described, for they are unfortunately rare and, with the exception of the Tumuli, the mosques, the forts and the Qanats there, is little of archaeological interest in Bahrain. There are possibilities of future discoveries, however, especially in Bilad al-Qadim which should, as the ancient capital, yield something of interest to any archaeologist who explores its ruins. The numerous Arabic inscriptions would also be worth further study and their translation should add something to the history of Bahrain by giving the names of the various rulers who, at one time or another, built mosques or other buildings and had their good deed inscribed on stone.

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[3] Cornwall, Peter B., *The Tumuli of Bahrein.* Asia and the Americas, April 1943.

[4] Durand, Captain, *The Supulchral Tumuli of Bahrein.* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1880.

[5] Diez, Von Ernst, *Eine Schiitische Moschee-ruine auf der Insel Bahrein,* Year Book of Asiatic Art, Leipzig 1925.


In addition to these works a number of books appear in the general bibliography at the end of this guide which may be consulted for further information about Bahrain's antiquities.

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teenth century.[22] The Portuguese rule, which lasted about a century, came to an end as a result of their waning power in the Persian Gulf, when Portugal was annexed by Spain, and diverted the Portuguese forces from the East to be used in Europe. These favoring circumstances permitted the Persians to revive their interests in the Persian Gulf.

But Persian intervention in the affairs of Bahrayn, we are told by Arab historians, was prompted by internal conflict between the two rival Islamic sects.[23] For long the tribal chiefs of the two main Sunni and Shi'i sects of Bahrayn—a sectarian quarrel which wrought havoc in the Islamic countries—sought outside help against each other. Just as the Ottoman Empire had become the center of Sunni power, so Persia was looked upon by the Shi'i world as the defender of Shi'i rights.[24] During the reign of Shah Abbas (1587–1629), a great protagonist of the Shi'i cause, power in Bahrayn was then in the hands of a Sunni chief. The Shi'is appealed to Persia, and the Shah, assisted by the British, who were then pursuing the Portuguese, expelled the remaining Portuguese forces from Bahrayn and Hormuz in 1622.

From 1622 the Bahrayn Islands remained predominantly under Persian domination until 1783; but even during this period Persian rule was not an uninterrupted one, for the islands became the target of attack by neighboring rulers. In 1717 and 1720 the Arab chiefs of Muscat twice attacked the islands and wrested them from Persia; and it was not until 1737 that the islands were restored to Persian rule under the able command of Nadir Shah. Persian rule, however, remained unstable, for Nadir Shah's immediate successors became involved in a contest of supremacy over the islands with the chiefs of the Utubi tribes, who were then ruling the coast of Arabia across the bay from Bahrayn. The Utubis came originally from Najd and settled in Kuwayt, but later, with the help of the chiefs of al-Sabah tribe, rulers of Kuwayt, moved to al-Hasa and established themselves at Zubara, a town situated in the peninsula of Qatar opposite to the Bahrayn Islands.

In 1783 Shaykh Ahmad al-Khalifa, then chief of the Utubi tribes and ruler of Zubara, attacked Bahrayn and annexed it to his territory; but when Zubara was overrun by the Wahhabi forces a few years later, the Khalifa chiefs moved their seat of government to Bahrayn, abandoning their Arabian dominion.

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While Bahrayn was freed from Persian rule, it never ceased to be the bone of contention among neighboring rulers, such as the Sultans of Muscat

[22] Oestrup gives the date 1507 as the beginning of Portuguese rule (The Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol. I, p. 585) which seems to be the source of the date given in the Iranian note of Aug. 2, 1928 (League of Nations Official Journal, September, 1928, p. 1. 1).

[23] Al-Nabhani, *Tarikh al-Bahrayn* (Cairo, 1924); Amin Rihani, *Muluk al-Arab* (Beirut, 1929, 2nd ed.), Vol. II, Chs. 5–6.

[24] For a discussion of this schism in the Islamic society of the sixteenth century, see A. J. Toynbee, A Study of History (London, 1934), Vol. I, pp. 346–402.

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Islam) and its ruler must owe allegiance to the Caliph, the supreme politico-religious head of the Muslims.[36] The Caliph, who derives his authority from the sacred law, is charged with the functions of maintaining the integrity of *Dar al-Islam* and the propagation and defense of the religion.[37] It follows, accordingly, that so long as there was a Caliph in evidence, all the Muslims owed allegiance to him and acknowledged his ultimate authority. The Bahrayn Islands, until the time of the abolition of the Caliphate, must be regarded as part of the Caliph's dominions. Even the Persian occupation might be regarded as a continuation of Islamic sovereignty, for the Persian Shah, whether he acknowledged the Caliph's overlordship or ruled as a rival Caliph, claimed to fulfill the same functions enjoined by the sacred law over both his country and Bahrayn.

Long before the opening of the nineteenth century, when Great Britain made her appearance in the Persian Gulf, the authority of the Caliph had declined and certain portions of his dominions had passed under foreign rule. The occupation of Muslim territories by non-Muslim Powers was never recognized by the Caliph and was regarded as an anomaly under Muslim law. It was tolerated only so long as Muslim power was not strong enough to restore those territories to the rule of the sacred law.[38]

The European Powers, on their part, when they came into contact with the Islamic world, were confronted with a civilization so different from their own that they found it more expedient to forget about their own system of international law in conducting their relations with Muslims and other Eastern people. It might have been possible to adjust the European system of international law to these lands by adopting certain rules and practices from Eastern laws. But in fact the distintegration of these Eastern societies had already gone too far to enable them to deal on a par with the European Powers.[39] In the circumstances, neither would Islam recognize Christian rule in its dominion, nor were the European Powers prepared at first to regard Eastern lands as falling under the pale of European international law. Thus the European jurists began to justify certain actions

[36] For a discussion on what constitutes an Islamic territory, see Abdur Rahim, The Principles of Muhammadan Jurisprudence (Madras, 1907), pp. 395–396; Majid Khadduri, The Law of War and Peace in Islam (London, 1941), pp. 19–20.

[37] See Sir Thomas Arnold, The Caliphate (Oxford, 1924), pp. 70–76; A. Sanhoury, *Le Califat* (Paris, 1926), pp. 3 ff.

[38] Even when the Ottoman Sultans ceded such territories as the Crimea (1774), Cyprus (1878), Egypt (1882), and Tripoli (1912), the "spiritual" authority of the Caliph was recognized by the Powers to continue over the Muslims who remained under foreign rule. See Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 163–183. This practice of the separation of the "spiritual" from the "secular" powers of the Caliph, which is not feasible in Muslim legal theory, was resorted to by the Ottoman Sultan in order to maintain sovereignty over lost Islamic territories. See C. A. Nallino, Notes on the Nature of the Caliphate in General and on the Alleged Ottoman Caliphate (Roma, 1919).

[39] See Majid Khadduri, "Islam and International Law," in Islamic Literature (January, 1951), Vol. III, pp. 19–21.

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Some twenty years ago a Danish scientific expedition paid two visits to the Persian Gulf to report on the fish found in it. They discovered that there were over 400 species.

## AGRICULTURE

Parts of Bahrain have always been fertile and very probably in ancient times more land was under cultivation than is being used today. The gardens of Bahrain are mentioned by many ancient visitors to the islands. The captains of Alexander's ships described Tylos, the ancient name of Bahrain, as "well-wooded and productive" while Idrisi, writing in the 12th century, says that the "capital of Awal (Bahrain Island) is Bahrain; this is a town well populated whose environs are fertile and produce corn and dates in abundance." It could be that the capital of Bahrain mentioned by Idrisi was Bilad al-Qadim, the description would seem to imply this.

Formerly the Bahrain gardens were irrigated from natural springs and surface wells, the water either flowing from the springs into the gardens or being lifted from wells to the level of the land by various forms of water scoops. The most commonly used is the Shaduf. A man stands near the edge of the well and draws up the water in a sheep skin bag attached by ropes to a counter-balanced pole. In larger wells donkeys or oxen are used, walking endlessly up and down a ramp pulling the water to the surface from where it runs down into irrigation channels. As the rainfall in Bahrain is almost negligible all agriculture depends upon irrigation.

In the 20's and 30's Major Frank Holmes drilled many artesian wells in Bahrain which completely changed Bahrain's system of irrigation. By introducing these wells into the island Major Holmes did much to increase the area of land which could be cultivated, but artesian wells turned out to be a mixed blessing, for in the following years so many wells were drilled that the water head went down and some of the gardens in the south of Bahrain dried up. Today this problem is being met by a government Water Committee which decides whether and under what conditions new wells may be drilled, it tries to ensure that the water resources of the islands are maintained at their present level or even increased by the utilisation of the many large springs of fresh water which lie under the sea around the shores of Bahrain.

The two commonest crops in Bahrain are dates and lucerne (alfalfa). the latter is often grown in the shade of the date palms where its vivid greenness provides a contrast to the brown and grey-green of the date palms. There is little good fruit in Bahrain although a certain number of fruit trees are cultivated, these include citrus, tamarind, pomegranate, fig, guava, terminalia (indian almond) mango, bananas, grapes and kanard (a small apple-like fruit). European vegetables are grown in the cold weather and other ground crops include sweet potatoes, melons, tomatoes, ladies fingers, egg plants, onions, garlic and pumpkins.

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base and less affected by climate and disease, and they had not been long enough in the Gulf to acquire the reputation for rapacity and cruelty which characterized the Portuguese.

In 1553 the Sultan appointed Sidi Ali Chalabi as Admiral of the Turkish fleet, with orders to recover the Turkish ships which had been abandoned in Basra after the piratical exploits of Piri Beg. Sidi Ali was a distinguished Turk, a poet, a writer on navigation, and a brave fighter. He wrote a book about his travels and adventures, in which he described his experiences in the Iranian Gulf. He travelled from Aleppo to Basra by land, a journey which took several months, and he took over charge of the ships at Basra from Murad Beg, formerly the Governor of Katif. After repairing and equipping the Turkish galleys, Sidi Ali set sail from Basra and cruised down the Gulf, visiting various ports, including Bushire, Katif and Bahrain. At the last place he stayed a little time. The islands were governed on behalf of the Portuguese by a local ruler, Rais Murad, who received Sidi Ali with friendliness and showed him, among other things, the strange springs of fresh water coming up from the bed of the sea. When Sidi Ali made enquiries about the Portuguese he received evasive answers.

On leaving Bahrain he met a strong Portuguese fleet in the neighbourhood of Muscat; there were twelve large ships of war and twenty-two smaller ones. Their mizzen sails were set and their gilded beak-heads, towering forecastles, and masts gay with bunting obscured the horizon. Undaunted by their superior numbers, the gallant Turkish Admiral attacked the enemy. The ships bombarded each other with cannon; then they came closer, and the fighting men hurled down javelins and arrows from the high turrets while the sweating slaves tugged at the oars. Finally, they grappled and fell upon each other, fighting fiercely with swords and spears. Five Turkish galleys were destroyed, and there was great loss on both sides; many of the refugees landed on the shore, where they were hospitably treated by the natives, but eventually the remainder of the Turkish fleet made its way down the Gulf.

Shortly afterwards the Turks made a determined effort to capture Bahrain. In 1559 a powerful force of 1,200 Turks and Janissaries, in two galleys and seventy barques, was sent against the islands. Rais Murad was still the Governor, and the Portuguese sent a fleet from Hormuz to his assistance. On the way it met some Turkish ships and drove them on to the shore. The Turks had landed and besieged the fortress, and when the Portuguese arrived they had a council of war and decided to

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659 133 **Aerial Survey.** One of the most important items in general use is a map, and throughout history it has been found that the mapping of new areas has been among the first of man's activities.

1-14 The first reliable maps of Bahrain was produced in 1905, following a survey of the island which was carried out under the direction of Lieut. Colonel F. B. Longe, R.E., Surveyor-General of India. This map, copies of which can still be obtained in the Land Department, is a very good map and shows towns, villages, tracks, mounds and contours, but as it was produced many years ago, since when there have been many changes in the towns and villages and in the area under cultivation, it was thought desirable to carry out a new survey. Messrs. Hunting Aerosurveys Ltd., were commissioned to make an aerial survey of Muharraq Island, Manama town and the area south of Manama as far as the coast. This work was carried out in December 1951. In May 1952 the survey was extended by arrangement with the Bahrain Petroleum Company to cover the whole of Bahrain Island and the neighbouring islands.

During the first survey both vertical and oblique photographs were taken and by the end of 1952 a considerable amount of interesting material had arrived in Bahrain. It consisted of 51 oblique photographs produced in two sizes, 10-in. × 12-in. and 5-in. × 5 in. The series of vertical photographs covered the whole of the area which had been included in the survey.

From the vertical photographs maps were produced, one covering the whole of Muharraq Island, Muharraq town in seven sections at a scale of 200 feet to an inch, the area south east of Manama as far as Jufair, also in seven sections, on a scale of 200 feet to an inch and the town of Manama in thirteen sections, one for each district, a scale of 100 feet to an inch. In addition, mosaics of Manama and Muharraq were produced. All these photographs and mosaics are on sale to the public and can be obtained from the Land Department.

Following the first survey, the Bahrain Petroleum Company made available to the Government all the material which they had obtained from the aerial survey which had been carried out on their behalf and they also provided valuable information from their land surveys which included an initial survey of the town of Manama which was done some months before the aerial work. Last year all the available information was collected and a map was hand-drawn on the basis of this information. Hunting Aerosurveys was instructed to produce a map of Bahrain, in four colours, on the scale of 1 inch to the mile. The map is now in the hands of the printers. It will cover the whole of Bahrain and Muharraq islands as well as the nearby smaller islands, but not the Hawar group. It will contain inserts showing the town areas of Manama, Muharraq and Awali. This map will be on sale in London and New York, as well as in Bahrain, on plain paper or mounted on linen or folded on linen. To produce this map information has been obtained from the Survey of India Office, the Royal Geographical Society and the Bahrain Petroleum Company and from the War Office map of 1939 and with the information now available it will be a reasonable task to revise the map, in future, should it require again bringing up to date after some years have passed.

---

## SUNNI WAQF DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Shaikh Atiyyatallah bin Abdurrehman AlKhalifah, Superintendent of the Department)

647 871 795 The Department is controlled by a committee of Sunni merchants and by a Superintendent and clerical staff, the latter are paid by the Government. All Waqf property is administered by the Departme[illegible] pays out of the revenue collected from the property the salaries and emoluments of m[illegible]fficials, it also contributes towards the cost of the religious school in Manama and towards the expenses of some young men who are studying religion abroad.

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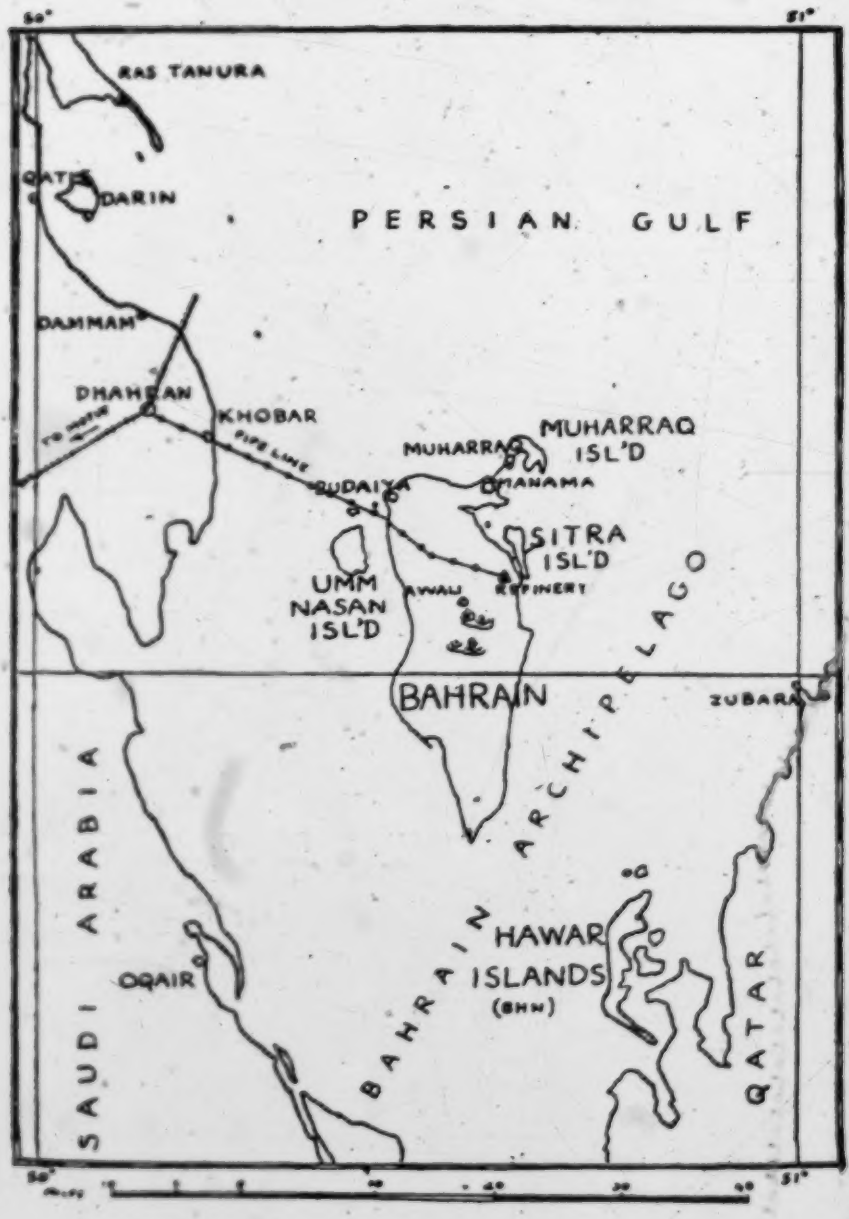


BAHRAIN AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

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H.H. SHAIKH SULMAN BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E.,
Ruler of Bahrain.

Photo:
National Art Studio

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p. 20

ديوان حاكم جزائر البحرين وتوابعها

000

لم يحدث أن قد كتب للبحرين
دليل حتى يومنا هذا ولذا فنحن جد
مغتبطون بأن حمد بلكريف المولود في
البحرين و المترعرع فيها قد انتهز
الفرصة المواتية لكتابة مثل هذا الدليل
لكي يطلع عليه كل من يزور البحرين
و ليواجه الحقائق الصادقة لشتى شؤنها
و يتمتع بالأقامة بين ربوعها •

و اننا لنتمنى مخلصين لهذا الدليل
النجاح التام في هدفه الا و هو تعريف
البحرين لزائريها الاجانب•

سلمان بن حمد الخليفه

حاكم البحرين

*No Guide Book to Bahrain has yet been produced, and we are therefore glad that Hamed Belgrave, who was born and brought up in our country, has taken the opportunity to write this guide to Bahrain so that visitors to it may learn the truth about it and may enjoy their stay here.*

*We wish this book every success in its aim of presenting Bahrain to foreign visitors.*

*SULMAN BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH,*
*Ruler of Bahrain.*

1, Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2
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# WELCOME TO BAHRAIN

A COMPLETE ILLUSTRATED GUIDE
FOR TOURISTS AND TRAVELLERS

by

JAMES H. D. BELGRAVE

1953

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*The design reproduced on the front cover is by Sir Charles Belgrave*

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# Part I.—GENERAL INFORMATION.

## CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

BAHRAIN is an independent Arab State ruled by His Highness Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed al-Khalifah, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E. The state consists of an archipelago of small low-lying islands situated about half-way down the Persian Gulf, some 20 miles from the Arab coast and slightly less distant from the Qatar Peninsular. In the past Bahrain owed its importance to its position as the centre of the pearl industry of the Persian Gulf; today it is better known for its oil field and refinery.

"Bahrain" or more correctly "al-Bahrain" means "The Two Seas" and this name, which was formerly applied to the whole coast of Eastern Arabia from Kuwait to Qatar, has long puzzled Arab philologists. Many derivations of the name have been suggested. One is that the two seas are the Persian Gulf and the pool of sweet water below the sands which irrigates the gardens of Qatif and Bahrain. Another, suggested by the writer al-Ashari, is that there was once a great salt lake near Hasa, which was the second of the two seas. A third suggestion is that the name "Bahrain" has some connection with the submarine springs (Ar. singular 'Ain) of fresh water that are found in many places along the coast of Arabia. However a serious objection to this theory is that 'Ain starts with an Arabic letter which is not present in the spelling of "Bahrain." There are other places called Bahrain in Egypt, North Africa and in Persia.

There are five principal islands in the group, whose total area is approximately 231 square miles; the largest is Bahrain itself, which is about 30 miles long and from 8 to 10 miles wide. A causeway 1½ miles in length, carrying a motor road, links Manama, capital of the State, which is on the north-east tip of Bahrain island, with the neighbouring town and island of Muharraq. Half-way down the east coast of Bahrain a bridge connects Bahrain with Sitra island. Among the other islands of the group are Nebih Salih, north of Sitra, whose prolific fresh water springs irrigate the date groves which cover the island and which are said to be the best in Bahrain; Jidda, a small rocky islet off the west coast of Bahrain, now used as a penal settlement; and Umm an-Nasaan, a large low-lying island to the south-west of Jidda, which H.H. The Ruler has developed as a breeding place for gazelle and black buck.

Some miles south of Bahrain and very near the coast of Qatar are the 16 islands of the Howar group, the largest of which is 11 miles in

131 length and a mile wide. "Howar" means "Young Camel" and the island was so called because it is similar in shape though smaller than Bahrain, and so was described as its offspring.

There are many other little islands in the Bahrain archipelago; some contain small villages or fishermen's huts while others are deserted except during the occasional visits of migratory birds or pearl divers who come to the islands during the diving season to draw water from the freshwater springs.

311 Along the northern coast of Bahrain there is a narrow strip of land
137 some three miles wide which is under cultivation. The fertile gardens containing date and loz (Indian almond or Terminalia) pomegranate, banana and fig trees are irrigated from many natural springs and artesian wells. But in the waterless areas south of the cultivation, in the centre of the island, only sparse and hardy desert flora exists. Although this desert may seem bare to the eyes of a visitor accustomed to the lush greenness of Europe or the States, it is in fact covered with a great variety of desert plants which were found, in a recent survey, to include some 200 species.

133 Beyond the cultivated area the land is barren and the landscape consists of low rolling hills with numerous rocky cliffs and dry wadis. Most of the Islands of Bahrain are surfaced with hard limestone rock, covered in many places with sand dunes, and, in the case of the main island, with pre-historic tumuli. From the shore line the topography rises gradually towards the centre where it again drops off into a basin surrounded by steep cliffs. Towards the centre of the basin there is a very pronounced rocky promontory known as "Jebal ad-Dukhan," the "Mountain of Smoke," a name given to it because of the vague and hazy appearance it often presents, particularly during the hot summer months. The Jebal is only 450 feet above sea level and 250 feet above the surrounding plain but often, when mist surrounds its base, it gives the impression of being a considerable mountain.

Although Bahrain is a small country yet it displays a very varied
226 landscape and many surprising contrasts between old and new. It
228 is primarily a sea faring state. The brilliant blue and green waters, studded with white sails, which surround the islands provide the people of Bahrain with fish, which they catch from boats and in traps, fresh water, from the submarine springs, coral stone for building and pearls which made Bahrain such an important trading centre in the past.
361 The coastal towns have an attractive appearance. Manama's water front is lined with high white houses and beyond the town date gardens extend in an unbroken line down to the water's edge. Roads in the northern part of Bahrain pass through avenues of tall and stately date palms, bearing great bunches of golden, red and yellow fruit during
138 the summer months. The south of the island is a miniature desert and in the foothills around the Jebal there are many little wadis which after the rainy season are bright with desert flowers and shrubs. Even

In the hottest time of the year the evenings are comparatively cool in the desert country and just before sunset the hot glare fades from the rocky hills and valleys and is replaced by a warm pink glow which changes the whole appearance of the scene. The sea, the gardens and the desert and its pleasant winter climate all combine to make Bahrain an unusual and attractive place.

The climate of Bahrain and the Persian Gulf has been, wrongly, described as the worst in the world. In Bahrain the year can be divided into three periods each of four months. The best time of the year is from December to March, the cold season, when the wind blows from the north-west and the west. The months of April, May, October and November are pleasant, but from June to the end of September it is hot, extremely humid and the climate is very trying, but although Bahrain in the summer cannot be described as a pleasant place in which to live yet it is not unhealthy. June usually proves an exception to this rule owing to a cool north wind, the "Bara," so called because it is said to last for forty days (Ar. Forty—'Arbain'), which makes the month cooler than May.

The prevailing wind in Bahrain is the "Shamal," a damp wind from the north-west which during the winter has been known to reach a velocity of 50 m.p.h. The "Qaws" is another common wind, hot and dry, it blows from the south-west, bringing to Manama the sands from the south of the island.

Bahrain's rainfall is small, as can be seen from the following table, and averages just under 3" a year.

TEMPERATURE, RAINFALL AND HUMIDITY

| *Month* | *Mean Temperature (half max. min.)* | *Relative Humidity %* | *Mean Rainfall (in inches)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| JANUARY | 61° | 80 | 0.39 |
| FEBRUARY | 62° | 80 | .67 |
| MARCH | 68° | 77 | .51 |
| APRIL | 76° | 72 | .24 |
| MAY | 84° | 65 | .08 |
| JUNE | 88° | 63 | 0. |
| JULY | 91° | 65 | 0. |
| AUGUST | 92° | 71 | 0. |
| SEPTEMBER | 88° | 73 | 0. |
| OCTOBER | 82° | 76 | 0. |
| NOVEMBER | 74° | 78 | .24 |
| DECEMBER | 65° | 81 | .83 |
| MEANS | 78° | 73% | (Total) 2.96 in. p.a. |

*This table is based on twelve years observations.*

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WINDS

| Month | Wind Mean Velocity M.P.H. | Percentage of observations from directions in a year. N. | N.E. | E. | S.E. | S. | S.W. | W. | N.W. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| JANUARY | 5 | 13 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 4 | 24 | 34 |
| FEBRUARY | 5 | 19 | 5 | 4 | 10 | 7 | 3 | 16 | 32 |
| MARCH | 5 | 19 | 10 | 8 | 10 | 8 | 8 | 13 | 23 |
| APRIL | 5 | 17 | 8 | 9 | 7 | 9 | 9 | 16 | 25 |
| MAY | 5 | 20 | 10 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 20 | 34 |
| JUNE | 5 | 21 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 22 | 47 |
| JULY | 4 | 16 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 7 | 23 | 43 |
| AUGUST | 3 | 16 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 6 | 7 | 18 | 29 |
| SEPTEMBER | 3 | 22 | 3 | 10 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 17 | 28 |
| OCTOBER | 3 | 17 | 11 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 19 | 33 |
| NOVEMBER | 4 | 15 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 5 | 22 | 29 |
| DECEMBER | 5 | 13 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 3 | 25 | 37 |
| MEANS | 4.2 | 17 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 20 | 33 |

*This table is based on nine years observations.*

136 There is little wild life in Bahrain. Mongooses and jerboa (Kangaroo rats) are common in the cultivated area and in the desert respectively in the south of the island and on Umm an-Nasaan there are gazelle and h[illegible] During certain seasons of the year migratory birds make the[illegible]arance, including the Hubara, the lesser bustard, which is hunt[illegible]th falcons by the Ruling Family. Other game birds, duck, snipe and sand grouse are sometimes seen in Bahrain. There are, however, many small local birds including bulbuls, hoopoes and a covey of parrots which at various times escaped from their owners and have now become indigenous.

There are many sea birds in Bahrain. The commonest are tern and cormorant, which nest in thousands on small uninhabited islands filling the air for miles around with the noise of their comings and goings and their quarrels over nesting grounds. Herons and flamingoes are frequently seen as well as other smaller species of shore and sea birds.

This is Bahrain, and it is hoped that the information in the following chapters will add to the interest of the reader who is living in Bahrain, or passing through, by telling him something about the country.

## CHAPTER II

## THE PEOPLE

162 BAHRAIN is often described as a land of contrasts, and this is especially true of its inhabitants, for in this small group of islands, no larger than a pencil point on a map of the world, there are some 109,650 people (1950 census) drawn from over thirty nations of the world. In the same census it was found that 6,000 Bahrainis were working abroad

in neighbouring countries. Figures often make dry reading, but the following may be of some interest as they demonstrate the mixture of races present in the islands. 162

| Nationalities. | |
|---|---|
| Bahrainis | 91,179 |
| Persians | 6,934 |
| Indians, Pakistanis and Goanese | 3,043 |
| Saudi Arabs | 2,526 |
| Omanis and Muscatis | 2,466 |
| Europeans and Americans | 2,208 |
| Other foreigners | 1,264 |
| | 109,650 |

| Distribution. | |
|---|---|
| Manama | 39,648 |
| Muharraq and Hedd. | 25,577 |
| Other towns and villages | 40,579 |
| Awali and ships in port | 3,846 |

*Sexes* : Males, 58,601. Females, 51,049.

The excess of men over women is due to the number of foreigners working in Bahrain who do not have families with them.

At the current rate of increase it was *estimated* that the population of Bahrain in 1952 was about 115,000 persons, and of Manama, 45,000 persons. [161]

Many races have gone into the making of the Bahrain people ; there are the Baharna, the original inhabitants of the islands, who are said to be descended from Arabs taken by Nebuchadnezzar into Iraq, who later fled from that country and settled in Bahrain. They are Shiite Arabs and live mostly in the villages and in certain quarters of Manama. Formerly the Baharna were second class citizens and were content to farm and work for their masters, but today they take an active part in all walks of life in Bahrain. Then there are the Sunni Arabs, most of whom came to Bahrain in the 18th century and during subsequent years ; the Ruling Family of Bahrain, the al-Khalifah, are in this group. There are also a number of negroes, mainly of the Sunni sect, who are descended from freed slaves or who were slaves themselves and escaped from other parts of the Gulf to Bahrain where they were manumitted. Persians have also settled in the islands, having left the trials and tribulations of their own country to seek their fortune in Bahrain. 563

It might here be as well to digress slightly from this description of the people of Bahrain to explain the meaning of "Shiite" and "Sunni," terms which so often appear in descriptions of Bahrain and its history. These names refer to the two main sects of Islam between whom the people of Bahrain are about equally divided. 795

The dispute that was to split the Moslems into two rival camps started soon after the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632 A.D. and concerned the future leadership of the young Moslem community which was so rapidly expanding and sweeping over territories which are known today as Iraq, Palestine, Syria, Egypt and Persia. The Prophet was succeeded by two of his Companions, who had stood at his side from the early days of his ministry, Abu Bakr (A.D. 632-34) and Omar (A.D. 634-44), and on the death of the latter a third Compan-

795 ion, Othman, became Caliph. During his period of office Othman allowed nepotism to affect his appointment of office holders and some rebellious officers from Egypt, disliking his governor of that province, appeared in Medina and in the fracas that followed Othman was murdered. On his death Muawiya, Governor of Damascus, who had strengthened his position in Syria by a far-sighted policy towards the inhabitants, announced himself as avenger of his kinsman Othman and made fiery speeches in the Damascus Mosque. Ali, the Prophet's first cousin and son-in-law, for he had married Muhammad's daughter Fatima, was, however, recognised by many as the rightful Caliph. Ali established himself in Iraq, where most of his supporters lived, and for a number of months skirmished verbally and physically with Muawiya. Finally the two great Arab leaders came to blows at the battle of Siffin in 657. At first the fight went in favour of Ali, but the wily Muawiya, seeing this, suggested that the matter should be decided not by war but by the Quran. Ali was unable to refuse this appeal to a higher authority and arbitration followed, the proceedings of which are not fully known, but which resulted in both candidates being disqualified from the Caliphate. This was a success for Muawiya, who so far had not laid claim to this position and so lost nothing, while Ali had been declared Caliph by his supporters and was forced to ignore the decision. Both leaders retired to their respective provinces and in 661 Ali was murdered by a fanatic of the Kharajite sect. The members of this sect had been Ali's followers but had broken with him on account of the arbitration, which they considered illegal, saying that the sword should have decided the dispute. On Ali's death Muawiya over-ran Iraq and Persia and came to terms with Ali's elder son, Hassan, to whom he granted a pension. When Muawiya died he was succeeded by his son Yazid, and in 680 Ali's younger son, Hussein, together with his family and a small band of followers, left Medina for Kufa in Iraq, where he had been promised support. The treacherous Kufans broke their word, and on the plain of Kerbela the small band of men, women and children were killed or taken prisoners. It is in mourning for this event that the Shiites of Bahrain still hold their Passion Play on the 9th and 10th of the Arabic month of Muharram. The death of Hussein under such tragic circumstances transformed what had been a political dispute into a religious issue, and the breach thus made between the Orthodox Sunnis and the Shiites has been widened down the ages by the activities of fanatics on both sides.

The Sunnis have been all-powerful under the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphs, the Seljuqs and the Ottoman Turks, while the Fatimids of Egypt and the Safavids of Persia have been of Shiite origin. Today the Shia are mostly found in Iraq, Persia and Pakistan, while the Sunni are in the majority in other parts of the Islamic world. In the islands of Bahrain the majority of the Shia are of the moderate Ithnashariya sect and the Sunnis are of the Malaki rite.

142 The typical Bahrain Arab is short and slight in build, but on the whole he is strong and healthy, the average height of a man is 5' 5".

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H.E. SHAIKH ISA BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH,
eldest son of the Ruler of Bahrain.

Photo :
National Art Studio.

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On a visit to an American Aircraft Carrier. Left to right: H.E. Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa al-Khalifah, C.I.E., H.E. Shaikh Muhammad bin Isa al-Khalifah, C.B.E.; H.H. The Ruler of Bahrain; Sir Charles Belgrave, K.B.E., Adviser to the Bahrain Government, and the Captain.

Photo: Official Photograph U.S. Navy

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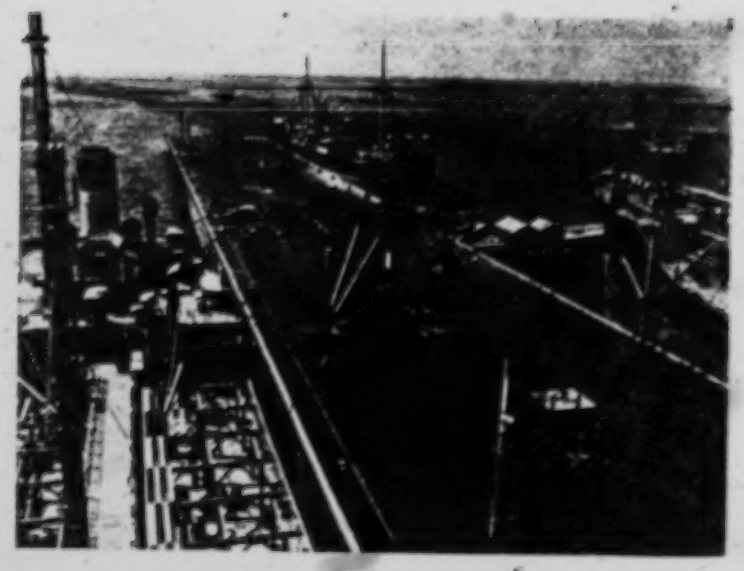

Sitra Wharf. Photo : Bahrain Petroleum Company.

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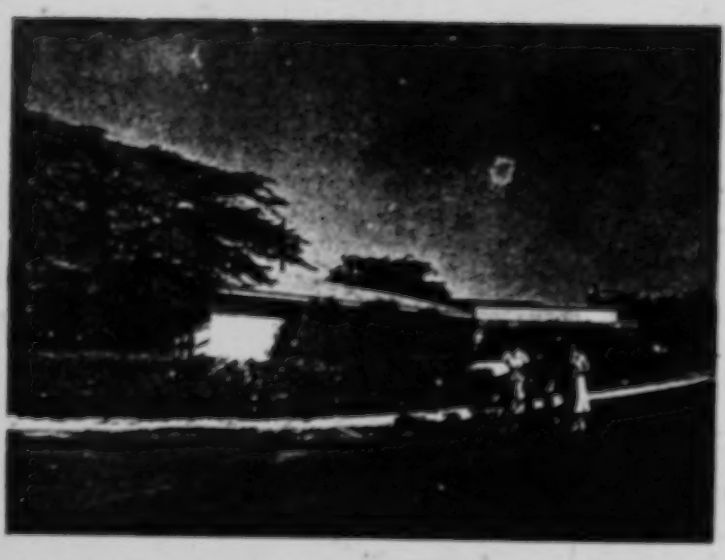

A scene in Awali. Photo : Bahrain Petroleum Company.

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A small diving boat.

Photo : Sir Charles Belgrave.

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A fully equipped diver. On the ground are the ropes and the weight, on his fingers are leather guards, a bag is round his neck and a clip on his nose.

Photo : Sir Charles Belgrave.

A diver's bag and the hauler.

Photo : Sir Charles Belgrave.

In complexion the people vary greatly, some, especially those who work in offices, are very fair, while the African element in the population has produced the opposite colouring. During the past ten years the fashion among the men of Bahrain for wearing partly European dress has developed rapidly, mainly due to the operations of the oil company, where long flowing robes are not only a nuisance but often dangerous. The older men, however, and the members of the Ruling Family still wear the traditional Arab dress which can be seen in its full glory in the picture of H.H. The Ruler. The basic garment is the "thobe," a long shirt fastened up to the neck, above it comes a cloak of brown, white or black wool, with gold braided edges, the "bisht" or "aba". On the head is a small skull cap, not usually visible, over which is a white or coloured headcloth "gutra' held in place by means of a black or white wool ring, called "agal." The last was originally a camel hobble which the bedouin in the desert used to wear on their heads when travelling, removing it when in camp, but today it has lost its original use and is just an article of attire. Members of the Ruling Family, all of whom use the title "Shaikh," wear gold head-rings on formal occasions, while H.H. The Ruler and the senior members of the family wear swords and daggers in gold scabbards.

The purdah system still exists in Bahrain, although it is gradually being modified, and women are veiled when they appear in public; the more old fashioned wearing black masks concealing the upper part of the face, the younger contenting themselves with veils of black net. Although many women in the towns wear European clothes, nylons and cosmetics, they never appear outside their houses without a voluminious black cloak which covers them from the tops of their heads to the ground. In the country the Baharna women wear a large square shawl, black, blue or sometimes brightly covered, which conceals the clothes they wear. Despite the impression which may have been given by this description of veiling still current in Bahrain, the women of the country are now living a much wider life than formerly. Many girls go to the schools where as well as doing lessons they play games and do gymnastics, and what they learn at school gives them more interests at home when they marry. Family parties are commoner and husbands will now allow themselves to be seen driving with their wives in cars, which some years ago was almost unknown. In many ways the life of the women of Bahrain is improving. However, a fact that visitors to Bahrain should remember is that attempts to take photographs of women are usually strongly resented though the ordinary Arab male is fairly immune to the photographic enthusiasm of visiting Europeans.

In Bahrain, unlike most other parts of the Arab World, the upper classes of Arab society have retained their traditional dress, while the working classes have adopted shirts and trousers. A result of this is that one should not be surprised if young men dressed in Arab clothes speak excellent English, know much about European history, French cooking and American enterprise, for they have probably been educated at the American University of Beirut or in Egypt or England. The

young business men and merchants are proud of their country and are inclined to be annoyed by visitors who confine their attention to the antiques and "quaint" sights of Bahrain, ignoring modern buildings and new enterprises. Graduates of Bahrain and foreign schools are go-ahead in their outlook and are determined to modernise Bahrain as much as possible; for this purpose they are willing to break with many of the traditions of the past, which are so often of interest to Europeans and Americans. Despite this, the young men of Bahrain appreciate meeting the foreigners who live in or visit their country.

## CHAPTER III

## THE STATE

BAHRAIN has been in treaty relations with the British Government since 1820. Its relations with the British Government and with other foreign governments are conducted through the British Political Agent in Bahrain. Bahrain is also the headquarters of the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, who lives at Jufair.

The Head of the State is His Highness Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed al-Khalifah, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., who was born in 1894, the eldest son of the late Ruler, Shaikh Hamed bin' Isa al-Khalifah, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. He succeeded his father in 1942 and has three sons: Their Excellencies Shaikh 'Isa, Khalifah and Muhammad, and seven brothers. Shaikh Sulman is the tenth Shaikh of the Khalifah family to rule in Bahrain since it was conquered by his ancestor Shaikh Ahmed bin Khalifah in 1782.

The form of government can be described as a benevolent autocracy; the Ruler governs his State through Arab and British officials, who are in charge of the various departments of State, and by means of councils and committees consisting of elected and nominated members representing the different communities. Shaikhs of the Ruling Family preside over many of the councils and hold posts in the administration.

The principal government departments are the Adviserate (The Secretariat), Customs, Education, Electricity, Finance, Judical, Lands, Police, Public Health, Public Works, Passports, Religious Endowments etc., etc. In the towns of Manama, Muharraq, Hedd and Rifaa there are municipalities; the first of these was established in Manama in 1920.

The revenue of the State is mainly derived from oil royalties, including payments on oil which is imported for refining, and from customs dues on imports. There is no income tax and no land tax but in the towns there is a small municipal tax on houses, shops and places of business. The revenue of the State for the year 1370 A.H. (October 1950—October 1951) was Rupees 25,155,700 (£1,866,000) and the estimated revenue for 1372 (September 1952—September 1953) is much greater owing to a revision of the oil payments by which the

Bahrain Government receives 50% of the profits of the oil industry. 652
The Eastern Bank, since it was established in 1919, has served as the State's Treasury and a Budget is published every year showing the revenue and expenditure of the State.

The Customs Directorate is in the centre of the Manama sea front 651
and there are subsidiary offices in Muharraq Town, at the Airport 439
and at Sitra. All goods of any kind which are imported or exported 504
must pass through the customs. The Customs Pier at Manama, which was originally built in 1917, has frequently been lengthened and enlarged and now extends for a quarter of a mile out to sea. Owing to shallow water, vessels in the Manama harbour have to anchor some three miles from the shore and passengers and cargo are conveyed to and from the steamers by launches, barges and sailing dhows. The port and storage facilities in Bahrain are better than elsewhere in the Gulf and importers are allowed to retain their goods in the customs premises for ninety days before re-exporting them. There are usually about 90-100 sailing vessels and launches alongside and anchored off the pier, these come from other Gulf ports, from the west coast of India and from the Red Sea. Walking down the customs pier one sees many interesting types of vessels and sea-faring Arabs from all parts of the Gulf and beyond it.

On the west of the entrance to the Pier is the Passport Office. 486
Passport Officials go aboard all passenger vessels and are present at the Airport when aircraft arrive. Bahrain has had its own passports since 1929.

On the south side of the Square, which has a little garden in the 344
centre of it, is the "Bab al-Bahrain," the Gateway of Bahrain, consisting of two large blocks of office buildings with an archway in the centre. On the south side of the western block there is a fine old Arab door and on the balconies of the buildings as well as around the garden in the Square there are cement panels containing Arabesque patterns copied from old buildings in Bahrain.

The Bab al-Bahrain contains the finance and accounts department 344
where all payments to the Government for electricity, water, etc., etc., 655
are made, the Land Department which deals with sales and registration 423
of property and questions about boundaries and ownership of land, the registration of sales being compulsory, and several other government offices. His Highness has a reception room overlooking the 643
square on the first floor of the building where he sits on Wednesday mornings. Here he receives any visitors who wish to call on him and sees people who present petitions. On Monday mornings he visits the Municipal Buildings at Muharraq where he holds a similar reception.

East of the Customs, on the sea front, is the Law Courts Building 692
which contains a number of different courts including religious courts presided over by the Qadis of the Sunni and Shia sects. Certain foreigners, including British, Americans, Pakistanis and Indians are under the judicial authority of H.B.M.'s Political Agent. In mixed

692 cases if the defendant is a Bahrain citizen and the plaintiff is a foreigner the case is heard in a Joint Court. The language of the Bahrain Courts is Arabic and no barristers or wakils who are not Bahrainis are allowed to appear in them.

647 At the eastern end of the sea road is the Adviserate, the Ruler deals with affairs of State in this office on Tuesdays and Saturdays. Beyond the Adviserate is H.B.M.'s Political Agency which was built early in the century.

743 At the western end of the Sea Road is the Government Hospital. It includes a men's and women's hospital, administrative offices, X-Ray, laboratories, operating theatres and out-patients' rooms. There are beds for men and for women, with a few private rooms in each section. The Indian Staff occupy a large three storied building close to the hospital and behind the Women's Hospital is the house of the British nursing sisters. On Awal Road there is a large Public Health Office and beyond it a T.B. Sanatorium and a Mental Hospital. Opposite the Police Fort there are also two small isolation hospitals. In Muharraq there is a maternity hospital in the centre of the town and a clinic on the sea front. In Hedd and in some of the villages there are also small clinics. The Government Medical Staff includes a number of British and Indian doctors and nurses.

871 Education in Bahrain is not, at present, compulsory, but every year
658 the number of boys' and girls' schools increases. The oldest school in Bahrain is the Muharraq Boys' School in North Muharraq town, which was built in 1919, and there are now 28 government schools including village schools, town schools, a boys' secondary school, and a technical school where carpentry and engineering are taught. At the beginning of the 1952-53 term there were 4000 boys and 2,500 girls attending government schools. Except in the secondary school, education is free and every year scholarships are given by the Government and BAPCO to enable students to obtain advanced education at the American University of Beirut. There is a students' hostel in Manama which accommodates about 100 boys, here students from the villages and other towns are housed while they attend the more advanced town schools.

[875] Most of the teachers are Bahrainis though there are a certain number of teachers from neighbouring Arab countries. English is taught in the higher classes as well as the usual subjects. All the schools close during the summer from about the middle of June till the end of September. Some of the government schools are among the most noticeable of the modern buildings in Manama.

871 In addition to the Government schools there are a number of private schools including a European day school at Awali, Catholic, Persian and Indian schools in Manama and a girls school run by the mission of the Dutch reformed Church of America. The Oil Company also has a trade school for its Arab employees.



1 [at Manama -- Analyst]

The people of Bahrain are extremely law abiding and there is very little crime. A force of 300 uniformed police and 200 armed watchmen is responsible for the maintenance of law and order. The Police headquarters is the Fort to the south-west of Manama, this also contains the Traffic Department, the jail for short term convicts and the police barracks. There are police stations in various districts of Manama and Muharraq and in Hedd, Budaiya, Jaw, Sitra and elsewhere in Bahrain.

Most of the Government buildings in Bahrain are constructed by the Public Works Department whose offices and yards are on the northern shore of Manama south of the Manama-Muharraq Causeway. This department is also responsible for the Manama town water supply and the upkeep of roads and bridges. Close to the Public Works Department, on the opposite side of the Causeway, is the power house and office of the State Engineer. Electricity was first installed in Manama in 1929, later it was extended to Muharraq. The Power Station now generates about 7½ million Kw. per annum.

In addition to these departments there are others including the Transport Section, near the Police Fort, and the Agricultural Department which runs experimental gardens in Budiaya and Manama and gives advice to Bahrain agriculturalists.

## THE RULING FAMILY OF BAHRAIN

*The Ruler* :

His Highness Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed al-Khalifah, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E.

*Sons of the Ruler* :

His Excellency Shaikh Isa bin Sulman al-Khalifah.
His Excellency Shaikh Khalifah bin Sulman al-Khalifah.
His Excellency Shaikh Muhammad bin Sulman al-Khalifah.

*Uncles of the Ruler* :

His Excellency Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa al-Khalifah, C.I.E.
His Excellency Shaikh Muhammad bin Isa al-Khalifah, C.B.E.

*Brothers of the Ruler* :

Shaikh Mubarak bin Hamed al-Khalifah.
Shaikh Abdulla bin Hamed al-Khalifah.
Shaikh Ali bin Hamed al-Khalifah.
Shaikh Ibrahim bin Hamed al-Khalifah.
Shaikh Khalifah bin Hamed al-Khalifah.
Shaikh Daij bin Hamed al-Khalifah.
Shaikh Ahmed bin Hamed al-Khalifah.

*Sons of Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa* :

Shaikh Rashid bin Abdulla al-Khalifah.
Shaikh Ali bin Abdulla al-Khalifah.
Shaikh Hamed bin Abdulla al-Khalifah.

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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*Sons of Shaikh Muhammad bin Isa* :

SHAIKH AHMED BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ALI BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH KHALIFAH BIN MUHAMMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH IBRAHIM BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH SULMAN BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH HAMED BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ABD AL-AZIZ BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ISA BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.

647

## HEADS OF GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

*Adviser to the Government and Commandant State Police* : SIR CHARLES BELGRAVE, K.B.E.
*Director of Customs* : MR. G. W. R. SMITH, M.B.E.
*Minister of Education* : H.E. SHAIKH ABDULLA BIN ISA AL-KHALIFAH, C.I.E.
*Director of Education* : MR. AHMED AL-UMRAN.
*Directoress of Female Education* : LADY BELGRAVE.
*Officer in Charge Finance Department* : MR. SAYED MAHMOUD ALAWI.
*Officer in Charge Judicial Department* : MR. SALIM AL-ARAYEDH.
*Superintendent State Police* : SHAIKH KHALIFAH BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.
*State Medical Officer* : DR. R. H. B. SNOW, M.B.E.
*State Engineer* : MR. D. BRAMMER.
*Superintendent Minors' Estates Department* : MR. MUHAMMAD DOWAIGER.
*Superintendent of the Land Department* : KHAN SAHIB MUHAMMAD KHALIL MENON.
*Officer in Charge Passport and Emigration Department* : MR. KADHIM ASFOUR.
*Officer in Charge Public Works Department* : MAJOR S. HILLS.
*President of the Religious Endowments Committee* :
*Shia* : HAJ MOHSEN AT-TAJIR.
*Sunni* : SHAIKH ATIYYATALLAH AL-KHALIFAH.
*Officer in Charge Transport Department* : MR. J. L. MORRIS.
*Director of Agriculture* : MR. W. W. VAN OLLENBACH.
*Secretaries of the Municipalities* :
*Manama* : MR. MUHAMMAD SALIH SHATR.
*Muharraq and Hedd* : MR. IBRAHIM KHALFAN.
*Rifaa (East and West) President* : SHAIKH ABDULLA BIN KHALID AL-KHALIFAH.
*Secretary Bahrain Chamber of Commerce* : MR. RASHID ZAYANI.

## CHAPTER IV

## COMMUNICATIONS

508 BAHRAIN, owing to its central position in the Persian Gulf, is the natural stopping place for air services between the Middle East and the Far East and for this reason it is a port of call for many air companies. Bahrain's Airport is on Muharraq Island, a short drive from the town, and is sufficiently large to take the newest types of aircraft including the B.O.A.C. Comet which started services through Bahrain in August, 1952. There is in addition a Persian Gulf air service, Gulf Aviation Company Ltd., in which the Bahrain Government has an important interest and whose headquarters is at Muharraq.

509 Air travel is very popular in the Persian Gulf and there has been a great increase in the air traffic to and from Bahrain. In the twelve

months up to June 1952 an average of 427 civil aircraft and 122 military planes passed through Bahrain each month while in the year 1951 some 11,897 passengers entered Bahrain by air. As well as being connected with all parts of the world by the major airlines, smaller local services form a network in the Persian Gulf by which it is possible and usual for local merchants to go to Qatar or Saudi Arabia in the morning and to return to Bahrain the same evening. Many people from Bahrain also spend the weekend with friends in the oil camps of other companies.

The sea has played an important part in Bahrain's history and with the coming of oil and the increased prosperity of the islanders both steamer and dhow traffic has increased. In the year 1951, 847 steamers and tankers and 1,416 local craft carried over 47,000 visitors to Bahrain, a figure equal to about 45% of the total population. The launches and sailing boats came to Manama, Muharraq and other coastal towns, while the steamers and tankers anchored at the Sitra Jetty or in the anchorage north of Manama. At present the only deep water wharves are those of the oil company.

## INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS

Despite its small size, Bahrain and the islands of Muharraq and Sitra are provided with a large number of roads, but this can be accounted for by the presence among the date gardens of many villages as well as by the need for some form of communication with the scattered coastal settlements. Within the towns of Manama and Muharraq the main roads have excellent surfaces and are wide enough for the traffic they carry and the extensive paving that has recently been laid down has made them safer both for drivers and pedestrians.

From the town of Manama four main roads lead into the country; to the south-east is Belgrave Road; to the east, the Causeway; to the south, Awal Road and to the west, Budaiya Road.

Belgrave Road becomes Jufair Road after passing through the new residential centre of Qudabiya, and the latter leads past the Race Course to the suburbs of Jufair and Umm al-Hasan.

A second road, Shaikh Isa Road, starts from the Sea Road near the Adviserate and follows a rather erratic course till it leaves the town near the Water Garden and Mental Hospital. From here it passes through four miles of date gardens, broken only by the open ground around the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, then across the bridge at Radhm al-Qawari and into the desert. The road then travels south through the pre-historic tumuli and rises till it passes through an avenue of trees that marks the village of Rifa'a al-Gharbi, the winter residence of H.H. The Ruler. From here the road drops abruptly into the central depression and then reaches Awali, 11 miles from Manama. At Awali the road branches in three directions, a road to the east leads to the Refinery and Sitra Island, a second road to the west goes to Zellaq and the west coast of Bahrain and a third skirts Awali and continues

491 south past the Jebal ad-Dukhan and the oil field. This last road, which deteriorates after leaving Awali, after passing Jebal Amr crosses the plain and ascending the rim-rock reaches the Ruler's Hunting Lodge at Rumaitha. From here the road goes due west to another Hunting Lodge at Matalla and joins the road from Zellaq to Ras al-Barr, the southern end of Bahrain Island.

The third main road leading from Manama runs parallel to and about 1-2 miles from the north coast of Bahrain. Passing through some of the most flourishing gardens in the islands, with thick green hedges by the road's edge, the driver is shaded by rows of tall date palms that cast a shadow over the road during most of the day and form an umbrella against the sun. After leaving the village of Jidhafs the road crosses patches of desert, clumps of tumuli alternate with gardens, and for the last few miles before reaching Budaiya, on the north-west corner of Bahrain, there is a shrubby desert where camels, sheep and goats graze. Beyond the Government Experimental Garden the road reaches the sea, and swinging south by the Police Post it enters the village of Budaiya. From here it bears south, through a number of villages and across the pipe-line road from Rifaa to Jesra, and finally to Zellaq.

The fourth road out of Manama, in fact a continuation of the sea road, leads across the Muharraq causeway to the town and island of that name, and after following the Muharraq sea road swings inland and crosses a short stretch of sand before reaching the edge of the Airport. Here the road branches; one branch leads to the north in the direction of the Airport and the other follows the curve of Arad Bay and then goes straight across the desert to the town of Hedd. Other roads branch off from this to the villages which fringe the coasts of Muharraq and to the gardens of Arad.

To return to the main island of Bahrain. Along the length of the Awal Road and particularly where it passes through the gardens, there are various roads and lanes leading to Zinj and Bilad al-Qadim to Saar and Salmabad, while a little distance to the south of Suq al-Khamis is the turning to the south towards the Adari Pool. Further south again a well-surfaced but somewhat winding road connects the Awal and Budaiya Roads, coming out on to the latter about half a mile west of Jidhafs. Shortly after passing Radhm al-Qawari, second class roads to the east and west lead respectively to the villages of the north-east coast, Tubli, Sanad and Ikur, and to Aali and beyond. Further on along Awal Road there is a road junction with a main road branching off to the south-east in the direction of the Refinery and Sitra. This road, after crossing the Awali-Sitra Road skirts the Refinery and then follows the east coast to the villages of Asker, Jaw and Dour.

It is impossible to describe in detail the many roads in Bahrain, but these are shown on the map of Bahrain and most of them branch off from the main roads which have been mentioned.

505 Communication with the other islands of Bahrain are mentioned
423 in Part III and visits can usually be arranged to them by private agree-
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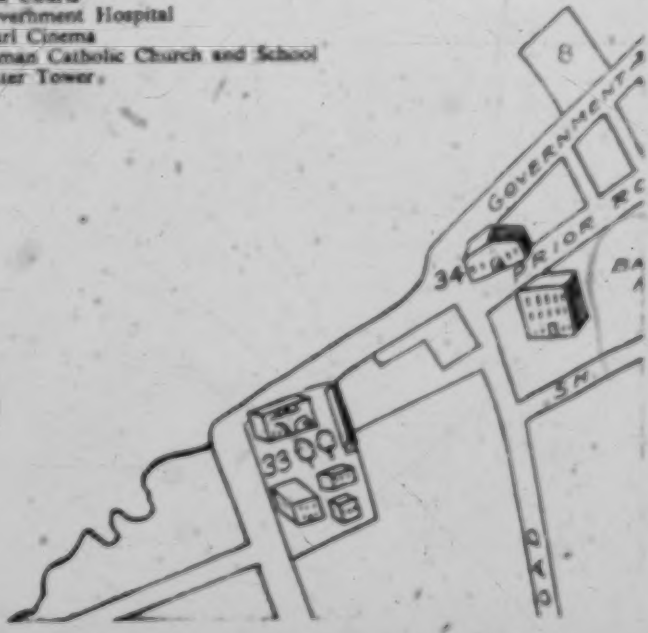
1 Post Office and Police Station
2 Eastern Bank.
3 British Bank of the Middle East
4 Arabs Club
5 Markets
6 Quarantine Office
7 Education Department
8 Bus Rank
9 BAPCO Bus Park
10 Taxi Rank
11 Custom House
12 Passport Office
13 Firdausi Club
14 Gulistan Club
15 Municipal Offices
16 B.A.O.C. Office and Rest House
17 Qosaibi Travel Office
18 Kanoo Travel Office
19 American Mission, Church and Hospital
20 ARAMCO Office
21 P.C.L. Office
22 Chamber of Commerce
23 Residence and Office of BAPCO Government Relations Officer
24 R.A.F. Residence
25 Telephone Exchange and Cable Office
26 BAPCO Filling Station
27 Pakistan Club
28 Bahrain Sports Club
29 Adviserate
30 H.B.M.'s Political Agency
31 Power House
32 Law Courts
33 Government Hospital
34 Pearl Cinema
35 Roman Catholic Church and School
36 Water Tower.



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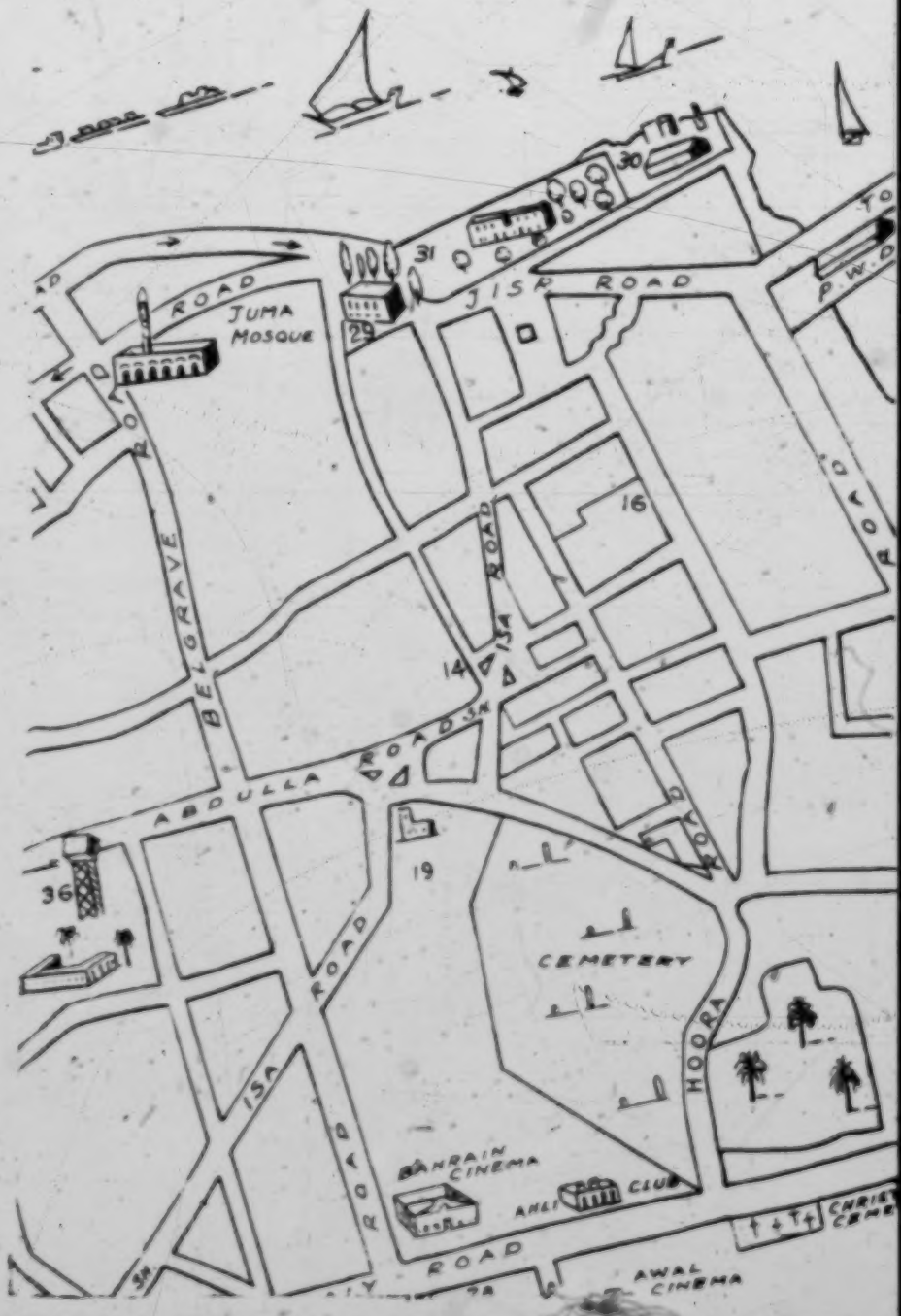

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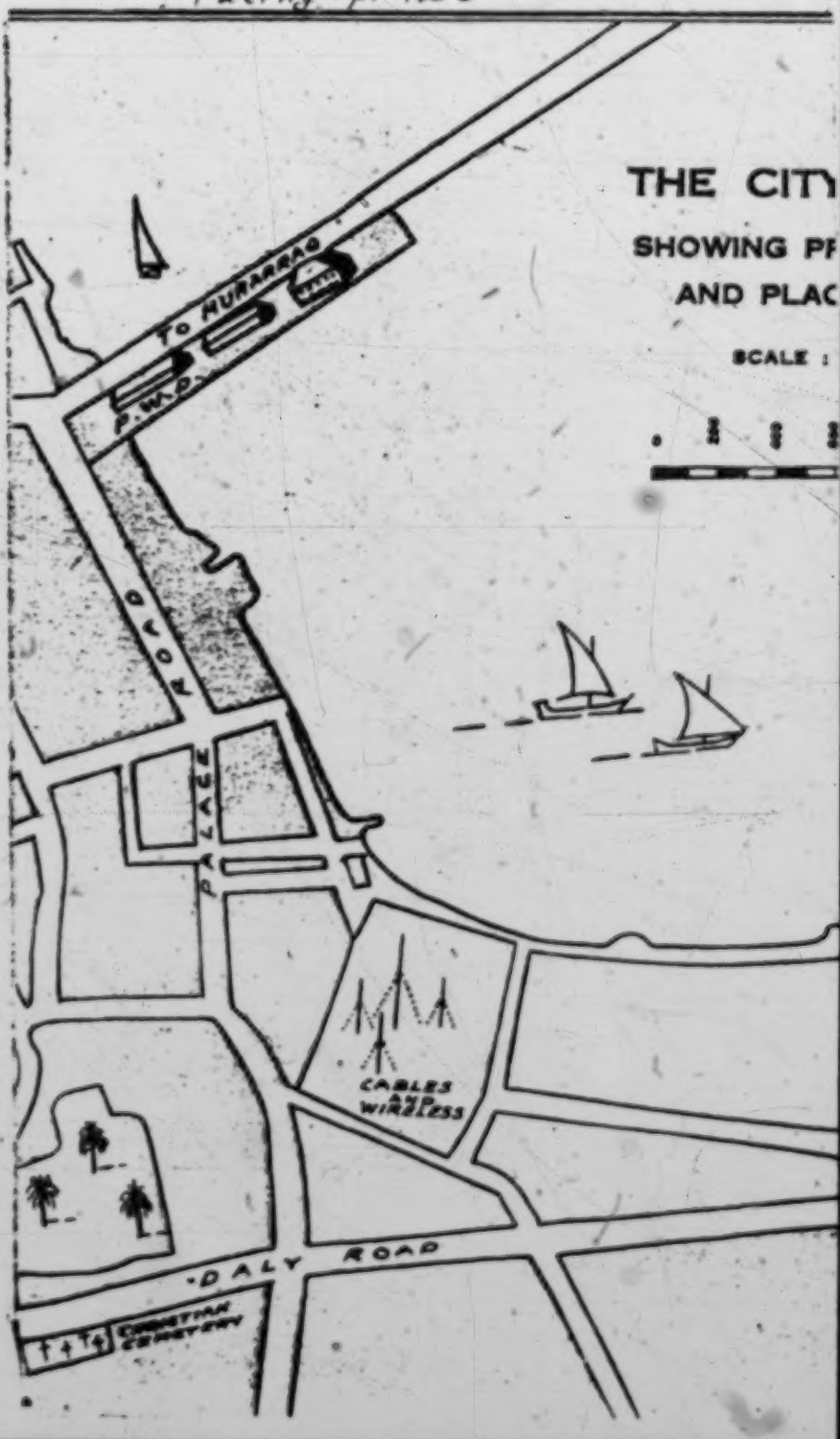

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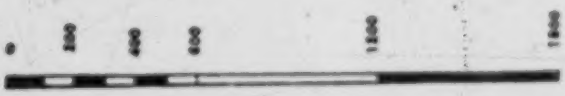
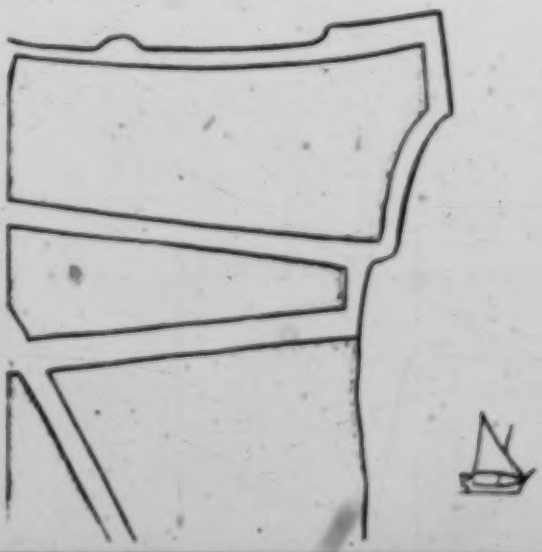
# THE CITY OF MANAMA

## SHOWING PRINCIPAL BUILDINGS AND PLACES OF INTEREST

SCALE : 600' = 1" (APPROX.)





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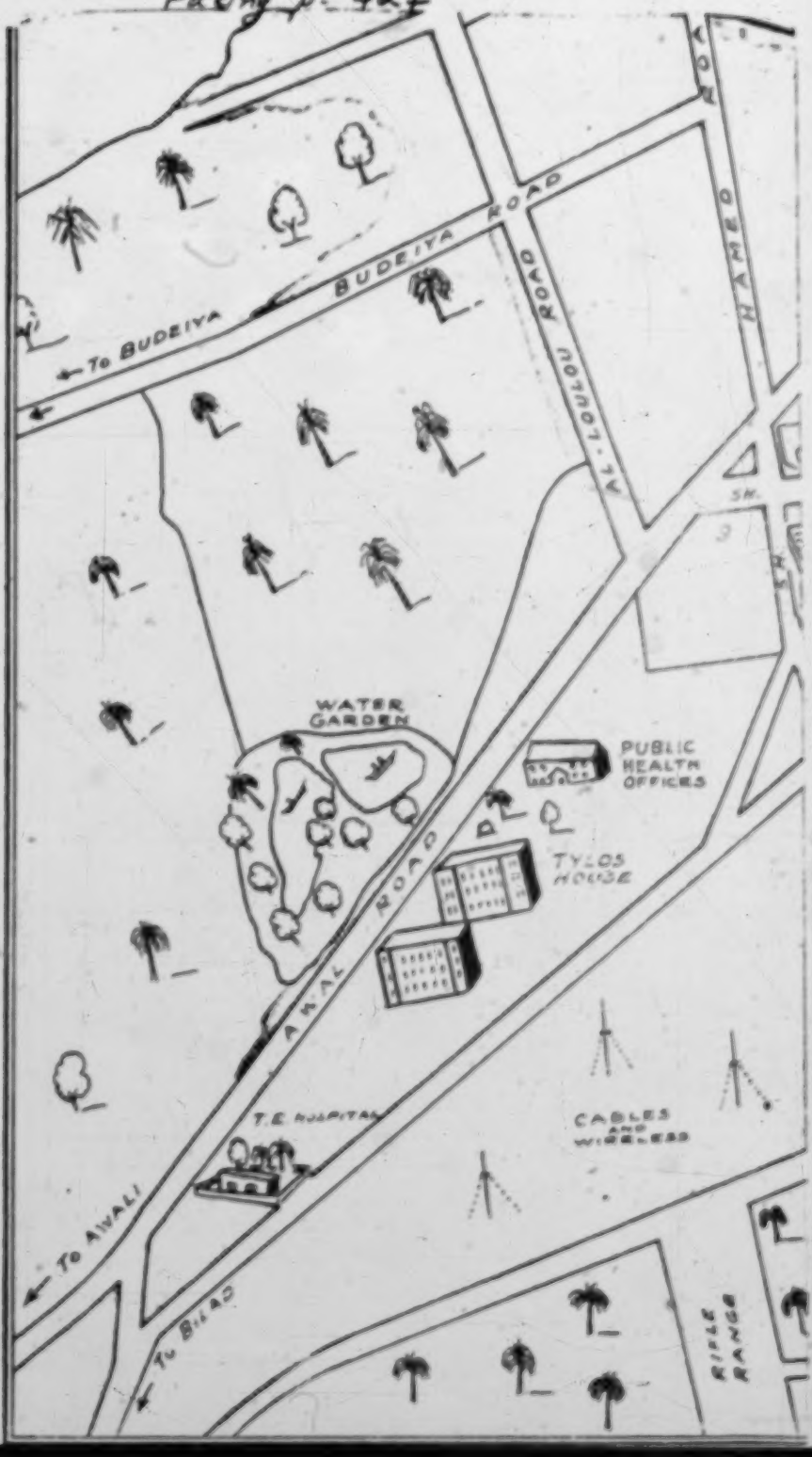

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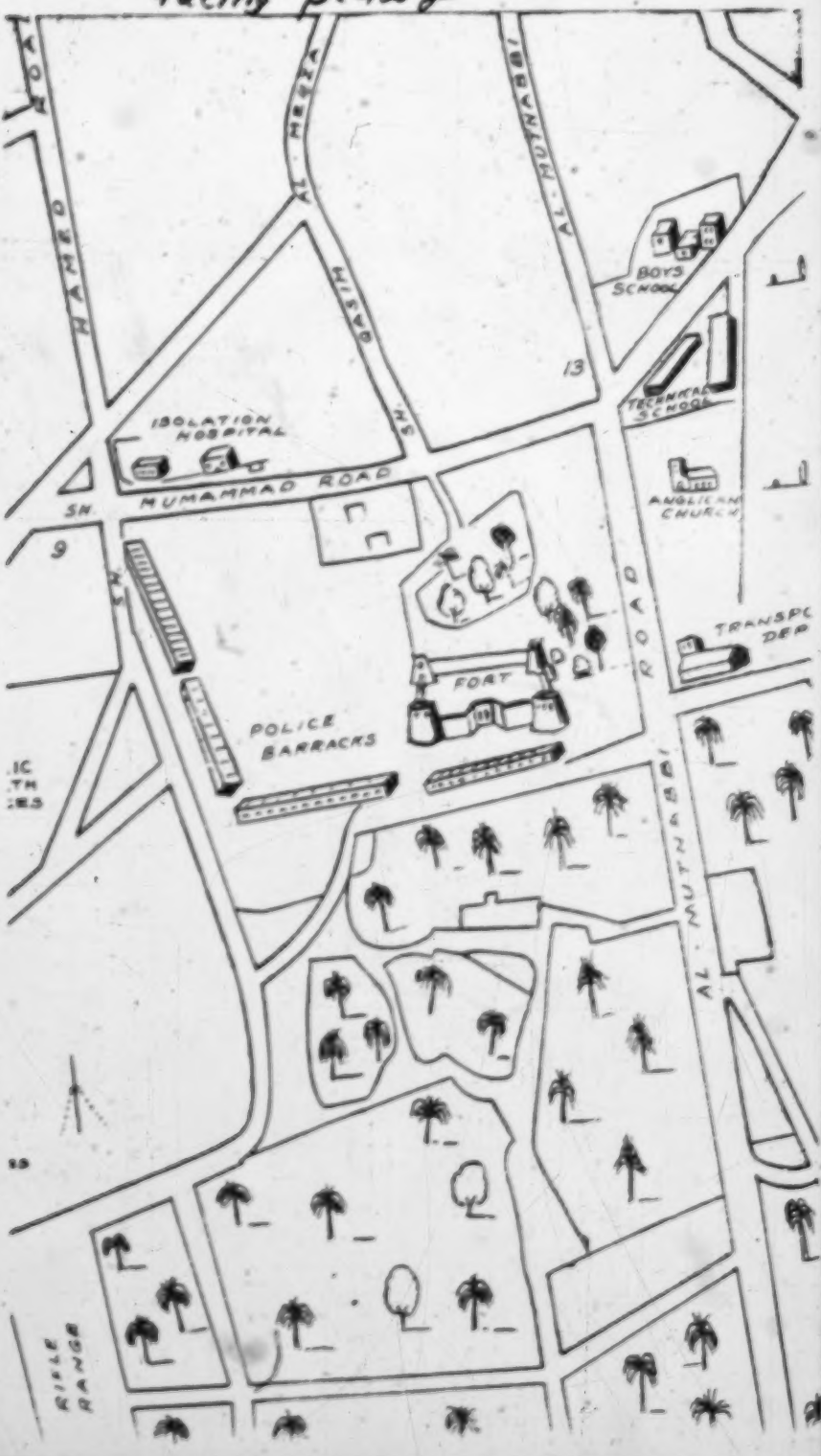

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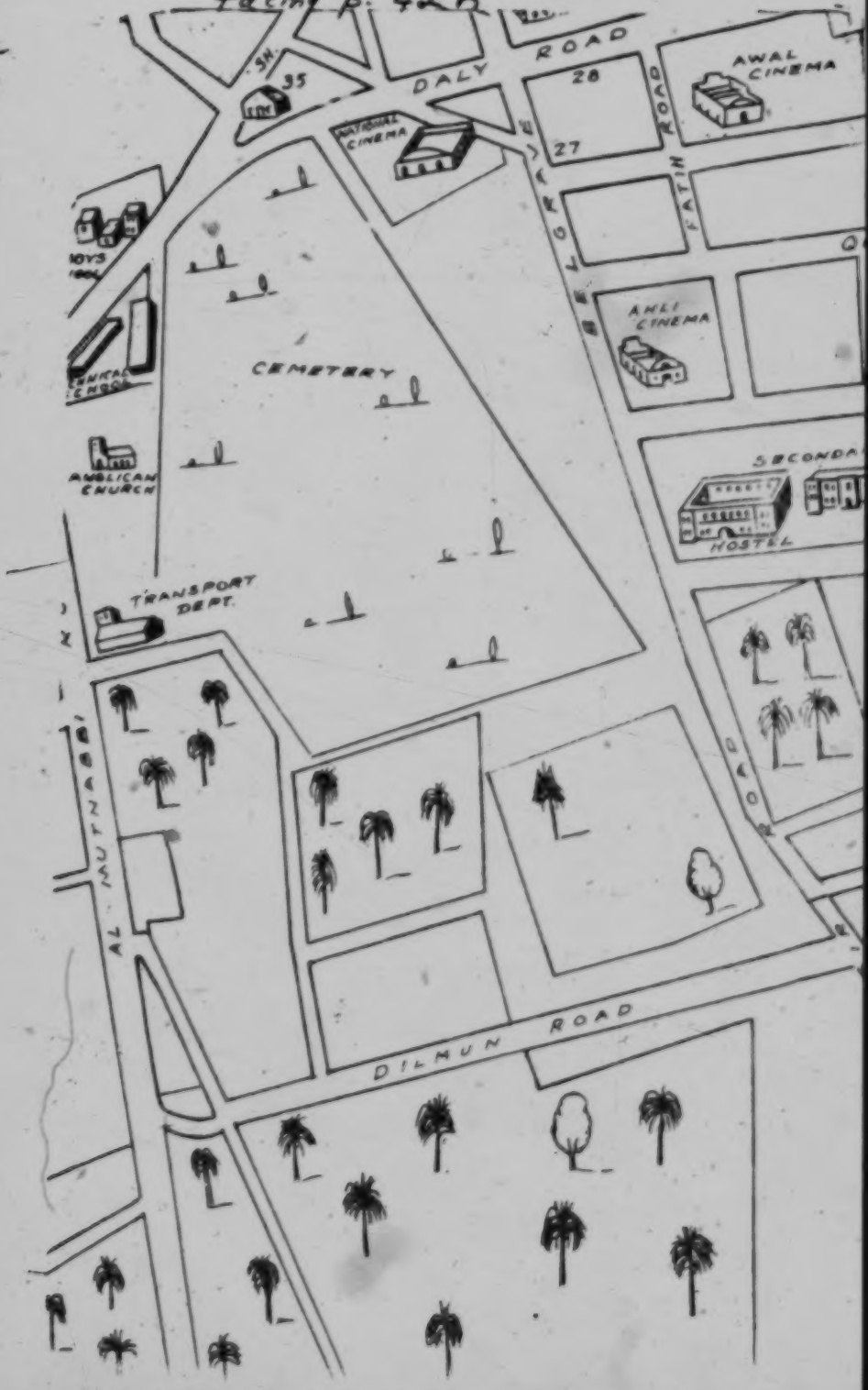

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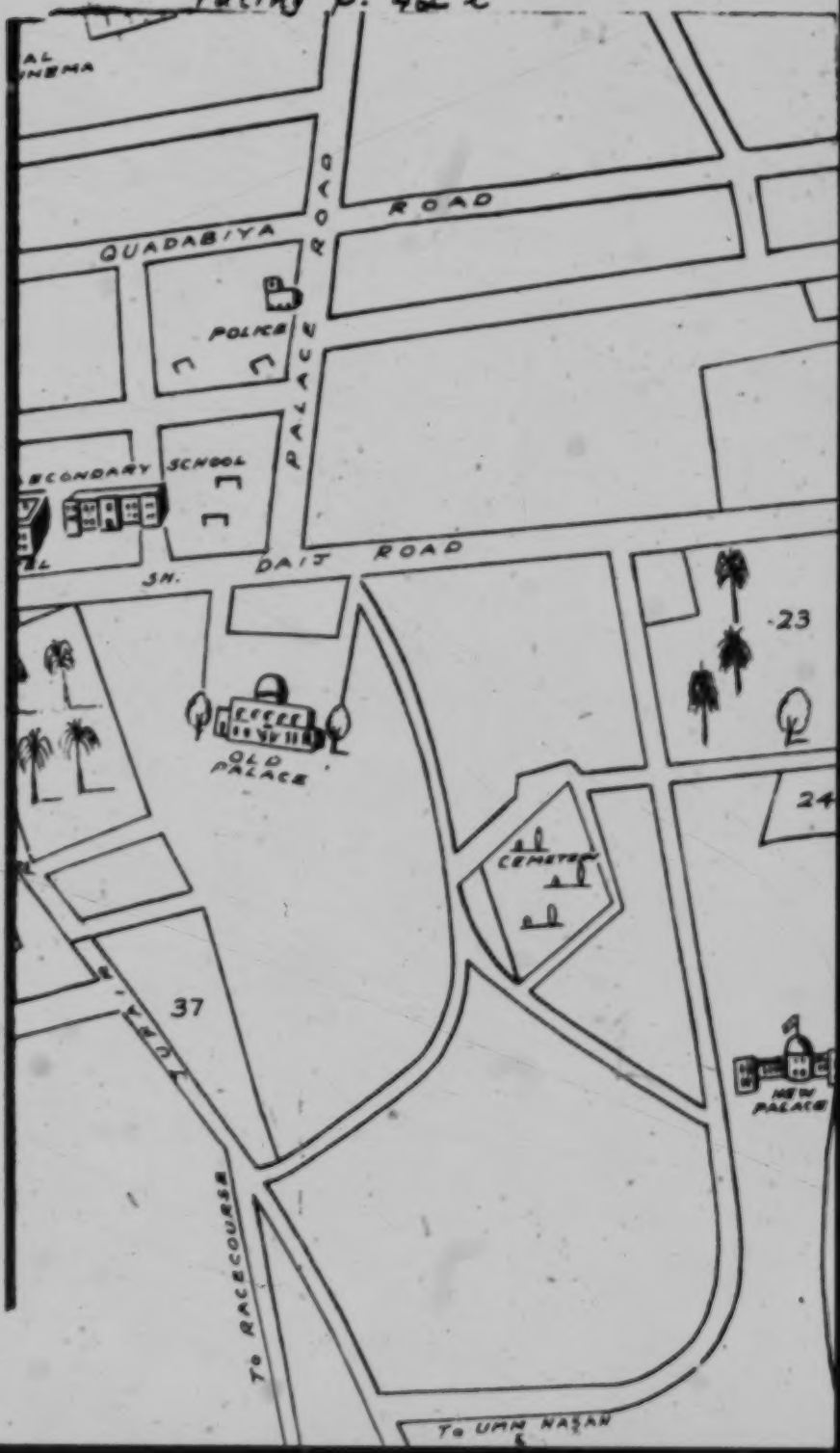

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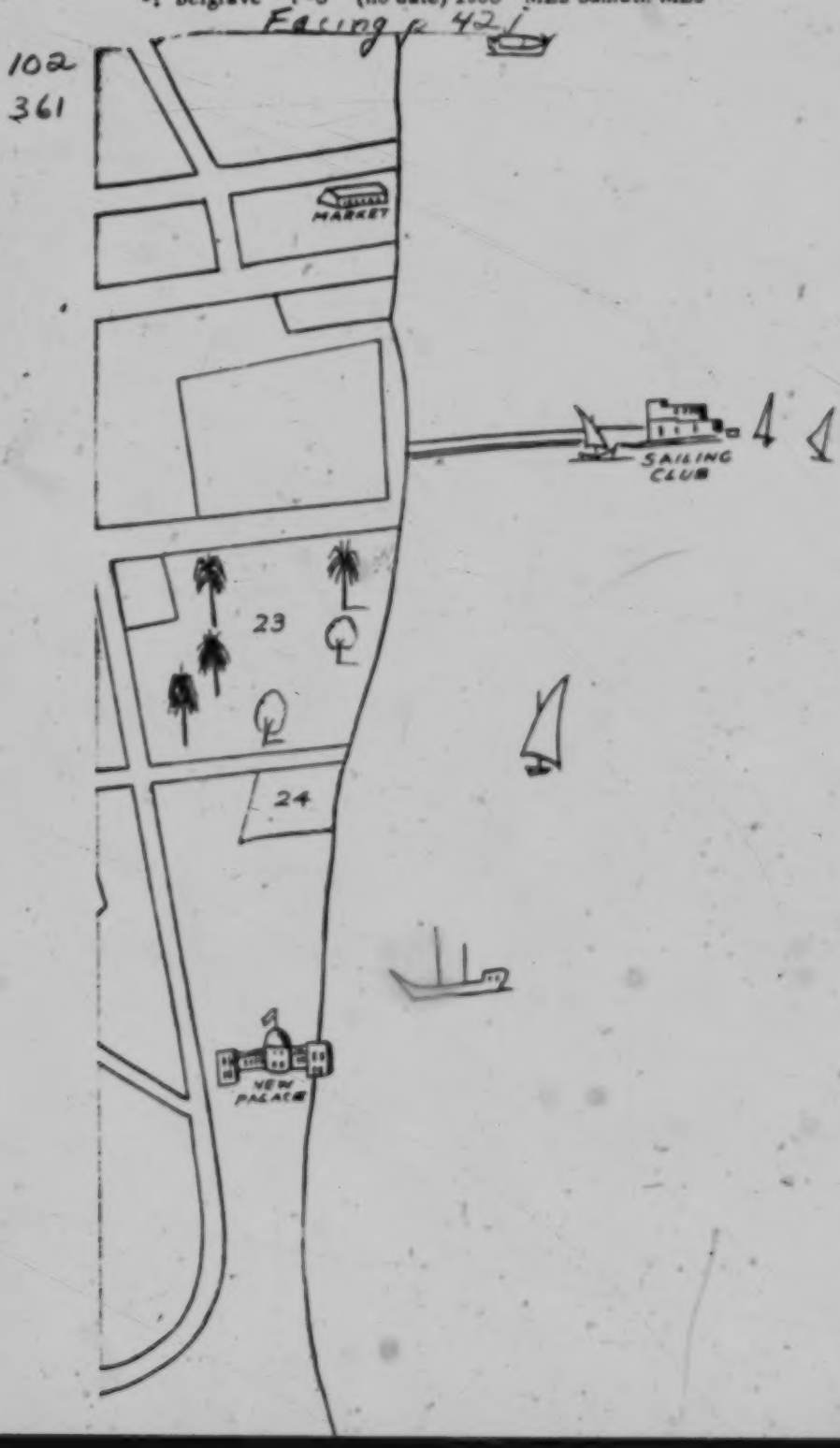

505 ment with launch or dhow owners, but it should be remembered that
423 some of them are private property. Umm as-Sabaan is the private
426 property of Mr. Max W. Thornberg, Jidda being a penal settlement, is forbidden ground, and Umm an-Nasaan may only be visited with permission of H.H. The Ruler. The others, the small islands south of Muharraq, Nebih Salih, Jezira and the Howar islands are free to all visitors and a visit to them makes a change from drives around the islands.

489 Transport in Bahrain includes both bus and taxi, the former are not
493 the luxurious affairs seen in Europe and England but have wooden bodies built in Bahrain and attached to an imported chassis. Taxis, however, are not too expensive if care is taken to pay the correct fare which is recorded in a fare book that should be carried by every driver. It is rumoured that taxis will soon carry meters, which will certainly simplify matters, but till that happy day passengers who have complaints to make about being over-charged should make them to the Traffic Department of the State Police.

435 Petrol and oil are cheap in Bahrain, which is not surprising, and the
493 import tax on cars and motor cycles is only 10%, so that to own and run
651 a private car is cheaper than in England or the States, as many fortunate people have discovered. Most makes of cars are obtainable in Bahrain, garage facilities have increased and the improvement in the roads has enabled English cars to be used with comfort.

492 The old-fashioned form of transport in Bahrain was the donkey.
489 It was used for every task, for bringing the produce of the country for sale in the town, for pulling carts and for riding. The white Bahrain donkeys used to be well known all over the Middle East and they were exported from Bahrain to places as far distant as the East African coast. Today buses are replacing donkeys, there are bus services between most of the villages, though many of the young men prefer to use bicycles. Lorries too have successfully competed with donkeys and now carry most of the goods between the towns and villages, but in the gardens and in the narrow country lanes one still meets many donkeys though few of the fine white beasts for which the islands were famous long ago. However, the donkey will never entirely die out, for he has certain advantages over other methods of transport, he can reproduce young donkeys, he can find his own way along small and narrow tracks in the gardens and he produces manure, which is a valuable commodity in Bahrain.

## CHAPTER V

## BAHRAIN'S OIL INDUSTRY

315 THE man who was chiefly responsible for the discovery of Bahrain's
471 oil resources was an Australian, Major Frank Holmes, who came to Bahrain on behalf of the Eastern and General Syndicate, a British prospecting company. Major Holmes, after drilling a number of artesian wells and thus discovering something about the composition

315 of the ground below the surface of Bahrain, believed that oil was present
471 in the islands in commercial quantities and so obtained from the Ruler, on December 2nd, 1925, a prospecting concession which was to run for two years. During this period Holmes tried to interest British oil companies in the petroleum possibilities of Bahrain, but their experts declared that there was no oil in Bahrain and that it would be a poor gamble to start operations in that country. Finally Major Holmes went to the States and on November 30th, 1927, an American corporation, the Eastern Gulf Company, acquired a two years option. After negotiations which involved the Foreign Office and the State Department, for Bahrain was a protected State, and after discussions between various important oil interests, the Eastern Gulf Company assigned its option over the Bahrain concession to the Standard Oil Company of California. On August 1st, 1930 the concession was assigned by Standard Oil to its fully owned subsidiary, the Bahrain Petroleum Company Ltd. (BAPCO), which was registered in Canada in order to give it the status of a British company. Such are the politics of oil that it had taken five years for an oil company to be formed to develop Bahrain's oil, and had it not been for the enterprise of an American company, which took up the concession after it had been refused by the British, the oil of Bahrain might never have been exploited.

315 Directly the concession was signed, surveying and drilling operations were commenced and in 1932 the first well "came in." This
322 well can be seen immediately south of Awali and is still producing. By 1935 there were sixteen producing wells and six more drilling. It was then decided that the crude oil should be processed in Bahrain, and in the following year the first small distillation unit was erected and put into operation. A year later the capacity of the refinery was expanded to 25,000 barrels a day. The refinery was continually enlarged and improved so that finally it was able to process more crude than was forthcoming from the Bahrain field. A 12" pipeline was therefore laid from the Dammam field on the coast of Saudi Arabia to the refinery, a distance of 34 miles, of which 17 were under the sea, making it the longest private pipeline of its kind in the world. Having expanded the refinery it became necessary to improve the shipping facilities to speed the export of oil products so a three mile jetty was constructed from Sitra Island to the deep water, at the head of which a four berth pier was built to add to the existing two-berth island loading wharf. Rows of pipes carry crude oil and refined products to the waiting ships while huge freight trailers carry drums for bulk package loading. Each month 70-80 ocean vessels are alongside the wharves removing some 4½ million barrels of bulk exports and 60,000 drums of refined products and asphalt. The drums are made in the Sitra drum plant, manned entirely by Bahrainis.

At present the activities of the company are carried out in four parts of Bahrain, at Awali, at the Jebal, at the Refinery and on Sitra Island.

At Awali are the offices and the homes of the European employees of BAPCO, while outside the fence is the Arab camp for the few Bahrainis who prefer to live there rather than in their own towns and villages. Near Awali's eastern gate is the Training School for Bahrainis, where something is done to equip them for higher posts in the company. This is a field of activity which the company is beginning to develop and it is very important that is should succeed.

South of Awali, in the desert around the Jebal ad-Dukhan, is the oil field, the *raison d'etre* of BAPCO, an unimpressive area with many little squares of cement decorated with taps and valves and surrounded by low fences, which are the oil wells, while here and there derricks mark the search for more oil which is always in progress.

After the Abadan Refinery the one on Bahrain is the largest in the Middle East and supplies large quantities of refined products to India, Pakistan, East Africa and other countries "East of Suez." During the day it would be difficult to describe the refinery as anything but a large and ugly mass of iron and steel, with the great Cat. Cracker rising above the squat silver tanks. The air is hot and dusty and in the summer the iron-work is so hot that to touch it raises blisters; but in the evening the refinery takes on the appearance of a slightly shapeless but nevertheless well decorated Christmas Tree, covered in lights and set against a background of flares of burning gas which illuminate the sky like a lurid orange back-cloth.

The Sitra anchorage has at all times an appearance of feverish activity, it is being improved so that it will be possible to load ships and tankers round the clock. In order to do this the jetty is being floodlit with great arc lamps.

On low-lying Sitra Island all that can be seen from the sea are the storage tanks, it is only on approaching nearer that the island itself becomes visible. The Tank Farm spreads across the middle of Sitra, and as it expands it threatens to cut the island in two. To the south of the Tank Farm is a large group of buildings from which a crashing sound is continually heard; this is the Drum Plant. Further evidence of this is present in the thousands of newly painted drums that are piled in huge rows near the plant.

The oil industry is directed from the main office in Awali, where from air-conditioned coolness in the summer and air-conditioned warmth in the winter instructions go out to all parts of Bahrain where BAPCO has its installations. Bahrain is well situated for an oil industry. The oil wells are about eight miles from the Refinery, which itself is scarcely more than half that distance from the Pier and Tank Farm, while from Awali it is possible to see on a clear day both the Refinery and the Field. The radio-telephone and the aeroplane used in other Middle Eastern fields have no place in Bahrain where phones and cars are quite sufficent.

Of the 7,749 workers employed by BAPCO at the end of 1951, 4,937 were Bahrainis and 1,035 were British, American and other

464 Europeans. For the latter the company provides many amenities.
382 In the town of Awali there is a cinema, a club and other recreational
511 facilities. There is a Commissary for the supply of foods and goods
466 unobtainable elsewhere in Bahrain; a school for American and European children with qualified teachers and hospitals for the various nationalities employed by BAPCO. A cinema, swimming bath and mosque are also being constructed in the Arab Camp, and a swimming bath and cinema in the Indian and Pakistani camp at Rifaa. The company also maintains dispensaries in some of the villages and has built three schools for the Bahrain Government. There is cordial co-operation between the Bahrain Government and BAPCO in all fields of social service and although it may seem strange that an oil company should be encouraged to occupy itself with so many activities not directly connected with the production of oil, yet it is now recognised in the Middle East that it is an obligation of oil companies not only to work for their shareholders but also for the benefit of the people of the country from which they derive their profits.

471 In 1940 a Supplementary Agreement was signed between the Ruler
382 and the Bahrain Petroleum Company in which the latter received an extension to its concession including all lands, shoals, reefs, waters and submerged lands of "the present and future domains" of the Ruler of Bahrain.

315 It is a comparatively rare thing for people visiting Bahrain to see the actual oil which has made the Islands famous, gone are the days when to "strike oil" meant that a huge gusher of oil would leap skywards covering everything about it with what is termed, in the hackneyed phrase of the journalist, "black gold." Today the drilling of a well is normally a tidy process ; when oil is struck the drillers have complete control over its flow and quickly cap the well with a "Christmas Tree," the nickname for the mass of taps and valves which are placed over the well head. From the well the oil is piped to the Refinery and then to the storage tanks at Sitra. But in every part of its processing little is seen of the oil except by the workers in the laboratories.

133 The oil industry today is the most important factor in Bahrain's economy and is recognised as such by the Government and the people of the country.

## CHAPTER VI

## JEWELS OF THE DEEP

228 Pearl diving is probably the oldest industry in Bahrain and has been the reason why an otherwise small and comparatively unproductive group of islands has been the scene of so many bitter wars and has been over-run by so many invading armies. From earliest times Bahrain has been famous for its pearls ; in an Assyrian inscription of some 2000 B.C. a parcel of "fish eyes" from Dilmun is believed to be

J. Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

the first reference to the pearls of Bahrain. Tylos, the classical name for Bahrain, was stated by Pliny to be "famous for the vast number of its pearls." In more recent years the merchant Suliman, an Arab traveller of the 9th century, mentions the pearl fisheries of Bahrain, while in the 10th century we have the first description of the actual methods of diving left by a certain Abu Zaid Hassan. From an examination of his description it can be seen how little the methods of diving have changed during the past 1000 years.

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Many later travellers and geographers have been interested by the pearl fisheries; the famous geographer Idrisi, after mentioning the political state of affairs describes the method of diving; Bakri in 1273, Abu'l Fida in the early 14th century and Ibn Batuta all mention the pearl fisheries. In 1485 Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese explorer, says of Barem (Bahrain) "Around it grows much seed pearl, also large pearls of good quality. The merchants of the island itself fish for these pearls, and have therefrom great profits."

At the turn of the 16th century the Portuguese had firmly established themselves in India and were expanding into the Persian Gulf. In 1514 Don Albuquerque, Governor of India, visited Bahrain and noted with envy its pearl fisheries, which he said were superior to those elsewhere in the Gulf, and on his return to Hormuz, in the following year, he ordered from Bahrain many pearls which were required by the King of Portugal for the "pontifical of Our Lady." It is probable that the subsequent seizure of Bahrain by the Portuguse in 1522 was due to the wealth of the pearl traders, for the Portuguese were firm believers in monopoly and worked to ensure their complete control over the pearl industry. This is confirmed by a Dutch traveller who said, in 1598, that "The king of Portugal hath also his factor in Bahrain, that stayeth there only for the fishing of pearls."

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In the 17th and 18th centuries the pearl fisheries became better known to Europeans and also to Arabs, for it was the presence of the pearl banks that attracted the al-Khalifah from Kuwait, first to Zubarah and then, after their victory over the Persians, to Bahrain. Although in the 19th century the British became politically supreme in the Persian Gulf they did not interfere in the pearl industry, but on the contrary they helped to preserve the rule that only the inhabitants of those countries bordering on the Gulf could fish on the pearl banks. Recent laws passed in Bahrain and Saudi Arabia forbidding the use of diving suits have also been aimed at giving all an equal chance to fish without the richer merchants gaining an unfair advantage by the use of mechanical equipment.

The origin of the pearl has fascinated many peoples, but it is surely the Arabs who have the most colourful stories about its origin. Shaikh Nabhani in his *Tarikh al-Jazirat al-Arabiya* quotes the following as being a local tradition, although he rejects it as baseless. "In the spring the pearl shells rise to the surface of the sea and when it rains or when there is a heavy dew the oyster swallows one or more drops of water which then turn into pearls." Nabhani does, however, believe the

228 story that Bahrain pearls are superior in colour to all others because of the presence in the seas around Bahrain of numerous fresh-water springs. In fact the real origin of the pearl inspires no romance, it is the process by which the pearl shell rids itself of an unwelcome intruder. The oyster, when opening to obtain food, often admits small particles of sand or some other substance which irritate its soft flesh, the shell therefore covers the intruder with a secretion that forms a smooth coat of nacre. Once this process has started it continues, more and more layers are built up until the process is stopped by the pearl being removed from its shell or when some accident happens to it. If a pearl is cut in half and examined under the microscope the layers of the nacre can clearly be seen.

221 228 The "Gaus al-Kabir" or main diving season takes place from June to early in October, but before and after the season there is the "Gaus al-Bard" or cold diving season, the duration of which is determined by weather conditions, but which is not recognised as the diving season *par excellence*. In former days the departure of the Bahrain fleet for the pearl banks was the occasion of great excitement, and with drums playing and small boys cheering the boats would sail away from Muharraq. After being joined by boats from other coastal towns and villages the fleet would proceed to the pearl banks, where each boat would choose its own anchorage and prepare for diving.

501 228 Formerly the boat built especially for pearl diving was the sambuq (see Chapter VII), but today the most usual boat is the jalibut, while many very small boats with crews of a dozen men go out to the banks. All pearlers are equipped with special oars with square blades, and on arriving at the banks these are tied so that they project over the water.

228 At each oar two ropes are thrown overboard, one attached to a stone or metal weight and the other to a net bag, although the bag is sometimes hung round the diver's neck. The divers then strip to the buff, or content themselves with a narrow loin cloth, they put on nose clips of bone or tortoise-shell and protect their fingers with leather guards. Putting their feet in a loop in the weighted rope, the divers are swiftly let down each by his Saib or puller, who remains on deck holding the ropes with the careful hand of a fisherman, but more is at stake than a trout or a salmon, for if the Saib fails to hoist the diver to the surface directly he feels his pull on the rope, the diver's life is in danger. When the diver reaches the sea-bed the weighted rope is pulled up while the diver keeps hold on the second rope. While on the sea-bed the diver hacks off with a small knife as many pearl shells as he can, usually collecting about ten shells in the minute and a half he spends below the surface. When exhausted he tugs sharply at the rope and is hauled to the surface. Twelve fathoms is about the maximum depth to which he dives, and it is easy to picture the frantic rush at this depth to collect the necessary shells. On coming to the surface the diver hangs, resting on the weighted rope, while the Saib tips the bag of shells on to the deck. The rest periods vary with the weather. When it is cold the divers spend two thirds of the time resting on the deck of the

boat, sucking cigarettes or sipping bitter Arab coffee, but when the water is warmer a longer period is spent in the sea. Food is not eaten during the diving hours as it is considered bad for the diver's health. 228

The splash and swirl of the blue waters of the Gulf, often as smooth and clear as glass, the glistening bodies of the sun-burnt divers, the deep-throated chanting of the Saibs and the mounting piles of dark encrusted shells, are sights and sounds never to be forgotten. From time to time the cabin boy, who is found on each boat, collects the shells in sacks and piles them along the sides of the boat. As the sun sets the crew eat their light meal of dates, fish, bread and coffee and then sink down with pleasure into deep sleep along the decks. Then all that there is to disturb the silence of the night is the crackling of the fire burning on the portable mud hearth, the creaking of ropes and the splash caused by the line of the midnight fishermen catching to-morrow's meal.

Next morning the members of the crew are up early and gather around the heaps of shells which are more easily opened after having been left in the night-air, and with deft flicks of little curved knives they examine the oyster's meat so that not even the smallest seed pearl is missed. The despoiled shells are tossed aside, to be collected later and thrown back into the sea. As the pearls are found, their finders stick them between their toes until they have collected a number, which are then handed to the nakhuda or captain. The latter stores them in a great wooden chest, studded with brass nails after tying them in small squares of red cloth, that being the colour which is believed to show pearls to their best advantage. When all the shells have been opened the remains are thrown overboard, the decks swabbed down and the day's diving commences.

From time to time boats return to Bahrain to collect fresh provisions and for the medical treatment of the crew. Fresh water, surprisingly enough, is less of a problem, for near many of the pearl banks there are submarine fresh water springs, some of which have been controlled by pipes affixed by the Bahrain Government. The monotony of the diver's day is also broken by the visits of "Tawawish," pearl buyers, who come out in launches to the banks to offer ready cash for their purchases, and by visits of hospital and police launches from Bahrain. The end of the diving season, as well as the date of its commencement, is laid down by the annual proclamation of the Bahrain Government. [312] [137] [656]

Despite the tales of travellers, sharks and saw-fish are not a very great menace to divers, they are in fact a rarity and for many years no diver has been attacked by either fish. The blue jelly-fish is more feared than either, for with its long tentacles it can give a most unpleasant sting, and it is to combat it that in the jelly-fish season many divers wear a form of cotton combinations covering all parts of the body except hands and eyes. The detrimental effect of diving on the men's health is often exaggerated, and with the better diet and medical treatment the divers of today are a healthy set of men and compare favourably with workers in other industries. [136]

The financing of a pearl boat is a complicated affair. Formerly most boats were owned by their captains, but today the majority of the larger boats belong to land merchants. In cases where boats belong to captains but are financed by land merchants, the latter make a profit of about 10%, but in cases where the merchants both own and provision the boats they receive 20% of the profits. After deducting costs, the remainder of the profit is shared in fixed proportions, the nakhuda receiving five parts, the diver two and the Saib one.

When the nakhuda sells the catch he must always be accompanied by two members of the crew, to see fair play. Sales are carried out in an unusual way. If the nakhuda and the purchaser or broker do not want the audience to know the amounts offered for the pearls, and as the sales take place in the quarter of the pearl brokers there are always interested bystanders, they spread a cloth over their hands and bargain by a sort of deaf and dumb language. Once they have agreed on the price the nakhuda must obtain the consent of the two witnesses before the sale is considered valid. The value of the pearls is established in a special way. In the case of ordinary pearls, they are collected in great numbers, sorted for size by a set of graded sieves, and each group is weighed and counted and their value in "chows," a form of measurement derived from the weight of the pearls, is discovered from a book printed for the purpose. Once a pearl or pearls have been assessed at so many chows, the question of the value per chow is settled by bargaining, the price per chow depending on the average shape, texture and colour in the case of bunches of pearls or in single pearls. In the case of pairs of pearls their value depends greatly on how well they are matched. Seed pearls, the smallest form of pearls, are sold entirely by weight, while a single pearl has been known to sell for as much as £15,000, as in the case of the Bahrain pearl which was eventually bought by a well known American lady.

It is very difficult to estimate the value of the Bahrain catch in past years, the figure for 1833 was estimated at £240,000, £400,000 in 1835 and £303,941 in 1896. In more recent years the Bahrain Government has given official figures which outline the history of the industry during the past quarter of a century. In 1833 it was also said that there were 1,500 boats leaving Bahrain annually for the pearl banks, and in 1896, 900. The largest number of Bahrain pearling boats has been given as 2,000 but this figure is probably an exaggeration. That the industry has declined is proved by the figures, in 1930, 509 boats manned by 19,300 men found pearls worth Rs. 2,125,000, while in 1948 there were only 83 boats with a crew of 2,000 and finding a catch worth Rs. 855,000. Although the numbers of boats and divers decreased by about 6 times and 9 times respectively it is noticeable that the catch only decreased in value by 2½ times and in 1950 the catch was worth Rs. 1,650,000, more than half of the 1930 figure.

The reason for the decline in the industry, which started in 1930, was the severe trade depression which began in that year and which reduced the wealth of those in Europe who were in the habit of buying

pearls, and also the large scale manufacture of cultured pearls in Japan. It was indeed lucky for Bahrain that oil was found in 1932, or else she would have seen her principal industry slowly decline with nothing with which to replace it. Once the oil industry was established, however, it in its turn served to precipitate the decay of the older industry by providing employment with better conditions and higher pay than were to be found on the pearl banks. The decline had also been unwittingly aided by the reforms of the late Ruler, Shaikh Hamed, who, on becoming Deputy Ruler in 1923, found the working conditions of the industry in a shocking state. The pearl banks were productive and much money was being made but little of it went to the divers, many of whom had involved themselves in a form of financial slavery to the nakhudas. Divers were given advances by the captains before the season, to provide for their families while they were away at sea, and at the end of the season, while the sales of the pearls, were being carried out. The eventual result was that the captains gave advances far in excess of the money due to the divers at the end of the season and to repay these loans the divers were forced to work for the same captain in the following season. But each year the advances were again in excess of the divers' earnings and so they got deeper and deeper into debt to the captains. At the same time the latter were indebted to shore merchants for supplies, for which they were charged high rates of interest, although this was contrary to the Sheria Law. The captains passed this interest on to the divers, who thus paid a minimum of 50% of their original debt each year. Diving debts were bequeathed, sons of divers whose fathers died owing money to captains were forced to work for them, and a diver, if he became too old to work, was only released from diving if he was replaced by his son or some other relation. In addition to this, indebted divers were often made to work on land for their creditors, or were handed over as workers to merchants to whom the nakhuda owed money.

Shaikh Hamed was determined to abolish all these practices and was supported by some of the more progressive Arabs and the Shiite and Sunni judges, who disapproved of the whole system. Amongst the bitterest opponents of the reforms were the divers themselves who were persuaded by the nakhudas and merchants into believing that they were going to lose by them. The reforms were, however, introduced and resulted in fixed advances, the amounts of which were announced annually by proclamation, the restriction of interest on advances, and all advances in excess of the legal amounts to be unreclaimable in court. The divers were also entitled to seek other work on the condition that they repaid a certain proportion of their diving debt each year. Many thousands of debts were reduced and the special diving court, which had favoured the captains and merchants, was abolished and all diving cases were heard by the ordinary courts. Finally, the debts of a diver died with him and could not be inherited by his heirs. The result of these reforms was that the industry, although reduced in size was put on a much sounder footing and its workers were not forced to dive but did so because they wanted to.

228 656 178 The Bahrain Government has tried hard to encourage the diving industry, by the remittance of the registration fees on diving boats, by customs concessions and by other means, but it is certain that the industry will never return to its palmy days when so many of the people of Bahrain were connected with it or depended on it.

228 431 609 Visitors to the pearl banks are advised to set out at about midnight from Bahrain. Launches can be hired in Manama or Muharraq and if they leave at twelve midnight, the banks will be reached at two or three in the morning. The remainder of the night can be spent lying at anchor and in the early morning the opening of the shells can be watched, followed by the preparations for the day's work and the actual diving. The divers have no objection to being photographed at their work and welcome foreigners on board their boats, they do, however, appreciate a present from visitors and it is a good plan to take out some fresh dates or other fruit, for the boats, particularly at the end of the season, are usually low in fresh provisions and such a gift is very welcome.

## CHAPTER VII

## LOCAL INDUSTRIES

### THE POTTERIES

323 [438] PEARLING is not the only ancient industry in Bahrain, for the presence in many parts of the islands of pottery sherds indicates that pottery has been made here for many centuries. Today this industry is restricted to the village of Aali whose inhabitants work in the same way as did their forefathers, scorning modern innovations.

[472] From the hills around Rifaa the clay is brought to Aali; brown and red clay for the coarser objects and white clay for finer work. The raw clay is beaten and then mixed with water until it is ready for throwing by the younger members of the potter's family, for each pottery is a separate family concern. All the processes which go into the making of pottery take place in small sheds, in each one a potter can be seen at work, his feet in a pit working the wheel which is on a level with his waist. Rapidly he flings lumps of clay on to the spinning wheel and with deft fingers works the shapeless mud into graceful jars, bowls and other utensils. When each piece is completed it is set in the sun to dry before being taken to the oven. Most of the ovens [172] are built in the prehistoric tumuli south of the village, which have been excavated. A hole is made in the roof of the tomb and another at the side; in the former the objects to be baked are placed and the latter is filled with firewood. When the fires are lit the tombs become miniature volcanoes with thick smoke belching from their peaks, slowly the fires die down, the smoke clears and the baked pottery is removed and the ovens are prepared for the next baking.

The products of Aali are simple in the extreme, pots, bowls, water jars and dishes, utensils which have always been used by the people of Bahrain and which still find a ready market though the increased prosperity of the people enables them to buy cheap imported goods. It is not necessary to go to Aali itself to see the products of the potteries for at the Suq al-Araba in Manama on Wednesday mornings and at the Suq al-Khamis market on Thursday mornings the people of Aali bring their goods for sale. 323 [443]

At Aali the photographer will find many subjects for his camera. The potters in their workshops with the sun shining on the damp yellow clay, the symmetrical stacks of jars drying in the sun, the small boys in bright clothes running up and down the steep sides of the tumuli with objects to be baked and finally the removal of the finished articles, all these scenes provide fascinating pictures.

## NURA (LIME)

Aali, as well as being the centre of the Bahrain pottery industry, is the principal place where lime is produced. Stone for the purpose is hewn from the ground in many parts of Bahrain, especially near Rifaa, and is taken in lorries or in donkey carts to Aali. Here the blocks of limestone are arranged on layers of wood, usually date palm trunks, and the wood is then fired. Men with large wooden flails stand round the piles of lime-stone and beat it into powder, chanting as they work and timing the singing to the down strokes of the threshers. When the lime becomes fine powder it is sieved and then placed in sacks. The produce of Aali commands a ready sale, for all the white-wash used in Bahrain is made there or in the neighbourhood and with the present building activities the people of the country have their work cut out to supply the local demand. 317 438 [461] [339]

There is also in Bahrain a lime factory, owned by a member of the Ruling Family, where lime is produced by modern methods.

## FISHING

Fish and fish oil are used for many purposes in Bahrain. The former is one of the staple items of food among the poorer classes, it is used for manure in gardens and for feeding cows and donkeys. Fish oil is used for oiling wooden boats to make them seaworthy. The fact that Bahrain cows are fed on fish, together with dates, date stones, lucerne and bran, leads people to expect that the local milk will taste unusual. This is not true despite the reports of journalists, who hear about the fishy diet without tasting the milk and describe its flavour as unpleasant. Milk from Bahrain cows, if they receive a balanced diet, is unusually good and has a higher average fat content than the milk of ordinary English cows. The use of fish oil on the boats along the shore has little to commend itself to visitors, the smell is extremely disagreeable and drives the people who live in houses near the sea to shut all their windows when the boats are being treated. 262 237 501

226 There are many different ways of fishing in Bahrain. Most of the fish is caught in "hadhra", fish traps built from palm branches. From the air these traps are a conspicious feature in the Persian Gulf, looking like huge arrow-heads with two long wings and a small circular head set along the shore and pointing out to sea. On closer inspection it can be seen that the sides of the arrow consist of fences built of date branches fastened into the ground and tied with rope, these lead to a circular enclosure at the end of the trap. The principle is simple ; as the tide comes in the fish approach the shore, when the tide recedes it carries them into the arms of the trap and eventually into the trap itself where they are left flapping about in the shallow water. The owner of [423] the trap then comes from the shore and collects the catch. The sites of the traps are very valuable and are registered in the Land Department. Some sites have been sold for as much as 30,000 rupees. Poaching fish in the area of a fish trap is regarded as a serious offence.

Another type of fish trap is like a giant lobster pot, made from wire and as much as eight feet in diameter. This is filled with ground bait, the fish enter it through a narrow funnel in its side and once there they are unable to escape. Fish of many sizes and varieties are caught in these traps, which can be seen on the shore along the Muharraq water front.

Nets of various kinds are used including circular throwing nets and drifters. The sight of an experienced net thrower is always fascinating and fishermen using this form of net can often be seen in the shallow seas to the south of the Manama-Muharraq Causeway. Drifting nets with pieces of date palm bark in place of corks are also popular and are used by the villagers on the coast. Fishing with hook and line is practised mostly by sporting amateurs and those who fish for amusement off the Causeway and elsewhere. The local fishermen depend mainly on traps, nets and Sim.

Sim, which literally means "poison," is the seed of the Persian Lilac tree and is much used in Bahrain during the hot weather. The seed, when dried, is pounded up into a mixture of dead crabs, small fish and paste which serves as bait. The fishermen choose a calm warm day when the tide is coming in and sprinkle the mixture on shallow water so that it will drift over the area where they expect to find fish. After a short wait small fish appear flapping about on the surface, apparently chasing their tails or else diving steeply. Soon the larger fish appear, behaving in the same manner. The fishermen then slip into the sea and set about catching the fish, which is by no means easy, for though the fish are doped they are still able to elude the grasping hands of the fishermen. Sometimes very big hauls of fish are caught in this manner. The effects of the drug are not lasting and the fish who have eluded the fishermen recover and swim away. Although Sim has a stupifying effect on fish it does no harm to people who eat them. Much of the fish which is sold in the markets of Manama, Muharraq and Hedd has been caught in this way.

Some twenty years ago a Danish scientific expedition paid two visits to the Persian Gulf to report on the fish found in it. They discovered that there were over 400 species. 114 136

AGRICULTURE

Parts of Bahrain have always been fertile and very probably in ancient times more land was under cultivation than is being used today. The gardens of Bahrain are mentioned by many ancient visitors to the islands. The captains of Alexander's ships described Tylos, the ancient name of Bahrain, as "well-wooded and productive" while Idrisi, writing in the 12th century, says that the "capital of Awal (Bahrain Island) is Bahrain; this is a town well populated whose environs are fertile and produce corn and dates in abundance." It could be that the capital of Bahrain mentioned by Idrisi was Bilad al-Qadim, the description would seem to imply this. 311 361

Formerly the Bahrain gardens were irrigated from natural springs and surface wells, the water either flowing from the springs into the gardens or being lifted from wells to the level of the land by various forms of water scoops. The most commonly used is the Shaduf. A man stands near the edge of the well and draws up the water in a sheep skin bag attached by ropes to a counter-balanced pole. In larger wells donkeys or oxen are used, walking endlessly up and down a ramp pulling the water to the surface from where it runs down into irrigation channels. As the rainfall in Bahrain is almost negligible all agriculture depends upon irrigation. 312

In the 20's and 30's Major Frank Holmes drilled many artesian wells in Bahrain which completely changed Bahrain's system of irrigation. By introducing these wells into the island Major Holmes did much to increase the area of land which could be cultivated, but artesian wells turned out to be a mixed blessing, for in the following years so many wells were drilled that the water head went down and some of the gardens in the south of Bahrain dried up. Today this problem is being met by a government Water Committee which decides whether and under what conditions new wells may be drilled, it tries to ensure that the water resources of the islands are maintained at their present level or even increased by the utilisation of the many large springs of fresh water which lie under the sea around the shores of Bahrain. 312 647 653

The two commonest crops in Bahrain are dates and lucerne (alfalfa), the latter is often grown in the shade of the date palms where its vivid greenness provides a contrast to the brown and grey-green of the date palms. There is little good fruit in Bahrain although a certain number of fruit trees are cultivated, these include citrus, tamarind, pomegranate, fig, guava, terminalia (indian almond) mango, bananas, grapes and kanard (a small apple-like fruit). European vegetables are grown in the cold weather and other ground crops include sweet potatoes, melons, tomatoes, ladies fingers, egg plants, onions, garlic and pumpkins. 241

241 565 461 Almost all the cultivators are Baharna or Hassawis, who are of the Shiite sect, descendants of Baharna who emigrated to Arabia. The Sunni Arabs do not work in the gardens. The people living in the villages which are scattered among the date gardens originally earned their livelihood entirely by working in the gardens; now many of them are employed by the oil company or in Manama. During the date [221] picking season, which in many ways resembles the hop picking season in England, temporary villages of palm branch huts spring up among the date gardens when people from other parts of Bahrain come to pick the crop.

565 The village people are the aboriginal inhabitants of the country and in the past they suffered much during the many invasions of Bahrain when their homes, gardens and water channels were destroyed and even in times of peace they were regarded as milch cows, whose wealth was extracted by their rulers. But in recent times their position has changed, they are more prosperous than they used to be and are on terms of equality with their neighbours.

## BOAT BUILDING

174 It is claimed by some authorities on Middle Eastern history that the Phoenicians originated in Bahrain and sailed their craft up the Gulf, which then extended much farther northwards than it does today and following the Euphrates to the point where the river is nearest to the Syrian coast, they landed and settled there. This may or may not be true but there is no doubt that the people of Bahrain have been sailors for at least as many centuries as the pearl industry has been in existence and their stitched boats not only sailed the Persian Gulf but entered the Indian Ocean.

501 396 Most of Bahrain's boats were in former days employed as pearlers, and although the Kuwait shipyards built the largest craft it was natural that Bahrain, nearer the Indian source of timber and itself the centre of the pearling industry, should have its own yards. It should also be remembered that Kuwait is a comparatively modern town, having been founded early in the 18th century, before which date it did not attain importance as a harbour for north-east Arabia.

Today most of the boat building is carried on in Muharraq, although there are some yards at the western end of Manama. In former days, before iron nails were obtainable, Arab boats were not nailed but stitched together, with a giant needle and cord as thread, yet these boats of such fragile construction were able to weather the heaviest gales that swept the Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

In recent years launches have been made in greater numbers than sailing boats, so builders have inclined to specialise in the construction of those boats to which engines can best be fitted. For this reason many "jalibuts" have been built, they can be identified by their vertical bow and the straightness of the keel. The origin of this name is doubtful and many suggestions have been made to explain it. Possibly

the most logical is that of H. R. P. Dickson, who says in his *The Arab of the Desert* that the name is derived from the Indian boat called "Gallevat" which is in turn derived from the Portuguese "Galeote" or Galley. 501 396

The type of craft most used for pearling in Bahrain is the Sambuq, which has a long finely curved bow and a square stern. It has two masts and is usually fully decked. Another boat of the same type is the Shu'ai, which only differs from the Sambuq in the shape of the stem piece. A second boat with Portuguese connections is the Baghala, a large craft with a comparatively short curved stem-piece. The Baghala has a distinctive square stern set with windows, which, although often false, give the stern the appearance of an old fashioned European man-of-war. The largest boat now being built is the Boom, which can be identified by its long straight stem-piece and its stern, set about 10° from the vertical.

Boats are not built on the scale of former days, for the decline of the pearling industry and the development of the fast launch have reduced the demand for the large old-fashioned sailing boats. Launches need a smaller crew, they are more useful for work between steamers and the shore and over short distances, and are now in many other ways a more satisfactory investment than sailing boats.

Many small types of boats are used around the shores of Bahrain for fishing and for carrying passengers between the islands. Some of these are built like miniature sambuq, while others have the vertical bow of the jalibut. There is also the huri, a primitive canoe hollowed out of the trunk of a tree and imported from Africa for use as a ship's dinghy. An entirely local product is the huwairiyah, a craft built of date stems tightly tied together with date fibre and soaked in fish oil. These little boats, which if well made are entirely water-proof, can carry a man or two boys and are used for fishing and ferrying.

A question that always confuses visitors to Bahrain is the word "dhow"; this name, originally unknown to the Arabs, is used by Europeans to include all Persian Gulf sailing boats, and has become so general that Arabs, finding the word useful, are now beginning to use it themselves.

The craftsmen who make the boats of Bahrain have an interesting sideline, they make perfect miniature models of the large sailing boats, not only of the ones at present in use but also of the obsolete types, and these can be purchased from them and make interesting ornaments in the house or souvenirs of Bahrain. [523]

JUS

"Jus," the Arabic for gypsum, has always been used for building purposes in Bahrain; the pre-historic tombs are lined with it and it was used for the construction of the 10th century mosque at the Suq al-Khamis. It is found in slabs below the ground and is collected in many places in Bahrain, in Lozi, from the desert north of Awali and from the Howar Islands. The gypsum is often prepared on the spot where it 316 339

316 339 is quarried, lorry loads of wood are brought out, and, as in the manufacture of lime, layers of gypsum are interspersed with layers of wood and the pile fired. The slabs of gypsum are then removed and beaten into a fine powder which, when mixed with water, acts like cement. It has the advantage of being quick setting and is still used by those who cannot afford to buy imported cement.

### WEAVING

288 438 291 [697] Weaving is carried on in some of the villages of Bahrain, in Abu Saiba, south of the Budaiya Road and elsewhere. "Awzars," simple garments worn by the villagers around their waists in the summer, are woven from imported cotton, while in many coastal villages the sailors spend the winters weaving sail-cloth. The prisoners on Jidda Island are also employed in weaving, on imported Irish looms, but their activities can hardly be classed as a local industry.

## CHAPTER VIII

## THE ANTIQUITIES OF BAHRAIN

### THE WORLD'S LARGEST GRAVEYARD

172 764 THE tumuli of Bahrain have never been counted, but their number has been estimated at 50,000. In these tumuli Bahrain possesses one of the unsolved mysteries of archaeology, for despite the numerous expeditions that have been made to discover their origin, this is still in dispute.

There are three groups of tumuli in Bahrain. The largest group is that which lies on the plain between Aali and the Rifaas. The second group is to the far north of Bahrain, on each side of the Manama-Budaiya Road between Jidhafs and Diraz. The third group, consisting of a few dozen graves, is in the clearing to the north of the Suq al-Khamis Mosque.

The first group of tombs is daily passed by hundreds of people travelling between Manama and Awali, but the best examples of tumuli in this group are not along the main road but are near the village of Aali. These mounds are the largest in Bahrain and while some of them are used by the villagers for baking their pottery, the majority are just as they were left after their opening by various archaeologists. Most of these tombs face south-west and P. B. Cornwall[1] has suggested that the reason for this is that the builders of the mounds worshipped the Evening Star, Venus, which at sunset lies to the south-west. The majority of the tumuli have two storeys and, in the chamber tombs, there are niches cut into the sides of the passages. The sides and roofs of the graves themselves are of local stone and were originally covered with a layer of gypsum. Some of the tumuli are surrounded by low walls of mud and gravel. Finds in these tumuli have included the bones of men and animals, ivory statues, pieces of circular boxes, golden ornaments and earthenware vessels decorated with black stripes.

There is little agreement among the experts as to the origin and dating of these burials and each has drawn his own deductions from the

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953. MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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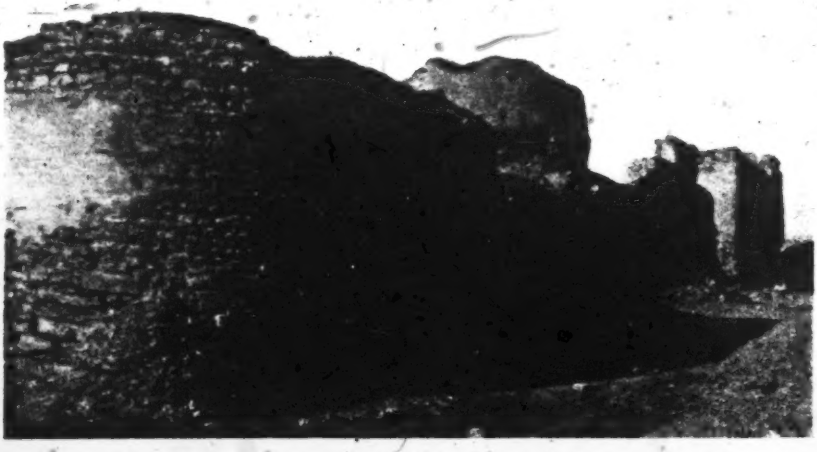

The North Wall of the Portuguese Fort. *Photo : Sir Charles Belgrave.*

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Divers at work. To the right a diver can be seen wearing a cotton garment as a protection against jelly-fish. *Photo : Sir Charles Belgrave.*

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1958 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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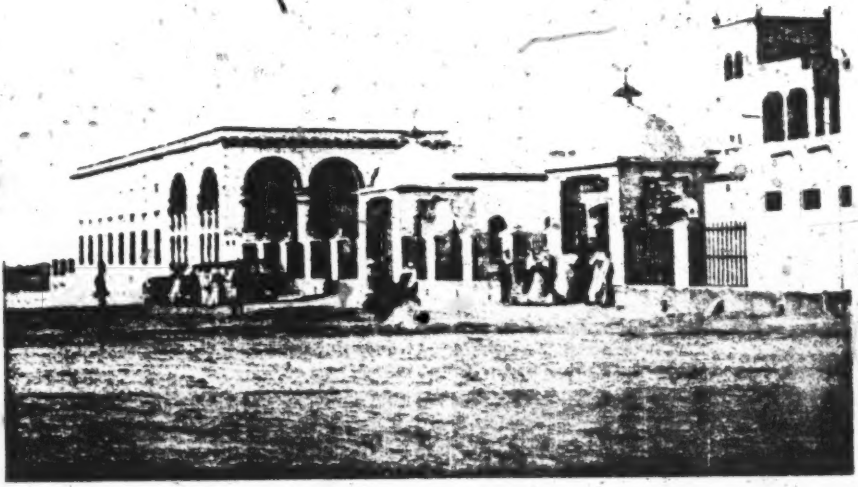

The Ruler's Palace at Rifaa al-Gharbi. Photo : National Art Studio.

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An Aali potter making jar tops.

A hunting falcon on the hand of one of the Ruler's retainers. Photo : Sir Charles Belgrove.

1. Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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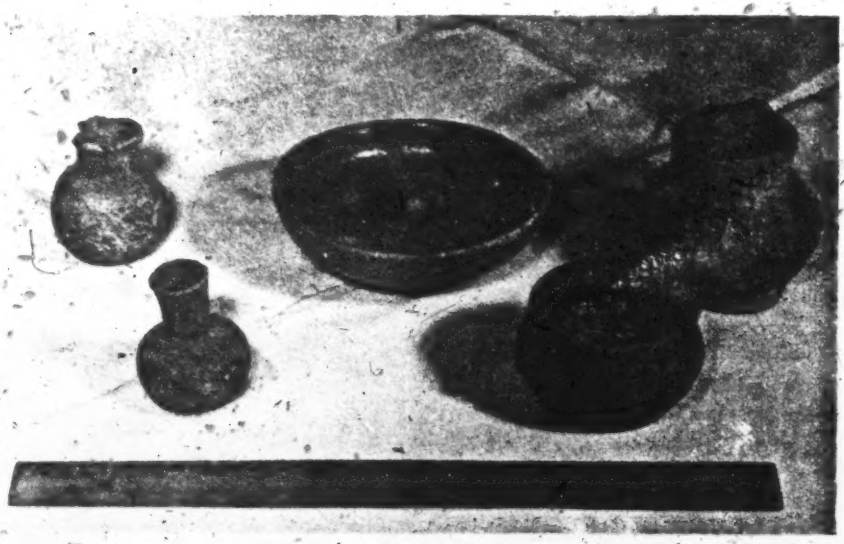

A bowl and some jars found in a tumulus on the Budeiya Road. *Photo : General Stores*

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The Ruins of the Suq al-Khamis Mosque. *Photo : The Author.*

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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North Bahrain in 1635. A map taken from a Portuguese book on India (see *Chapter VIII*). *Photo : Courtesy of Royal Egyptian Geographical Society.*

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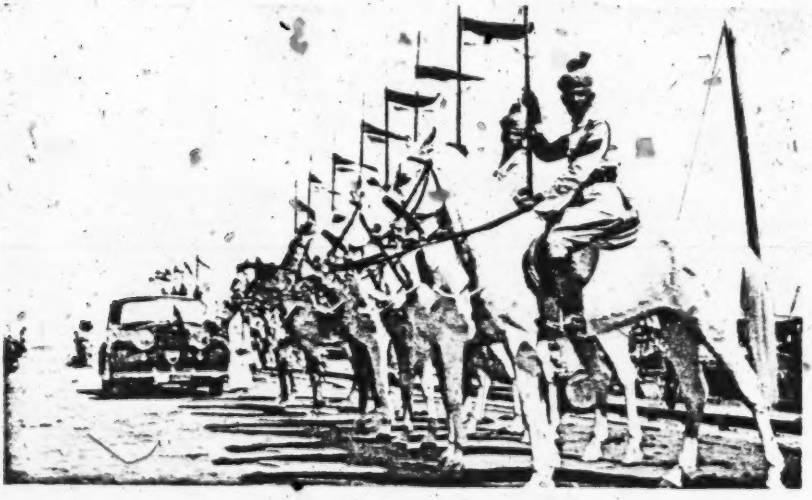

Bahrain State Police, Mounted Section. *Photo : K. P. Narayan*

finds that have been made. Mackay, who opened 34 tumuli in 1924, believed that they were the work of nomads who brought their dead from the mainland of Arabia. He gives as proof for this theory the fact that the pottery he found was round-bottomed, indicating that it was used in sandy country, and also the finding of ostrich eggs. After a study of the bronze objects and taking into consideration other finds Mackay considered that the tombs dated from between 1500 and 1200 B.C.

Cornwall also believes that the Aali tombs date from the second millennium B.C.[3] and holds to the belief that the ancient "Dilmun" of cuneiform inscriptions was the Bahrain Island of to-day. Dr. W. F. Albright, who has also studied some of the finds from these tombs, places them in the first half of the second millenium B.C.

Inscriptions are of particular help to archaeologists but only one cuneiform inscription has been discovered in Bahrain, the stone slab found by Captain Durand[4] and described in Part II. This is the only cuneiform and indeed the only pre-Islamic inscription that has been found in Bahrain.

Proceeding from Manama to Budaiya the road passes through the village of Jidhafs, and beyond it through some more tumuli. Many of these mounds are also of some size and there are a number of interesting specimens which have been opened, disclosing the complex interiors and the protecting walls built from large blocks of stone. In each of these tombs there were a number of burials, in some the skeletons lay at full length, in others they were in a crouching position. Finds in these tombs also included glass and pottery, jewellery, household implements and objects carved from ivory and bone.

Mackay, who also opened some of these tombs, dates them from the third century B.C., while P. B. Cornwall believes that they were built during the Sassanid period (226-640 A.D.). It is known that the Persians seized Bahrain during the reign of Shapur II, following raids by the Arab inhabitants on the Persian coast ; Shapur reigned from 300—325 A.D.

These two views are very different, but there is yet a third divergent view about these same tumuli. While the Bahrain Government was building a new road in this area it also opened some tumuli and the contents, which included ivory, glass, stone and pottery, were sent to the British Museum for identification. Their verdict was that beads found in the tumuli were a mixture of Arab and pre-historic work ; that the bronze objects were of Sassanid origin ; that a bronze bust was of the second to fifth century A.D.; and that a granite pot, with legs, decorated with oblique lines and circles in bands, was of very early date, possibly 2500 B.C. or even prehistoric. The Museum considered that the tombs were probably built between the sixth and eighth century A.D., which was the date of Islamic pottery found in them, and the experts explained the presence of such a mixture of objects by the fact that excavated material has always been valued throughout the Middle East and was often used by its finders.

172 764 The tumuli on the Budaiya road are therefore as interesting as those to the south, in the Aali group, and are well worth a visit. Also on the north side of the road is a large mound believed to have been a temple of some sort; this can be distinguished by its large rooms and high protecting wall.

The third and smallest group of tombs is the group to the north of the Suq al-Khamis Mosque. While no detailed study has been made of these tumuli, the Manama Municipality, while collecting sand in this area, unearthed a tomb containing a small stone bowl with a simple circular design around the rim. According to the British Museum, this bowl dated from about 2500 B.C. and so it would seem that it has some connection with the granite bowl found near the Budaiya Road.

### THE SUQ AL-KHAMIS MOSQUE AND BILAD AL-QADIM

172 778 346 The oldest existing Moslem building in Bahrain and one of the most ancient Islamic relics in the Persian Gulf is the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, situated in the centre of the clearing about three miles from Manama on the road to Awali. Although its unusual twin minarets serve to identify it to the visitor, they are of comparatively recent construction and the ruined columns and walls within the low wall are all that remain of the ancient structure.

For many years the mosque has been slowly decaying, but in 1950 the Bahrain Government carried out some restoration work and the blocks and columns which for many years had lain in the sand were restored to their original position, the floor was cleared of the scrub growing there and it is now possible to obtain a better idea of the original shape and appearance of the mosque. Its former importance is shown by its careful construction from heavy columns and blocks hewn from Bahrain stone. There are few other ancient mosques in Bahrain which have been built with such care, most of them are simple erections of wood and mud, closely resembling the typical open mosques found, to this day, in Saudi Arabia.

The Suq al-Khamis Mosque differs from these other mosques in that it is of the more advanced courtyard type. The mosque itself is surrounded by an outer wall which was originally 27 by 30 yards but which is now slightly smaller. The interior of the mosque consists of three naves on each side of a central courtyard, the columns of the naves, which have been replaced by the Bahrain Government, are built from drum-shaped stones 1 ft. by 2 ft. and joined together with mortar. The pillar facades of the courtyard are still standing as they were built by the makers of the mosque. The Qibla (west) wall consists of broad pillars with half-column profiles and, according to Diez,[5] the strengthening wall of ragstone that can be seen at the base of the pillars and colums of the courtyard was erected when the mosque was rebuilt in the fifteenth century. The side walls of the courtyard are formed from double columns and the entrance or east wall of single columns. An interesting find that was made while the Bahrain Government was working on the mosque was of two graves below the east wall. The

graves were like those in the ancient graveyard nearby, they did not point towards Mecca as do Moslem graves, and so it would seem that the mosque was built on top of part of the ancient burial ground. The pillars and columns of the mosque were connected by keel-pointed arches and the ceiling was supported by two teak pillars 13 feet in height on the top of which rested a beam. The pillars and beam have been removed from the mosque and are in the possession of the Bahrain Government. It would seem that owing to the comparative weakness, of the pillars the roof can only have been made of some light material probably brushwood or palm-branches covered with earth.

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Diez states that when he visited the mosque, early in the century, there was a long inscription in the Qibla wall of the courtyard which showed that the mosque in its latest form was built in the year 740 A.H. (1339/40 A.D.). This tablet, together with some inscribed blocks which used to be above the Qibla wall, have fallen from their place and while some pieces of them are still in the possession of the Bahrain Government many have disappeared. These inscriptions and the square inscribed stone over the door of the western minaret are all of the same period, but it seems probable that the shorter inscription near the door of the minaret dates from the eleventh century A.D. At the feet of the pillars of the west wall of the courtyard are the remains of two Qibla stones. These have also fallen into disrepair since the visit of Diez, the top half of each stone has disappeared and the writer has been unable to trace them. The presence of these Qibla stones is unusual, only in the mosques of Ibn Tulun in Cairo and of the Prophet at Medina are they present. Qibla stones were used before the introduction of the mihrab niche to indicate the direction of prayer.

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The two Qibla stones bear inscriptions that show them to be of Shiite origin and so the mosque in its present form is a Shiite one. The inscription on a wooden pillar which once supported the roof and which has also disappeared, was of the same period and bore a similar inscription. The wooden pillars formerly in the mosque led Diez to ascribe the original mosque to the tenth or eleventh centuries A.D. It is interesting to note that wooden pillars of the same style and with the same ornamentation were found in the mosque at Samarra, in Iraq, which was founded by the Caliph al-Mu'tasim in 836 A.D. The mosque also had a school and a well attached to it, the traces of the latter can still be seen near the graves to the east of the mosque itself.

In the corner of Bilad al-Qadim nearest to the Suq al-Khamis mosque is another ancient inscription, in the mosque known as Masjid ar-Raf'ia. This is also a Qibla stone, set into the west wall of the mosque, but although it is in Kufic characters the work does not seem as fine as in the Kufic inscriptions in the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, possibly because this mosque was of less importance than the one at the Suq. The inscription bears the names of Muhammad, Ali, Fatima, Hussein and Hassan and is therefore also of Shiite origin. Bilad al-Qadim itself presents a sorry spectacle and with the exception of the

south-west corner the town is deserted and in ruins. Also on this plain is the Abu Zaidan Mosque, built over a spring of the same name. This mosque has recently been repaired by the Government and is much used by the Shia people of Manama, especially by the women during weddings.

To the north of the Budaiya Road is the ruined mosque of Abu Mahara, a strange little building with two storeys and a tall column in the centre of the spring. This mosque was built in the year 889 A.H. (1484 A.D.) as shown by an inscription to this effect in its west wall.

There are many other mosques in Bahrain, some of which contain inscriptions giving the date of their foundation, but they are of comparatively recent date and the mosques themselves are of no architectural interest.

## THE FORTS OF BAHRAIN

Portuguese and Persians, Arabs and Omanis, all these have at one time or another attacked and occupied Bahrain and have retained control of the islands by the construction and garrisoning of forts and castles. The oldest surviving fort in Bahrain is the Qalat al-Ajaj, built by the Portuguese some time after their occupation of Bahrain in 1521. This fort lies on the northern shore of Bahrain Island some three miles from Manama and the easiest way to visit it is by driving along the Manama-Budaiya Road and then by turning off to the north when the ruins of the fort can be seen through the date palms.

On the sea shore below the fort can be seen the steps by which the Portuguese entered their boats, but with the exception of these remains there are no relics of the Portuguese in Bahrain. A number of cannon have been found, but there is a surprising absence of inscriptions, coins or gravestones.

The exact date of the construction of the fort is not known, but the fort was repaired in 1562 and 1586, this need for continual repair was no doubt due to the many revolts which took place in Bahrain against the Portuguese. Shaikh Khalifah an-Nabhani, in his history of Bahrain, mentions that he visited the fort and saw this latter date inscribed in four places on the walls of the fort, but today there is no sign of these inscriptions.

Page 62 shows a map of north Bahrain Island and Muharraq taken from a Portuguese book of the seventeenth century. It is interesting to see that whereas the Portuguese fort, in fact, has five sides, with square towers at four corners and a turret at the fifth, in the map the fort appears as square in shape while the moat is five-sided. The fort is at present in such a bad state of repair that it is almost impossible to discover the purposes of the various towers and chambers found in it, but an idea can be obtained of the great skill and care that went into the making of the walls by an examination of the towers and wall on the west side of the fort. The moat is no longer filled by the sea due to its neglect, although after the expulsion of the Portuguese the fort continued to be used by the Persian garrison in Bahrain.

A further examination of the map reveals that in the time of the

Portuguese there was a church in Bahrain (bottom left-hand corner) and it is possible that the ruins that can be seen by the side of the road leading to the fort were once a church. Also in the map is a village of black-roofed houses with one tall minaret-like building, probably the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, whose twin minarets, as stated above, are of comparatively recent origin. The map also shows a number of small black houses facing on to a bay, these could represent the town of Manama, then a village, which is known to have existed in the time of the Portuguese. What is more surprising is the large two-storeyed fort on Muharraq Island ; this cannot be explained as easily as the other items, for there is to-day only one fort on Muharraq Island, that of Arad, which is known to have been built by the Omanis in 1800. It could be that they built their fort on the ruins of another older one, but it is also possible that this fort represents Muharraq town, which, until comparatively recently, was protected by a wall. On the map to the right of the fort is a small building with two flags, probably the tomb of some local notable, and to the left of the fort there is another group of houses representing either Muharraq or one of the coastal villages. Finally there is the island of Abu Mahir, whose fort is indicated by a small tower set in the sea to the left of Muharraq Island. The book from which this map is taken is in the Bibliothéque Nationale de Paris and the map is here reproduced by kindness of the Royal Geographical Society of Egypt.

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Some miles south of the Jebal ad-Dukhan there is a hill called 'Amr and crowning it is a fort, a simple construction of loose stones, built, according to tradition, by Shaikh Jabbara, who became ruler of Bahrain about 1698 A.D. Far from gardens and fresh water, this fort was in fact in an ideal position from which to guard Bahrain against foreign enemies, for the sea is visible to the east and the west. The story of Shaikh Jabbara will be told in Part III.

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The palace of Shaikh Farir is said to have been situated at Rifaa ash-Sharqi, overlooking the central plain of Bahrain island and, to-day, the oil town of Awali. The fort of Rifaa ash-Sharqi in its present form was built by Shaikh Sulman bin Ahmed al-Khalifah, one of the early Khalifah rulers, who started work on it in 1812. The wooden doors that he caused to be set up can still be seen at the entrance to the house of the Amir of Rifaa, the inscriptions that they bear, when the numerical values of the letters are added up, indicate that the fort was built in the above year.

Returning to Manama, we pass the Qalat ad-Diwan, to-day used as the H.Q. of the Bahrain State Police. Although this fort has been modernised, the main outline is still recognisable as it was built on the orders of Nadir Shah, after he seized Bahrain in 1739. This fort contained the Persian garrison in Bahrain till they were expelled by the Khalifah. Shaikh Isa (1869-1932) often used the Qalat ad-Diwan as his summer palace until it was taken over by the Police.

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In Muharraq Island a rather comic toy-like fort sits on the seashore of Arad Bay facing Muharraq town. A simple construction of

172 high walls around a central courtyard are all that it consists of, and some
712 of the Omani guns still remain in the towers. The fort was built in 1800 by the Ruler of Muscat, Sultan bin Ahmed, who in that year seized Bahrain from the Khalifah and sent his brother, Sayed Said, to govern the Islands they were soon expelled but later returned. The Muscatis remained in their fort for nine years, but after their expulsion in 1809 by the Khalifah-Saudi alliance the fort was left deserted.

Near Muharraq town is the fort of Abu Mahur, already mentioned in connection with the Portuguese map and named after one of the largest undersea springs in Bahrain, which is situated near it. The fort, which dominates the southern approach to Muharraq and Manama, was built on the island-peninsular of Abu Mahur by Shaikh Abdulla al-Khalifah, who ruled jointly with his brother Sulman, builder of the fort at Rifaa ash-Sharqi. In 1843 Shaikh Abdulla was expelled from Bahrain by his son Muhammad, who was also unable to enjoy a peaceful reign, for after a dispute with Qatar Muhammad was replaced as Ruler of Bahrain by his brother Ali and the British shelled the fort
[744] of Abu Mahur, which was destroyed with the exception of one tower. More recently the remains of the fort and the island was given to the Baluchi retainers of the Khalifah, but in 1930 the Baluchis were given land elsewhere and the island was turned into a Quarantine Station. This is therefore a fort which visitors are not advised to visit.

### THE QANATS

312 "Qanat" is the Arabic name for the underground water channels
172 which are found in many parts of Bahrain, particularly in the south-west of the island. Here, among others, is a long channel running inland from Sadad, another brings water to Karzarkan from the spring called Ijraiyi, a mile and a half to the north, and a third channel runs from the spring of Malakiya to the village of the same name. These are but a few of the many channels in Bahrain.

312 These channels are present in great numbers in Persia and are also
171 found in eastern Saudi-Arabia and Syria. It is probable that those in Bahrain were first built by the Persians. It is stated in at least one history that they were the work of the Persian King Anushirvan who captured Bahrain from the Arabs in the fourth century A.D. They have often been mentioned by travellers to Bahrain and in a local history it is stated that during a war that took place in the eighth century between the people of Bahrain and an army sent by the Caliph, the Bahrainis made good use of these same channels by passing through them till they reached the rear of the enemy forces and then making a successful surprise attack.

312 The channels were built to prevent the wastage of water from evapor-
172 ation which would have occurred had the water been carried in surface channels, By this method the water is sheltered from the sun and its flow is not hindered by falls of sand or the movements of sand dunes. It seems that the channels were first built as open ditches and then roofed with slabs of sea rock, called feroush. The roofs of the channels are sloping and after construction they were covered with sand to the

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

level of the ground. Every 10-20 yards along the length of the channels are airholes, round chimneys lined with stone and varying in diameter from 2 to 5 feet. The top of the shaft, which resembles a well head, is surrounded by a low wall. Page 116 shows the channel which has been uncovered and in which the construction of the airholes can clearly be seen. At the shaft of the water channel which runs west of the village of Shakhura there is a large subterranean room which serves the purpose of a bathing hall. It has a high arched roof with columns branching out from a central pillar. It is roofed over and has a hard gypsum floor covered with fine white sand. There is a continual stream of cold water through the chamber, which is still used by the inhabitants from the surrounding villages as a bathing place to which they go in the heat of the summer and sit in comfort in the shady coolness below. It is rumoured that there are more such chambers, but this is the only one that the author has personally visited.

The channels in most cases carry water from springs in the hills a few miles inland to the coastal gardens. Many of them are still used, although others have long since fallen into ruin, but very skilful work was involved in their building and the fact that water still flows in many of them is a conclusive proof of their scientific construction. So far, no inscriptions have been found within them, but there is no doubt that if they were examined with care some signs would be found of their exact origin.

In these four sections most of the antiquities of the Bahrain Islands have been described, for they are unfortunately rare and, with the exception of the Tumuli, the mosques, the forts and the Qanats there, is little of archaeological interest in Bahrain. There are possibilities of future discoveries, however, especially in Bilad al-Qadim which should, as the ancient capital, yield something of interest to any archaeologist who explores its ruins. The numerous Arabic inscriptions would also be worth further study and their translation should add something to the history of Bahrain by giving the names of the various rulers who, at one time or another, built mosques or other buildings and had their good deed inscribed on stone.

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In addition to these works a number of books appear in the general bibliography at the end of this guide which may be consulted for further information about Bahrain's antiquities.

## CHAPTER IX

## RELIGIOUS OCCASIONS AND LOCAL CUSTOMS

### RAMADAN

796 785 This fast, which is the name of a month in the Islamic calendar, has often been described as the Moslem Lent. During Ramadan there is a complete ban on eating, drinking and smoking during the hours [805] of daylight. The Moslem day begins at sunset, and each evening during Ramadan the setting of the sun is announced by the firing of guns in various towns, the signal that eating and drinking may commence. Two meals are eaten during the night, the first as soon as possible after sunset and the second shortly before dawn. It is often the custom to break the fast with a drink of butter-milk, before proceeding to the heavy eating. After the first meal is over people in Bahrain go visiting and sit in the coffee-shops and cinemas. At the beginning of Ramadan, all through the night the town is busy with the coming and going of the people, radios and gramophones play at full blast in the coffee-shops and night is turned into day. Later in the month there is some slackening of activity, people return earlier to their homes and endeavour to get some sleep, but they are soon awakened by the drummers who go around the town before dawn waking the sleepers so that they may eat before it becomes light. Of necessity the non-Moslem follows the Islamic time-table during this month, for he is usually kept awake by the activity in the streets, and if he does succeed in getting to sleep he is soon awakened by the persistent drummers on their rounds.

According to Moslem Law eating, drinking and smoking must cease directly it is possible to discern the difference between a black and a white thread, but it is now the custom in Bahrain towns to fire guns to announce the break of day. During the day in Ramadan life moves at a slower pace than during the other months of the year, and this is especially true when Ramadan falls in the summer, for the combination of no food and drink and the heat and dampness of [697] Bahrain reduces peoples' energy. It is noticeable that there are more court cases about domestic troubles during Ramadan while the serious crimes decrease. In the evenings in this month the townsfolk go out to the gardens and sit in the shade of the trees waiting for darkness to fall. Adari is particularly popular, many fasters try to reduce their thirst by swimming lazily in the cool waters of the pool.

As with all Moslem occasions, the end of Ramadan is decided by the appearence of the new moon, about which there is usually a dispute. While the Sunni recognise the Royal Observatory at Cairo as an authority on the appearance of the moon, the Shia insist that it should be seen in Bahrain. The result has often been that the Eid has started on two different days for the two sects, and in one memorable year there were three Eid days, one for each of the two sects and a third for the Ismailis, who have their own way of reckoning dates.

A three day holiday follows Ramadan, Eid al-Fitr, during which there are great celebrations and much visiting of neighbours to wish them "Eid-Kum Mubarak" (Happy Holiday), the answer to which is "Aadana Allah Ala Amthaleh." On the Eid the Ruler receives visitors at the Palace. The Eid is particularly colourful owing to the bright new clothes which are worn by the children. The boys wear new white thobes and bright-coloured silk caps and the girls proudly appear in gold-decorated dresses. In many cases small boys go calling with their parents, eagerly clutching handfuls of sweets as they leave their various hosts. Local bands, composed of the negro inhabitants of Bahrain, pass through the streets of the towns and villages playing tunes on their locally made instruments. These include many types of drums, flutes, lutes and a local form of bagpipe made from the stomach of a sheep. As the bands of players go from house to house they are tipped by the owners, who often, if they are wealthy, provide a meal for the musicians.

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[534]

NEW YEAR'S DAY

It is the custom in Bahrain on New Year's Day of the Christian Calendar for groups of Bahrainis of African origin to form into bands and go playing through the streets of Manama. These men, who to day are the same as all other Bahrainis, are descended from freed slaves or were themselves slaves who escaped to Bahrain and were manumitted. In gratitude for their freedom they thus celebrate New Year's Day. They play first at H.B.M.'s Political Agency and the Adviserate and on leaving these places they split up into smaller parties to serenade their friends. Around Bahrain flags, borne by the leaders of the musicians, these people, both men and women, dance steps and play the music which was brought many centuries ago to Bahrain by their African ancestors. In the music to which they dance the rhythm of the drum plays an important part, but to a European it may seem strange that the drummers frequently leave off playing whenever they feel tired, or if they want to talk to a friend or drink a cup of tea or coffee, and when the distraction is over they again join the band.

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It has occasionally been stated in newspapers and even recently in a book on Bahrain by some one who should know better that slavery still exists not only in the Persian Gulf but also in Bahrain. The celebrations of these Bahrainis at their freedom are proof enough that in Bahrain at least slavery is a thing of the past.

[567]

THE HAJJ

The Hajj is the annual pilgrimage to Mecca which, according to his religion, every Moslem who is able to do so must perform once at least during his lifetime. The pilgrimage takes place during the month of Dhul Hajj. The pilgrims, many of whom have reached Mecca by most hazardous routes, wearing the two white unseamed garments that are mandatory, perform the various rites of the ceremony which includes the circumambulation of the Kaaba, pilgrimages and visits

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796 788 to various points in the neighbourhood of Mecca connected with the life of the Prophet Muhammad and drinking the water of Zamzam Well. On the last day of the ceremony the pilgrims stand before Ararat, a small mountain near Mecca, and throw stones at various places to symbolise the stoning of the devil. On the 10th Day of Dhul Hajj a great feast takes place. The pilgrims remove their pilgrim's garb and throughout the Moslem world there is feasting and visiting.

796 535 In Bahrain, Eid al-Adhar is celebrated for three days, the 10th, 11th and 12th of Dhul Hajj. In former days there were very colourful scenes and ceremonies at this feast, the retainers of the Ruler used to perform war dances in front of the palace, discharging their ancient rifles into the air, and occasionally at an unlucky member of the audience. The divers, who returned home during the Eid, danced in huge groups for the entertainment of the people and were feasted in the houses which they visited, but today the Ruler has few casual retainers and the Bedouin, who were the mainstay of the dances, have settled down and become ordinary citizens. Arab dances are therefore a [517] thing of the past and the men who used to perform in them now find their amusements in attending football matches and cinemas.

MUHARRAM

796 The circumstances that brought about the division of the majority of Moslems into the Sunni and Shiite sects have been mentioned in Chapter II. The battle of Kerbela is still recognised by the Shia of Bahrain as a day of mourning for the martyrs who were killed.

During the first nine days of the month of Muharram, the first month in the Islamic year, there is a general mourning among the [546] Shia for their loss. In the Bahrain martams, which are religious meeting houses not to be confused with the mosques, preachers tell the story 796 of the growth of Islam and the way in which Ali and his family were 537 set aside by those who became the early Caliphs. These mullas, many [781] of whom come from the Holy Cities of Iraq for the purpose, are often so eloquent that they reduce their audience to tears and wailing for the mortifications inflicted on those whom they regard as the highest of mankind after the Prophet himself. Night and day the tale is unfolded as the mullas take it in turn to preach to the assembled crowds. During the day the martams are not so full but at sunset the congregation increases as men return from their daily work. In the villages and in the towns, in the yellow light of kerosene lamps and in the glare of electricity, the story is told of those events which happened over 12 centuries ago. Many people are introduced into the story, the Old Testament prophets, the Prophet Muhammad, his family and his enemies, angels and archangels and other religious figures.

796 As the days pass the orators and their audience get more carried away so that by the 10th of the month all are ready for the next act of what has been called the "Miracle Play of Hassan and Hussein." This is the public procession of the Shia which takes place every evening

before this day, but gathers strength on the night of the 9th. As the mourners leave the martams they are joined by others, some bearing torches and others carrying models of the tombs of Ali, Hussein and the others, while small children act the parts of the children of Hussein. Bands of men perform complex dances as they beat their backs with metal whips, while others cut their foreheads with swords. Men beat their bare chests as they are led by flag-bearers who keep time for the dancers. Music is supplied by the drums and chanting which fills the air with the sound, while wailing of black-clothed women on the roof-tops of the houses lining the route adds to the noise of the procession. White horses painted red to represent the blood of the martyrs, little children carried in litters and various other figures represent events in the drama of the passion play. As the morning of the 10th breaks preparations are made for the renewal of the procession, police line the routes, by-standers gather and the members of the procession leave the martams, joined later by the Shia from the villages. Slowly the great mass of men and boys passes through the streets, often taking over 1½ hours to pass one point but always completely under control and in time with the beating of the drums and the clash of the cymbals. Each group of men is led by one who is in charge of them and sees that they keep in time. In front of the breast-beaters is a man with a flag whose duty it is to indicate where they are to stop walking and start thumping their chests, and with his flag he indicates the tempo, and all along the route the thud can be heard as thousands of brawny men crash their arms and fists against their chests. In the centre of each huge circle of chain-men are two men with cymbals; these run up and down the road beating the cymbals and shouting "Ya Hussein" as the black robed men and boys strike their naked backs with copper chains. Despite its sound, this latter does little harm to the men and it is very rare that blood is drawn. 796 [535]

In former times it has been known for the man who acted the part of Yazid, the villain of the Passion Play, to have been seriously wounded by people carried away by the scene, but today Yazid no longer appears in the procession, nor does the Christian who gave water to Hussein and his people and who was formerly represented as a man with a sun-helmet, waving a whisky bottle and obviously drunk. This was in the days when the British were the only Christians in Bahrain and this was therefore considered the way in which to indicate a Christian ! Today, with the exception of the small children who are carried in litters the only person who appears in the play is Zain al-Abdin, the only adult male survivor of the massacre, who appears riding on a horse or a camel and whose part is usually taken by one of the religious teachers or their assistants. [18]

The procession[1] is arranged in nationalities, the Bahrainis, Persians, Qatifis and Hasawis, and the two latter groups of people come to Bahrain from Saudi Arabia, where the procession is banned. Each group, led by men with huge embroidered banners, passes along the road through rows of silent onlookers, many of whom are Sunni and 796 795

1 [On the 10th Muharram 73 ** - Analyst]

796 who therefore disapprove of the whole affair, but it is rare that there
795 is any trouble between the two sects, both of them having adopted the principle of live and let live.

796 In the afternoon of the 10th Muharram the more energetic members of the procession go out into the villages where similar smaller processions take place and which are often made more colourful by the use of additional model tombs which are no longer seen in Manama. In the evening, as in every evening of the first ten days of the month, those who took part in the processions are feasted in the martams, and for three more days the orators continue to preach to the people, for it was for three days that Hussein lay on the field of Kerbela. But on the 13th of the month the period of mourning ends, the "props" are returned to the various martams, the collecting boxes are again displayed in the Shiite shops, out of which some of the expenses of Ashura are paid, and the Mullas return home to Iraq.

796 Europeans are permitted to witness the procession on the 9th and
609 10th days of Muharram, but it is illegal to photograph any part of the
656 procession and the State Police remove the cameras or movie-cameras and expose the film of those who break this law. In addition, unwary photographers have often been roughly handled by members of the Shiite faith, who feel that a sacred procession is not a suitable subject for casual snap-shots. It is therefore much more tactful to dispense with artificial means and to rely on one's memory for recording what is an unique occasion, for the procession has been banned in Iraq and Persia and so Bahrain is now one of the very few places where it can be seen.

## CHAPTER X

## BAHRAIN'S STAMPS

205 THE generally accepted date for the establishment of the first post office in Bahrain, in the town of Manama, is 1884, and as the Indian Government was at that time responsible for political relations with the Ruler of Bahrain, it naturally followed that Indian stamps were used in the Islands. It was not till 1911, however, that a formal agreement granting the British a monopoly of postal services in Bahrain was signed.

In the first instance Indian stamps were used without an overprint—Indian stamps of Queen Victoria and George V post-marked "Bahrain," and it is only possible to trace stamps used in Bahrain by the post-mark. The two most usual post-marks are a circle with bars outside and two circles with the name at the top and the date across the centre. Fortunately the word Bahrain shows up quite well in most of these, provided that there is enough of the post-mark on the stamp if the latter is not on a cover. These issues were usually limited to 3 pies, ½ anna, 1 anna and 2½ anna stamps.

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The use of Indian stamps overprinted "Bahrain" dates from the 10th August, 1933, but the first set was replaced in the following year and the S.G. (Stanley Gibbon's Catalogue) No. 9, 4 anna value, is quite hard to obtain and is sometimes confused with the 4 anna No. 19, although the latter does not bear the word "revenue." Following the issue of new Indian stamps in 1937 the set was overprinted for use in Bahrain in 1938; six stamps of this set are pictorial and most attractive, showing the history of the postal service in India. A new Indian issue in 1940 was overprinted for use in Bahrain in 1942 and continued in use until India and Pakistan obtained their independence, whereupon the Bahrain Post Office changed from being part of the Indian postal system to being a branch of the British G.P.O. Following this change British overprinted stamps were issued on the 1st April, 1948.

1948 was a prolific year for stamps. On 26th April the Royal Silver Wedding issue was overprinted for use in Bahrain, and on 29th July the stamps commemorating the Olympic Games were issued. 1949 was the 75th anniversary of the Universal Postal Union, and in common with most countries, an issue of four stamps was overprinted for use in Bahrain. 1950 saw the issue of one stamp, a 4 anna value, but in May of the following year five low value stamps in the Universal Postal Union colours were issued, together with new designs of the three high-value stamps of the United Kingdom.

There has never been a postage due stamp in Bahrain, a rubber stamp has served the purpose. Recently an air letter form was issued as a trial and became very popular, so that sales exceeded all expectations. Bahrain stamps are in considerable demand, but owing to the smallness of the internal mail and the popular use of franking machines Bahrain stamps are far from easy to find. The most valuable Bahrain stamp is the 2½ anna Olympic Games issue with a double overprint of which only half a sheet of unused stamps has come to light. The S.G. No. 42, a 1 anna 3 pies value, in good used condition, is also a very hard stamp to obtain and is worth more than the current catalogued price.

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Although revenue stamps are not collected by the majority of philatelists, those of Bahrain are of interest by reason of their attractive designs, which are of Bahrain scenes and activities. The 4 anna value shows an old peddler weighing out his goods, the 8 anna value a section of Manama and some sailing boats, the 1 rupee, an Arab with his two means of hunting, the falcon and the salugi; the 5 rupees shows a pile of pearl shells, the 10 rupees a donkey carrying skins of water, the 50 rupees a pair of camels and the 100 rupees, date palms.

At the time of writing a new set of revenue stamps were in the process of printing, of the following values: 4 annas, 5 rupees, 10 rupees, 50 rupees and 100 rupees. All bear the head of H.H. The Ruler and in addition the four high values have the Suq al-Khamis Minarets, The Rifaa Palace, the Sitra Pool and a sailing boat as designs.

# Part II.—THE HISTORY OF THE BAHRAIN ISLANDS.

175 Of all the Persian Gulf shaikhdoms the Bahrain islands have had by far the most interesting and varied history, of which this brief outline must of necessity mention only the most outstanding events. The riches of Bahrain's ancient pearling industry have drawn the attention of many rulers to the islands, whose strategic position and fresh-water springs have meant that for centuries there has been a settled population.

101 175 It is believed that the names Niduk-ki and Dilmun (or Tilwun) which appear in Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions found in Iraq were the ancient names of the Bahrain islands, in which case events in Bahrain's history are recorded from the third millennium B.C., as long as 5,000 years ago.

Unfortunately only one cuneiform inscription has been found in Bahrain itself, an inscription which has been translated as follows: "The Palace of Rimugus, the servant of Inzaq (Mercury) of the tribe of Aqiru."[1]

This inscription appears to have been removed from a Bahrain mosque by its finder, Captain Durand, and its present whereabouts is unknown.

The place-name Niduk-ki appears in the Babylonian myth of the Creation, while the Assyrians also had a tradition that their civilisation, and more especially the invention of the cuneiform script, originated in Dilmun. The tumuli of Bahrain bear a very striking resemblance to Phoenician graves, a fact noticed by many writers from the time of Strabo to the present day. Archaeologists who have studied them are, however, still unable to agree as to their origin beyond saying that they are of great antiquity. [171]

175 The first historical reference to Bahrain appears in an inscription concerning the conquests of Sargon of Akkad, who reigned in the third millennium B.C. In this inscription he is described as having reduced Niduk-ki and another seaport, and during the following centuries there are many references to Niduk-ki and Dilmun, giving the impression that the places referred to were both islands and trading centres. In 1820 B.C. a king of Larsa, in Southern Mesopotamia, sent a trading expedition to Bahrain, obtaining there stone, metals, wood and ivory, materials probably brought to Bahrain from India. Towards the end of the eighth century B.C. another Sargon, the Assyrian monarch also gained control of Dilmun by means of threats and economic pressure, and we have an interesting description of the contemporary Bahraini ruler: "Uperi, king of Dilmun, who lives like a fish, thirty double hours away in the midst of the sea of the rising sun, heard of my lordly might and brought his gifts."



1 [For footnote see Cat. 116, p. 87 — Analyst]

The inhabitants of Dilmun also sent tribute to Sennacherib the son of Sargon, after he had sent them some of the debris of Babylon, which he had destroyed, as a sign of the fate in store for cities that incurred his displeasure. 175

After the fall of the Assyrian empire in the seventh century B.C. we hear no more about Bahrain until the time of the Macedonian adventure in the East, when Alexander sent three vessels on voyages of exploration down the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf. Two ships under the commands of Archias and Androsthenes sailed only as far as the island of Tylos, which has been identified with Bahrain. Later Roman geographers seem to have become somewhat confused in their descriptions of the Persian Gulf, and while Arrian applies the name of Tylos to Bahrain, on the map of Ptolemy Bahrain appears as Ichara and Tylus and Arathus are shown at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Whatever were the ancient names of Bahrain, it is interesting to note that the name Aradus is still applied to part of Muharraq in the Arabic form *Arad*.

After the fall of the Mesopotamian civilisations no foreign power seems to have controlled Eastern Arabia until early in the fourth century A.D., when Arab tribes from that area raided Fars and sacked many of its cities. The young Sassanid king Shapur II repelled the invaders and carried the campaign into their own territories. He landed on the Arabian coast and annexed East Arabia and Bahrain to Persia, which acquisitions were later placed under the authority of the King of Hira, an Arab buffer state on the south-west border of Sassanid Persia.

## THE COMING OF ISLAM

A somewhat confusing aspect of the history of Bahrain is the change in nomenclature which took place in the Persian Gulf during Portuguese activity there. From the third to the sixteenth century, the name "Bahrain" was applied to the whole coast of Eastern Arabia from Kuwait to Qatar, while the main Bahrain island was known as *Awal*, but since the last date the name "Bahrain" has been applied to the islands. In the following passages the modern names will be used to simplify matters. 101

When the first Moslems came to Eastern Arabia they found there a people strangely mixed in their beliefs. There were Christians and Jews, Zoroastrians who followed the state religion of Sassanid Persia, and pagan Arab Bedouin. The local governor for the Persians was a Christian Arab, Mundhir bin Sawa by name, and according to Syrian Christian records of the late seventh century, there were in Arabia at this time five Nestorian bishops, one of whom appears to have been bishop of the Bahrain islands. The Christian viceroy and many of his Court accepted Islam, but on his death, and again on the death of the Prophet Muhammad, the bedouin, who made up the bulk of converts, if indeed they had really been converted, "apostasized," and it required expeditions from Medina to restore the country to the Moslems. 175

175 For the next 350 years Bahrain and Eastern Arabia were ruled by governors on behalf of the Caliphs, but from time to time there were politico-religious revolts against the central authority, and both Shia and Kharajite schismatics sought refuge on the Bahrain islands, where for short periods they were able to defy the power of the Caliphs. Isolated by the sea from the rest of Arabia, Bahrain was often, during its history, the refuge of political and religious fugitives.

The Servile War that ravaged lower Iraq during the second half of the ninth century also detached Bahrain from the Caliphate, and although on the fall of the Slave State the Caliph regained some of his former territories, a power was shortly to appear which finally removed both Bahrain and the mainland from his control.

### THE CARMATHIANS[2]

An offspring of the extreme Ismaili sect, but with many other contributing features, the Carmathian movement was most successful in Eastern Arabia where a State was established with its capital at al-Mu'miniyah. The Carmathian rule in East Arabia was probably beneficial for the inhabitants of this area which during most of its history played the part of a neglected border province and which was now the centre of an empire. The success of the new belief in Arabia at the turn of the ninth and tenth centuries has been partly explained by the presence in East Arabia of a number of Magians and Jews, happy to aid any power hostile to the Caliphs, and also of the Arab tribesmen, who resented authority and were delighted to raid their neighbours in the name of the Carmathians.

The first Carmathian ruler was Abu Sa'id al-Jannabi, and it was during his reign that in 903 the Carmathians seized Hajar many of whose inhabitants fled to the Bahrain islands; while under Abu Tahir, Abu Sa'id's son and successor, the Carmathians shocked the Moslem world by sacking Mecca and removing the Black Stone from the Ka'aba to their capital, where it remained for thirty years. It is not known when the Carmathians occupied the Bahrain islands, but while they were in them they put them to good use. Not only did they send exiles there, but also established on the islands a customs station, from which they levied taxes on Arabian Gulf shipping ; in addition they received half the proceeds of the pearling industry.

### THE ARAB DYNASTIES

About the year 1058 Abu-l-Bahlul, a leading inhabitant of the Bahrain islands, revolted against Carmathian rule and made himself prince ; he defeated a Carmathian army sent against him and appealed to the Caliph in Baghdad for aid and recognition, but shortly after his victory he was driven from Bahrain by the Ruler of Qatif, Yahya b. 'Abbas. War followed between the successors of Yahya and Abdulla al-Ayuni, who had succeeded the Carmathians in Hasa, in which the latter triumphed and seized Bahrain, which he and his family ruled for many years. Little is known about Ayuni rule in Bahrain, but in 1154

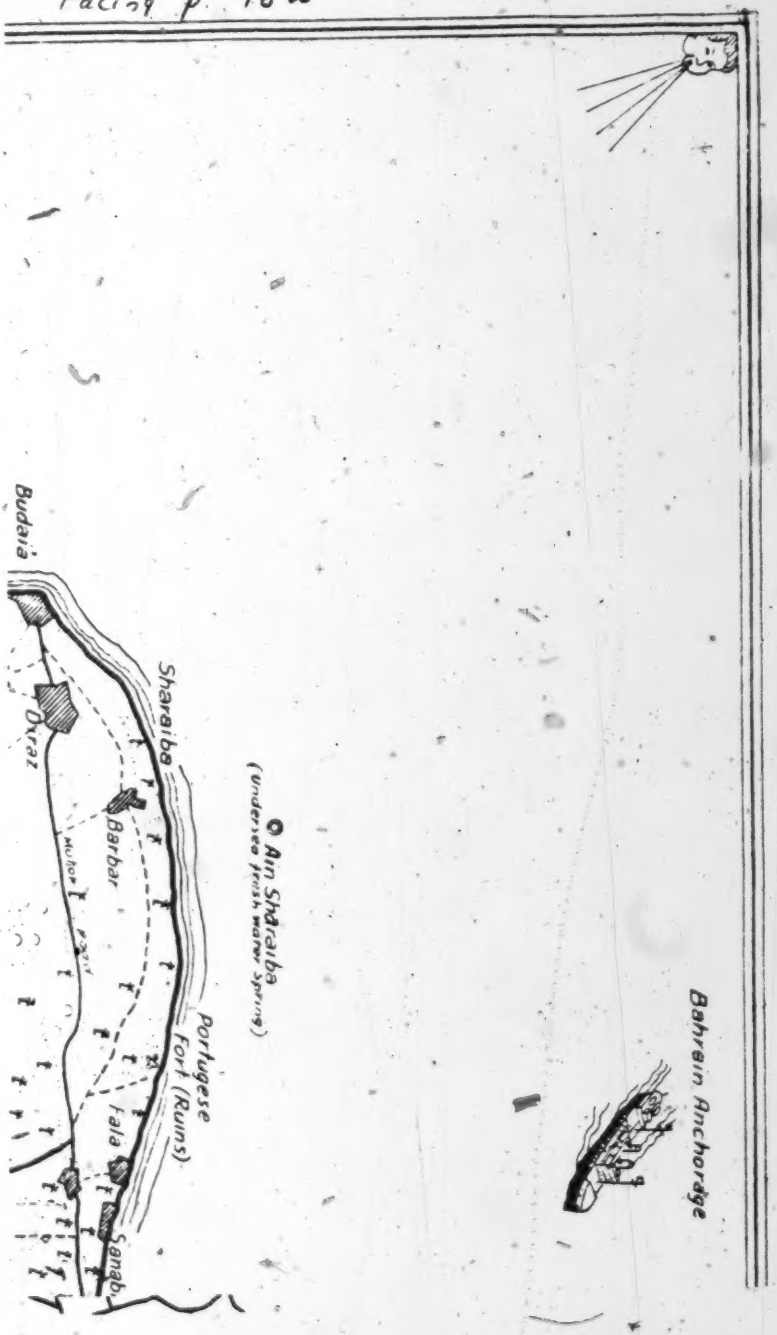
[p.78]

2 [For footnote see cit. 116, p. 87 -- Anal.]

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Facing p. 78a

102



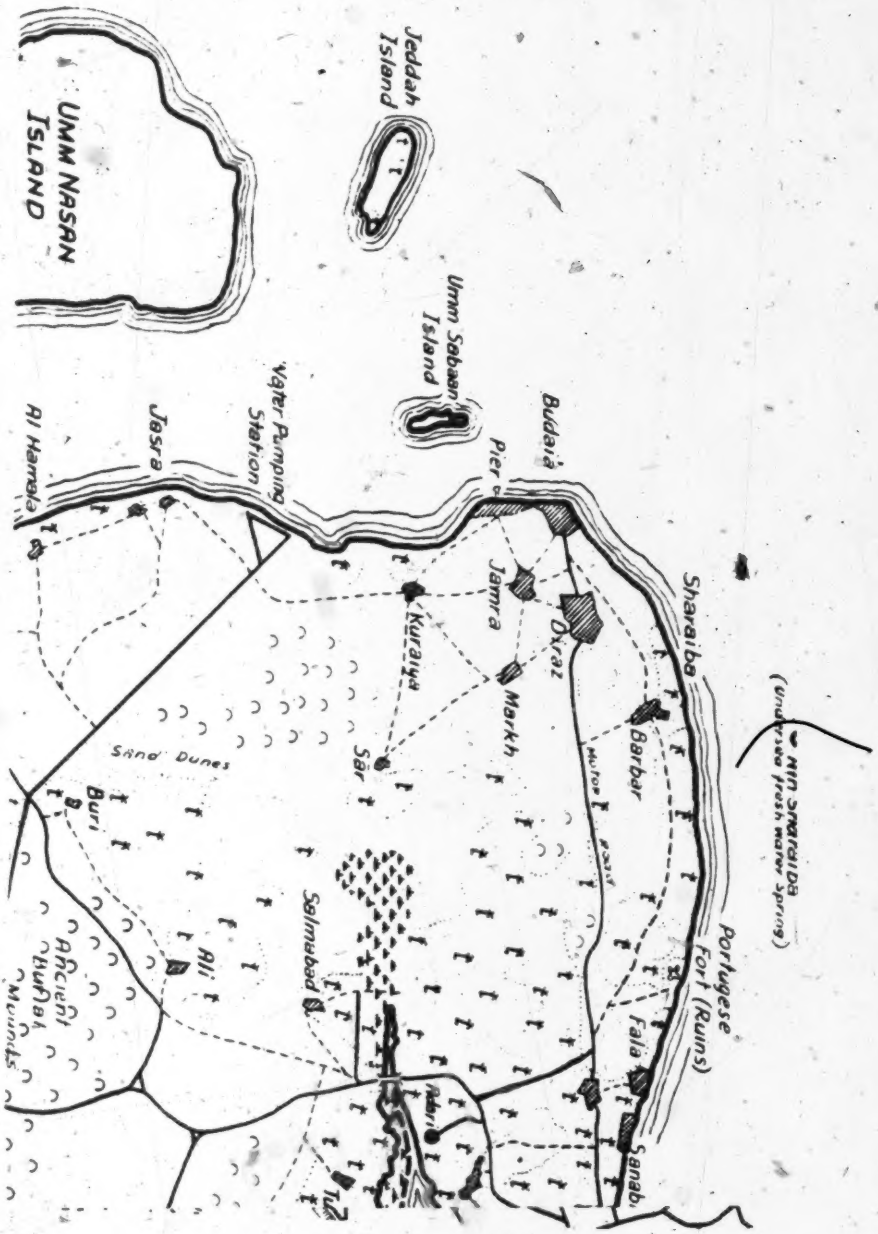
1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Facing p. 78b

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Facing p. 78C

102



1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Facing p. 78d

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Facing p. 78c

102

UMM NASAN ISLAND

Pier

Water Pumping Station

Jasra

Al Hamala

Dumistan

Yusuf Is

Malichiya

Bandar Sadad

Kalaat al Bakaishi

Sand Dunes

Ali

Buri

Ancient Tumulai Mounds

Ain Umm Ejraiyi

Rifaa al Gharbi

Ain al Sa'ada

Karzakkan

Motor Track

Ain Sakhara

Dar Chuteib

AWALI

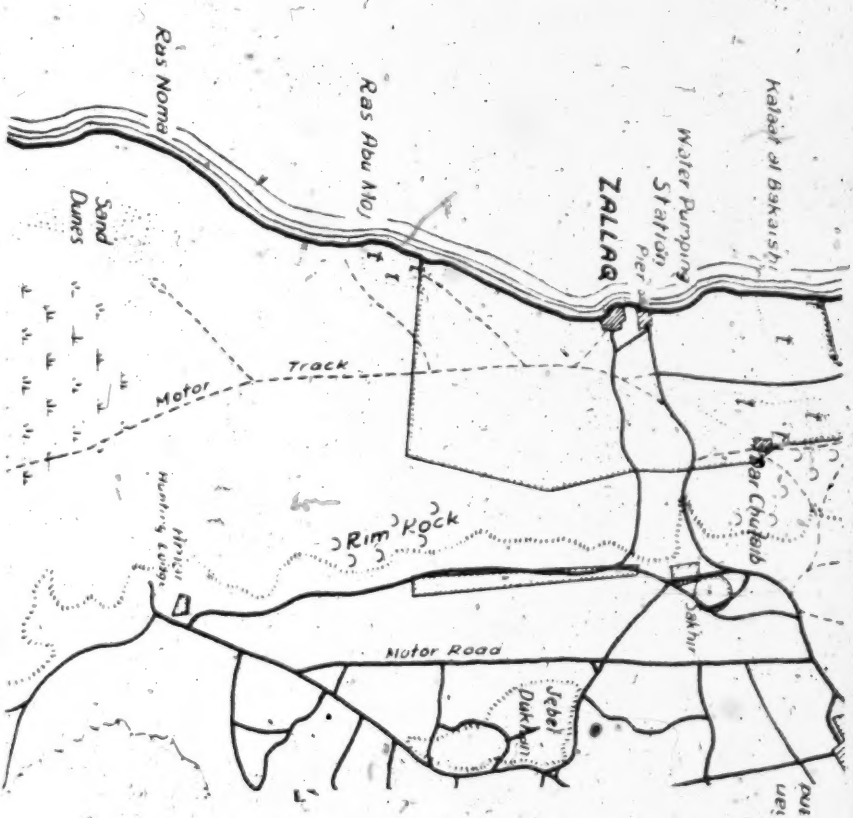
1; Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2
Facing p. 78 f

# PERSIAN GULF

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Facing p. 78g

102



# GULF

102

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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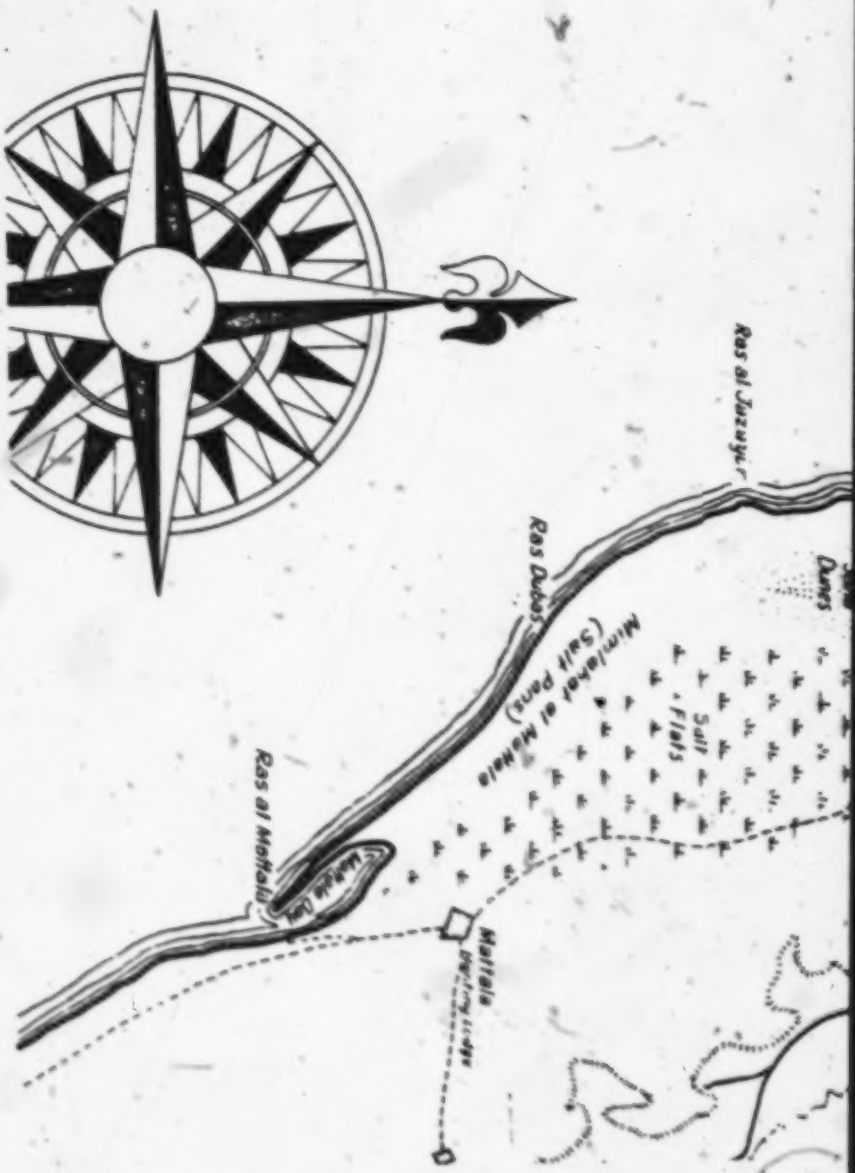
1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Facing p. 78 i

102



1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Facing p. 78

tala
Hunting Lodge

Rumaidha
Hunting Lodge

Ras al Qurain

Jasaira

Salt
Flats

Sand Flats
and Scrub

Hadd al Jamal

1: Belgrave - F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

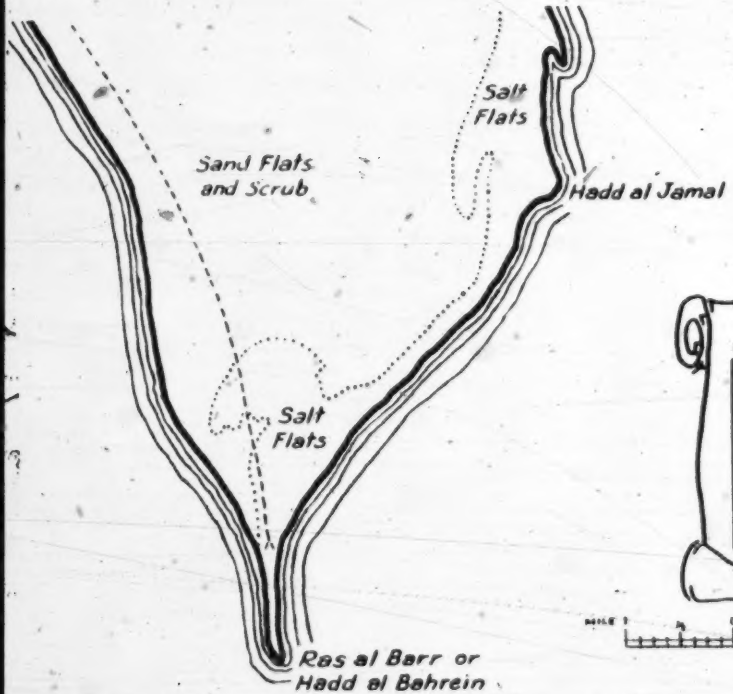
Facing p. 78k

102

102

1; Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Facing p. 78 L




# Guide Map of the Bahrain Islands

SCALE 1 INCH TO 9000 FEET

DRAWING NO BRB-9432

NOV 7 1951

175 we have a description of Bahrain left by the famous Arabo-Spanish geographer Idrisi. After giving a remarkably accurate description of the islands, in which he describes in detail the method of pearl diving, the agriculture and the various fresh-water springs and pools, he records the apparently Utopian state of the administration :

"The island is governed by an independent chief. The inhabitants of the two banks are satisfied with his justice and his piety, and when he dies he is replaced by a person who equals him in virtue and justice."[3]

Although Idrisi says the chief is independent, he qualifies this by stating that the Governor of Qais, himself a tributary of the Caliph at Baghdad, received tribute from Bahrain. A number of Arab writers have left us descriptions of Bahrain in the fourteenth century, a period in which the islands changed hands many times. In 1346 Bahrain appears in story of the struggle between the ruler of Hormuz, Kutb ed-Din, and his nephews, in which the latter take refuge in the islands, and in the following year we have the first reference to Manama when the Hormuz ruler visited the town. In 1384 there was a war between the ruler of Bahrain and Qatif, independent at this time, and the ruler of Qais island, in which the latter was victorious and received in the peace settlement a number of Bahrain islands and an annual tribute of 500 dinars.

Early in the fifteenth century Bahrain was united with Qatif and Hasa under Shaikh Ibrahim al-Maliki, but previous to the year 1475 the islands were under the control of Hormuz, and in this year they were granted to a certain Agwad b. Samigh in return for the aid he had given the ruler of Hormuz in capturing the islands from his brothers. In 1487 the tyrannical reign of Agwad's son was terminated by an Omani invasion of Bahrain, when 'Umar b. al-Khattab was appointed governor.

### THE PORTUGUESE[4]

The voyages of Vasco da Gama and other Portuguese mariners towards the end of the fifteenth and the start of the sixteenth century resulted in the opening up of the Persian Gulf to European ships, and in 1507 the Portuguese, under Alfonso de Albuquerque, conquered Hormuz and set about developing it into a great trading centre. The first sign of Portuguese interest in Bahrain was the visit there, in 1514, of de Albuquerque, but his only act was to confirm existing treaties between the local shaikh and the king of Hormuz, who had been retained by the Portuguese as a "puppet" ruler ; however, he also took a great interest in the pearl industry and realized its possible value to Portugal. Some time after this visit Mukarram, king of Hasa and son-in-law of the Shaikh of Mecca, seized Bahrain and Qatif from Hormuz, and in 1521 the king of Hormuz gave the loss of Bahrain as his reason for failing to pay the agreed sum of tribute to his Portuguese overlords. This loss of revenue and the interference caused to trade between Iraq and Hormuz by the ships of Mukarram angered the Portuguese, and the governor of Hormuz, Diego Lopez, despatched



3 + 4 [For footnotes see ed. 116, p. 87 -- Analyst]

175 a fleet against Bahrain under his nephew Antonio Correa. The Portuguese fleet was accompanied by another sent by the Ruler of Hormuz under his vezir, Rais Sherif. After having been delayed by storms, the fleet arrived at Bahrain and the Portuguese set about attacking the defenders. Although the Hormuzi force stood aloof until they were sure the Portuguese were gaining the upper hand, the Europeans finally triumphed. Mukarram was wounded and died a few days later; the remains of his army fled to the mainland, whither they were pursued by Rais Sherif, who returned to Bahrain in triumph with the head of Mukarram, which he sent to his sovereign in Hormuz. A bi-lingual inscription was erected in Hormuz to commemorate the victory, and on his return to Hormuz, Antonio Correa was granted the honour by the King of Portugal of bearing on his family arms the title "Barem" in honour of this event.

Soon after the fall of Bahrain the King of Hormuz, restive under Portuguese domination, organized simultaneous revolts against their rule in Muscat, Hormuz, Bahrain and Sohar. In the first two towns the revolts were soon crushed, but more success was met with in Bahrain where Hussein b. Sa'id led the inhabitants in executing the hated Portuguese governor and expelling the garrison, but after a short period of independent rule Hussein came to terms with the Portuguese and accepted their adviser.

The year 1529 saw another challenge to Portuguese authority in Bahrain occasioned by their exiling the vezir of Hormuz, a relative of the governor of Bahrain, for refusing to pay additional taxes. When the Bahrain governor copied the example of his relative, a Portuguese fleet was sent to Bahrain under the command of Simeon da Cunha, brother of the Viceroy of India. Despite the governor's reluctance to come to blows with the Portuguese, they attacked the Bahrain fort, but found themselves short of gunpowder. Fever then reduced the number of able-bodied men to thirty-five. However, the governor aided the fleet to leave Bahrain, for he was afraid he would incur the serious wrath of the Portuguese if he destroyed their expedition, but on the return journey a storm destroyed most of the ships, and Simeon is said to have died from chagrin at his defeat.

By 1534 the Portuguese had again lost control of Bahrain, for in that year the independent rulers of Bahrain and Hasa sent envoys to welcome to Iraq the Turkish Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. In 1551 one of the three surviving ships of Piri Rais, Kapudan Pasha of Egypt, after the loss of the rest of his fleet by defeat and storms, was wrecked on the treacherous reefs of Bahrain. Local tradition says that the ship was loaded with treasure, plunder from the Pasha's expedition. Three years later the Turkish author-admiral Sidi Ali paid a peaceful visit to Bahrain which he speaks well of, and was entertained by the governor, Rais Murad. However, in 1559 the same governor was attacked in Bahrain by a strong fleet and a brigade of janissaries, but the Turks were severely defeated by a Portuguese fleet which came

to the aid of the beleaguered governor at his request. The last Portuguese governor in Bahrain seems to have been Jalal ed-Din Mahud Murad, in whose reign the Manama fort, built by the Portuguese soon after their arrival in Bahrain, was repaired. 175

The Portuguese attempted to maintain their rule over Bahrain by a carefully conceived policy. They would appoint as their governor a Persian Sunni Moslem, hoping that because he was a Moslem he would be acceptable to the inhabitants, but that being a Persian he would not always side with the Arabs of Bahrain, and being a Sunni that he would not intrigue with the Shia of Bahrain and Persia. Despite this system, however, Portuguese rule in Bahrain was very insecure during the period 1522—1602.

### THE FALL OF THE PORTUGUESE

The immediate cause that brought about the expulsion of the Portuguese from Bahrain was the behaviour of their governor, a relative of the king of Hormuz. He set the seal on a most tyrannical rule by the murder, in 1602, of a wealthy and respected Bahraini in order to gain control of his wealth, especially his famous collection of pearls. The victim's brother, Rukn ed-Din, having gained the confidence of the murderer, slew him, and with the aid of the people seized the fort. The rebel then put himself under the protection of the Persians, as being the main rivals of the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf, and the Prince of Shiraz sent a force which withstood a Portuguese counter-attack, and then took over the islands in the name of the Shah of Persia. In 1580 Spain and Portugal had been united under King Philip, and at the time of the fall of Bahrain the Spanish were officially at peace with Persia, but when the Spanish protested about the seizure of Bahrain the Persians retorted that they had taken the islands from the King of Hormuz and not from the Spaniards. Not content with this answer, the governor of Hormuz sent a fleet and an army against Bahrain, but the governor of Shiraz marched on Bushire and drew the Portuguese forces from Bahrain. Despite this, the Portuguese forces would probably have taken the islands but for trouble in their own ranks which prevented the success of the expedition. In 1603, Allah Werdi Khan again seized Bushire and other territories of the ruler of Hormuz, but was ordered by the Shah to retreat from Bushire and to return Bahrain to the Portuguese ; however, the latter order was ignored.

During the next decade the Spanish king in letters to the Viceroy of India emphasized the importance of the recapture of Bahrain, and also made diplomatic representations to the Shah for the return of the islands. Even the capture of Hormuz in 1622 by an Anglo-Persian force did not make the Iberians give up hope of the eventual recovery of Bahrain, and in 1645 a Portuguese fleet set out from India destined for Hormuz and Bahrain, but it was destroyed by Omani pirates before it had even entered the Persian Gulf.

From 1602 till the end of the centruy a series of Persian governors ruled Bahrain with the aid of a garrison of some 300 men, but at the

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

175 turn of the century the Omanis invaded Bahrain, and the havoc and suffering they caused have been graphically described by a contemporary writer, Samahiji.[5] The invaders were of the Kharijite sect of Islam, enemies of the Shia inhabitants of Bahrain, and their acts drove most of the population of Bahrain to flight to Qatif, where many of them settled. In 1720 the Persians purchased Bahrain from the Omanis for "a large sum of money."

### THE PERIOD OF ANARCHY

The confusion in Persia early in the eighteenth century which was caused by the Afghan invasions loosened Persian hold over the Gulf and independent shaikhdoms reappeared. Bahrain fell into the hands of the shaikh of Nabend, and he was later overthrown by the powerful Shaikh of the Huwala Arabs, Jabbara of Tahiri, whose wise and beneficial rule lasted till 1736. In this year Nadir, who had settled the affairs of Persia and made himself Shah, ordered the Persian Admiral Latif Khan to capture Bahrain. The admiral seized two British ships, including the *Northumberland*, for which he paid 50,000 tomans, and sailed with these and other ships for Bahrain. Shaikh Jabbara was away on the pilgrimage to Meeca and his reduced garrison was soon overpowered by the invaders. Bahrain was put under the control of the governor of Shiraz and a Persian garrison was stationed in the Qalat ad-Diwan, the Manama fort built at this time by the Persians and now used as the headquarters of the Bahrain State Police.

In 1738 Bahrain underwent another Omani invasion, when the army of Saif b. Sultan invaded the islands, and again many refugees fled to Qatif and other Persian Gulf ports. It is probable that these two Omani invasions in the eighteenth century were responsible for the many deserted and ruined villages noticed in Bahrain by Niebuhr, who stated that wars had reduced their number from 360 towns and villages to sixty "wretched villages." The occupation, however, was of short duration, for in the following year the Persians annexed Muscat and so regained Bahrain. Later Bahrain was captured by the Huwala Arabs, only to be taken from them by Shaikh Nasir al-Mathkur, shaikh of Bushire and an Arab of Omani origin, one of the many semi-independent shaiks who appeared in the Persian Gulf at this time.

### THE AL-KHALIFAH

The present ruling family of Bahrain trace their origin back to the great 'Anizah tribe which once inhabited the deserts of Iraq and later moved down to Najd ; the Sa'udis of Sa'udi Arabia and the Sabah of Kuwait are also descended from the same tribe.

In 1716 the Bani Utbah clan, consisting of the three families of the Khalifah, the Sabah and the Jalahma, gave up its nomad habits and settled on the site of the present town of Kuwait. Under the guidance of Shaikh Khalifah b. Muhammad, the clever and enterprising chief of the Khalifahs, the family prospered and became powerful, developing a special interest in the pearl trade. In 1766 Muhammad, successor



5. [For footnote see cat. #6, p. 87.--Analyst]

of Khalifah, led some of the Khalifah families down to the little village of Zubara, on the west coast of Qatar, in order to be nearer the Bahrain pearling industry. The villagers of Zubara welcomed the newcomers and soon the remainder of the Khalifah and many other families came to the new settlement, but the Musallim tribe, the rulers of Qatar, resented the intruders and demanded tribute from them. The Khalifah refused, and with the support of other clans from Kuwait they repulsed an attack of the Musallim. They then continued the construction of a large town between the bay of Zubara and their great fort, Qalat Marir, the ruins of which stand to this day. 175

In 1776 Basra was captured by the Persians, but during its seige many of the inhabitants fled to Zubara, where they were welcomed, and helped to increase the size and importance of that town. The Persians watched with apprehension and envy the expansion of Zubara, which they felt was a threat to their hold over nearby Bahrain, and when Khalifah, Muhammad's son and successor, was away from Zubara on the pilgrimage, they attacked Zubara, but were driven off. Khalifah died before returning from Mecca and was succeeded by Ahmed, who had led the Zubara garrison against the Persians.

Although the first visits of the Khalifah to Bahrain had been carried out on a friendly basis, for the purpose of buying pearls, friction soon developed between them and the local inhabitants, and there was some fighting in which a number of deaths occurred. The governor of Shiraz then despatched a fleet against Zubara under the command of Shaikh Nasir ; the Persians landed on the Qatar coast near the town and were faced by a confederation of Arab clans led by Ahmed al-Khalifah. The two forces joined in combat beneath the high walls of the town, and after hours of bitter fighting in which "the sword play and spear play commenced, heads flew away from bodies and warriors attacked each other with cries which melt away cowardly hearts,"[6] the Khalifah and their allies triumphed and the Persians fled to their ships, leaving many dead on the sands. Meanwhile the Sabah of Kuwait, having heard of the Persian attack on their cousins, descended on Bahrain and cut off the Persian retreat, forcing Shaikh Nasir to retire to Bushire. Soon after the Persian defeat Shaikh Ahmed al-Fatih (The Conqueror) occupied Bahrain and sent Nasir's family, which he found there, to him. It was a result of the Khalifah victory that Rahmah b. Jabr, who had fought alongside the Khalifah at Zubara, broke with that family and became a pirate, reserving his special hate for the new rulers of Bahrain.

### THE CONSOLIDATION OF KHALIFAH RULE

Ahmed, the first Khalifah ruler of Bahrain and Zubara, reigned till the year 1796, passing the summers in Bahrain, in the fort built during the time of Nadir Shah, and the winters in the town of Zubara. Ahmed was succeeded by his son Sulman, who was responsible for the emigration of many of the inhabitants of Zubara to Jaw, on the coast of Bahrain, out of fear of the Wahhabis, who were at this time expanding their power in Arabia. In fact, the danger came from another direction;



6. [For footnote see ref. 116, p. 87--Analyst]

175 in 1799 the Imam of Muscat sent a fleet and occupied Bahrain, and Shaikh Sulman believing that he was too weak to expel the invaders, retired to Zubara, from where he made a treaty with Sultan b. Ahmed, and sent him his brother Muhammad as a pledge of his good behaviour. Sulman remained inactive in Zubara till 1807, when the death of his brother left him free to attempt the reconquest of Bahrain. He appealed for help to the Wahhabi ruler, Abd al-'Aziz, who had just captured the Holy Cities and in 1809 the latter sent an army against Bahrain and drove out Salim, its governor, and the garrison which was stationed in the fort that the Omanis had built at Arad, on Muharraq island. The Khalifah expected to be reinstated in Bahrain, but the Wahhabis were loth to give it up having once controlled it, and meanwhile their garrison maltreated the Shia inhabitants and tried to convert them to Wahhabi beliefs. Shaikh Sulman's protests at this treacherous behaviour were ignored, and he was taken with other members of his family to Dar'iyah, the Wahhabi capital, but resistance continued in Bahrain, where the youthful 'Abd ar-Rahman al-Fadhl, a relative of the Khalifah, set our secretly for Muscat, giving out that he was going on a trading expedition to India. He appealed for help to the Imam, who gave him money and a sword, and then proceeded to Persia, where he enlisted the help of the governor of Shiraz ; he also hired men with the money he had received from the Imam. Having met at a rendezvous on the mainland, the Arabo-Persian force was led by 'Abd ar-Rahman against Bahrain and the Wahhabis were expelled, their governor flying to Qatar. Once Bahrain had been retaken, the Khalifahs travelled there from Zubara, as did many other Arabs who disliked the oppressive and harsh rule of the Wahhabis, and despite the measures of its Wahhabi governor, Zubara was left completely deserted. By means of a trick the Khalifah hostages freed themselves from their captors and returned to Bahrain, where Sulman again took up the reins of office.

Concerning Bahrain at this time, we have a description of the islands written by J. M. Kennier in 1813[7]:

"Bahrain island is the finest island in the Gulf. It is covered with villages and date gardens ; there is a town and fort of Medina (*sic*) with 800 or 900 houses. It carries on much trade with Basra and other Gulf ports."

The first contact between the British and the Khalifahs of Bahrain occured in 1814, when the British Resident in Bushire assured the ruling Shaikh of British neutrality if Bahrain were attacked by the Imam of Muscat. In return for this rather negative promise (though the Resident did advise Sayyid Sa'id of Muscat against attacking Bahrain), the Shaikh agreed not to carry out acts hostile to British interests! The attack actually took place in 1816, probably incited by Rahmah b. Jabr, but a dispute between the Muscatis and the force from Bushire resulted in their defeat at Arad and the death of Hamed, brother of the Muscat Sultan. In November 1828, Sa'id again arrived at Bahrain, this time with allies from the Trucial Coast and a battle took place



7 [7. footnote see cat. 116, p. 87--Analyst]

at Jufair, but again the disunity of the Muscati army brought about its defeat by the Khalifah. Although in 1829 Sayyid Sa'id officially recognised the independence of Bahrain, to the end of his days he did not cease intriguing with other rulers for the downfall of the Kahlifah. 175

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In February, 1820, the joint rulers of Bahrain, the shaikhs Sulman and Abdulla, signed the "General Treaty,"[8] the first official contact between the East India Company and Bahrain, which followed a successful British attack on the pirates of Ras al-Khayma. In 1833 Shaikh Abdulla of Bahrain, who was at war with the Wahhabi ruler of Najd, captured a number of ports on the Arabian coast opposite Bahrain, but was prevented from consolidating his position there by dynastic troubles which broke out in Bahrain. These troubles were exploited by the interested powers, Britain, Persia and Egypt, for their own ends, and while Persia and Britain backed different claimants to the throne, Britain warned Egypt and the Sultan of Muscat, whose ruler seemed likely to come to a reapproachment with Mehmet 'Ali over Bahrain, that she would tolerate no Egyptian interference in Bahrain, and Mehmet's aspirations in this area were finally ended by the co-operation of the European powers against him in Syria.

In 1843 Abdulla was expelled from Bahrain by his nephew and co-ruler Muhammad, and retired to Bushire, where he died in 1848, leaving a son who later became very much concerned in the affairs of Bahrain. Muhammad enjoyed a long and comparatively untroubled reign, although in 1855 and 1856 the Wahhabis again put forward claims to Bahrain, but these were rejected by the British, who had already recognized the independence of Bahrain. In 1861 Muhammad signed a "Perpetual Treaty of Peace and Friendship" with Great Britain concerning such matters as slavery, maritime aggression and Britishers trading in Bahrain, but the peace of the islands was disturbed by the raids of Muhammad, son of the Abdulla who had died in exile in Bushire, who, with the aid of the Wahhabis, attacked Bahrain shipping from his base at Dammam. In 1861, the British expelled Muhammad b. Abdulla from Dammam, but he remained in the Persian Gulf and later returned to Bahrain.

After six years of peace war broke out between the Qataris, tributaries of Bahrain, and the Khalifahs. Having invaded Bahrain and been defeated, the Qataris were then involved in a naval battle with the Khalifah between Bahrain and Qatar, and were again defeated, but the British, angered by the actions of Muhammad, declared that he had acted contrary to the Treaty of 1861, and sent a man-of-war to Bahrain. Muhammad b. Khalifah fled to Qatar; the fort of Abu Mahur, near Muharraq, was destroyed, and the Bahraini fleet was burnt. 'Ali b. Khalifah, who had succeeded his brother on the latter's flight, was forced by the British to pay a fine of 100,000 Maria Theresa dollars, and Muhammad was forbidden to return to Bahrain. The last condition was later released, but Muhammad b. Khalifah continued

8 [No footnote see cat 116, p. 87 -- Analyst]

his intrigues, and was re-expelled, fleeing to Kuwait. He later travelled to Darin, where he built up a force with which he invaded Bahrain in September 1869, defeated and killed 'Ali at Rifaa and again became ruler of Bahrain. In Muhammad b. Khalifah's army he had as lieutenant Muhammad b. Abdulla, who had been expelled by the British from Dammam, and later in the year this Muhammad overthrew the new shaikh, imprisoned him, and made himself ruler.

The confusion caused in Bahrain by these troubles resulted in the appearance there of the British consul from Bushire in a man-of-war. The consul arranged for the deportation to Bombay of both the new shaikh and his imprisoned rival, and then consulted with local notables to see which member of the Khalifah family they would prefer to have as shaikh. The choice fell upon 'Isa, son of 'Ali b. Khalifah, who was at the time residing at Qatar, and he was summoned to Bahrain and acclaimed as its ruler. He reigned for fifty-four years till his abdication in 1923.

### THE RULE OF SHAIKH 'ISA

From time to time during the remaining years of the nineteenth century the British Government rejected Turkish claims to sovereignty over Bahrain, as in the years 1870 and 1874, while at the same time the British took the opportunity to consolidate their power in Bahrain by means of two treaties signed between Shaikh Isa and the British Government in December, 1880, and March, 1892. By these treaties the shaikh bound himself not to enter into any relationship with a foreign government, other than the British, without the latter's consent, and there were also stipulations about the disposal of Bahrain territories. In 1902 a British Political Agent was posted in Bahrain, and in July, 1913, a Convention was signed by the British and Ottoman Governments, which included the recognition of Bahrain's independence and control of a number of islands near her. Three years later Ibn Sa'ud signed a treaty with the British Government in which he also agreed to refrain from aggression against Bahrain. In April and May of 1923 there were internal troubles in Bahrain which led to the abdication of Shaikh 'Isa and the succession of his son, Shaikh Hamed, who ruled for twelve years as deputy ruler, and on the death of Shaikh 'Isa in 1935 became Shaikh of Bahrain.

### BAHRAIN IN RECENT YEARS

With the accession of Shaikh Hamed the story of modern Bahrain begins, and during the nineteen years of his rule Bahrain was transformed into a modern state. Conditions in the pearl industry were reformed, the position of the divers was bettered, municipalities, education and other public services were developed, as is described in other Chapters, and in many ways the state of the people of Bahrain was improved. In 1930 Shaikh Hamed signed a Concession Agreement with a company known as the Bahrain Petroleum Company, and three years later the first tanker-load of oil left Bahrain. The

1; Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

first payments of oil royalities came at a critical time in Bahrain's history, when it was suffering from the effects of a slump in the pearling industry, and they enabled the State to continue its public works and social services. Apart from increasing the cost of living and causing a shortage of foods, the 1939-45 war had no direct effect on Bahrain, with the exception of a long-range bomber raid carried out by the Italian Air Force on the oil installations of Bahrain, and this attempt failed.

On February 20, 1942, Shaikh Hamed died, and was succeeded by his son, Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed al-Khalifah, the present ruler, under whom the march of progress in Bahrain has continued. The story of modern Bahrain and the activities of the Bahrain Government are described in Chapter III of the First Part of this book.

## NOTES

[1] Durand, "Extracts from Report on the Islands and Antiques of Bahrain," with notes by H. C. Rawlinson, in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1880.

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[3] Idrisi, *Troisieme Climat-Sixieme Section*, translated by P. A. Jaubert, p. 373.

[4] Belgrave, C. D., "The Portuguese in the Bahrain Islands," *Journal Royal Central Asian Society*, 1935.

[5] Whose work is in the possession of a Bahraini historian.

[6] An-Nabhani, Muhammad, *Tarikh al-Jazirat al-Arabiya*, 1923, p. 125.

[7] Kennier, J. M., *Memoire on the Persian Empire*.

[8] For details of this and subsequent treaties between the Bahrain rulers and the British *see* Aitcheson, *Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and neighbouring countries*, vol. xi, 1933.

# Part III.—AROUND BAHRAIN.

## MANAMA

361 THE capital of Bahrain, Manama, with a population, in 1950, of 39,648, is situated on the low lying coast at the north end of Bahrain Island. Most parts of the town are only two or three feet above sea level and close below the ground there is brackish water which accounts for the excessive humidity during the summer. The town extends for 1½ miles along the northern shore and about the same distance down the east coast. Although Manama, which means "The Place of Sleeping," is known to have existed in the 15th century and is mentioned by the Portuguese, it contains no ancient buildings, and possibly the oldest relic of the past is the tomb of Shaikh Ahmed al-Khalifah, who conquered Bahrain in 1782, situated near the Awal Cinema.

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The most attractive view of Manama is from the sea. Approaching the port from Saudi Arabia one sees a long line of tall, white houses with deep-shadowed verandahs, rising above the brilliantly coloured water. Around the Customs Pier, which extends for a quarter of a mile into the sea, there are usually 70 or 80 local sailing craft and launches whose crews and cargoes fill the pier to overflowing. The skyline of the town is broken by two or three minarets, the tallest being that of the Juma Mosque, while on the shore to the east of the town can be seen the graceful wind-towers which were used to catch the breeze before the days of electric fans and air-conditioning.

342 Most of the houses are built from coral stone, quarried from the bed of the sea at low tide, plastered and painted white. A noticeable feature of Bahrain architecture is the use of large flat sheets of coral stone set between masonry pillars in the walls of the houses. In some districts of the town there are still numbers of "barastis", huts made of palm branches, but these are rapidly being replaced by stone and cement houses.

361 344 The centre of the town is Shaikh Sulman Square with, on the north, the Pier and the Customs premises and on the south "Bab al-Bahrain," the Gate of Bahrain, a large block of Government offices with an archway in the centre leading through to the principal street in the bazaar. In the centre of the Square is a circular garden, the walls of which are made from cement panels decorated with traditional Bahraini designs, arabesques, of pleasing appearance. The bazaar extends for some distance on each side of Barrett Road, the main street. To its west are the Municipal Buildings and an open market where, on Wednesday mornings, the people of the villages bring their produce to sell.

366 443

The Manama bazaar rightly claims to be the emporium of the Gulf, it contains both narrow streets of picturesque little shops, full

of colour and Arab life, and large modern stores stocked with every type of goods from America, Europe and the East. The spice bazaar, the second-hand bazaar behind the Municipality and the shops of the metal workers are typically oriental ; the stores in the larger streets with plate glass windows and fixed prices stock a wide range of modern goods which are generally cheaper than elsewhere in the Gulf owing to the low customs duty. Apart from pearls, mother-of-pearl, gold and silver thread embroidery and model dhows there are few purely local products for visitors to buy. The best way to seethe bazaar is on foot, it provides innumerable subjects for photos and neither here nor anywhere else in Bahrain is there any objection to the taking of photos. 366 443

To the south-west of the town is the Qalat ad-Diwan, beyond it, along Awal Road, is the Isolation Hospital, the Public Health Department and a number of blocks of flats. Opposite them is a large garden with two miniature lakes, known as the Water Garden ; this is a popular place during summer evenings. Beyond the flats is the Mental Hospital. It is probable that within the next few years this area will undergo extensive development. 361 517 368

To the south-east is the district of Manama known as Quadabiya, up to a few years ago an area of barren sand and swamp land where mosquitos bred but which today is rapidly developing into a residential and entertainment centre. Going along Belgrave Road one passes the Secondary School and Hostel, the Palace and, where the road joins Jufair Road, many houses and bungalows occupied by employees of European commercial firms. Jufair Road then passes the Race Course and Gymkhana Club and terminates in the suburbs of Umm a-Hasan and Jufair ; at the latter are the headquarters of the Senior British Naval Officer, Persian Gulf and H.B.M.'s Political Residency. 361 368

In the modern districts of Manama there are many wide and well surfaced roads, lined with tree-shaded pavements, while here and there in the town waste plots of land have been made into little gardens with benches, lawns and fountains. Along the water-front runs Sea Road, joining the Muharraq Causeway with the State Hospital at its western end. The Muharraq Causeway took ten years to build, for it served as a relief project when there was unemployment in Bahrain. The Shaikh Hamed Swing Bridge was completed in 1942 by Messrs. Holloways Bros. Many of the principal buildings and offices in Bahrain are on the Sea Road and Prior Road, which is an inland road running parallel to it. In former times the sea extended far into the town, south even of Prior Road, but during the past twenty-five years much of the sea-shore has been reclaimed. In Muharraq similar work can be seen in progress, but in an earlier stage of development. 363 [491] [653]

In the evenings, the busiest part of Manama is Belgrave Road and the part of Quadabiya to its east where there are four cinemas and many coffee-shops, as well as football fields. At sunset the people of the town can be seen strolling along the road to Jufair, or sitting on the benches that line the pavements, later returning to the cinemas 517 [368]

and coffee-shops. This activity continues until about eleven o'clock especially in the summer when it is pleasanter to be out in the open air than indoors.

Manama is supplied with electric light from the Government Power House, situated on the point at the north-east end of Manama. The town water supply, also a Government concern, comes from artesian wells in what used to be the Municipal Garden from where it is pumped into large tanks high above Manama and from there distributed by mains to all parts of the town and to numerous drinking fountains and public baths. This water system, which was installed by Holloway Bros., was completed in 1949, before this the water came from private and public artesian wells and was distributed by water carriers.

QASARI

It is logical in describing Bahrain to leave Manama by the main road, Awal Road, but a more interesting drive can be taken by following the 2nd class road which branches off from Awal Road beyond the Mental Hospital. After passing through a number of villages of comparatively little interest the road comes to a shaded lane bordered on one side by a lake. This is Ain al-Qasari, whose pool, although more extensive than that at Adari, is shallow and therefore unsuitable for swimming. Here there is a garden and a pleasant little house overlooking the pool, admittance to which is free, which is much frequented by picnicers. In the pool there are fish, some of which are as much as eighteen inches in length, as well as turtles. These are so accustomed to visitors that when people walk along the edge of the water or sit in the house, they swim lazily to the surface, waiting to be thrown pieces of bread or food. In a country consisting mostly of desert, and where a small and dirty pool usually constitutes the local water supply, the attractive appearance of Ain al-Qasari, particularly at sunset, is very agreeable.

There are in fact two springs called Qasari, the second situated on Awal Road, is better known by the name of the "Dhobis Pool" on account of the large numbers of Indian washermen who mercilessly beat the dirty clothes on slabs of rock, and when they have finished hang them out to dry in long lines by the side of the road. It is a not unusual sight to round a corner of the road and to see before one lines of clothes, billowing in the breeze like wind-socks, and the frantic activity of the dhobis standing in the water in an odd array of clothing attempting to finish their task and dry the laundry before the sun sets.

BILAD AL-QADIM

A short way beyond Ain al-Qasari is Bilad al-Qadim, literally "The Old Town," formerly the capital of Bahrain, which lies between the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, whose twin minarets are a landmark for navigators, and the Khor Mukhtar inlet on the east coast. Bilad al-Qadim can also be approached from Awal Road opposite the Suq

al-Khamis Mosque and half a mile south of the village there is an inlet of the sea which can be crossed at low tide by a ford which leads to the village of Tubli. 361

Bilad al-Qadim is a Shiite village and was the capital of Bahrain before the Arab conquest of the Islands. It is frequently referred to in local Shiite histories and is described but not named in a number of early Moslem writings. A large area of the town is now in ruins, but its walls and mounds show that it was once a place of considerable size and importance. According to local reports the sandy mound near the School opposite Suq al-Khamis Mosque is all that remains of the fort that protected the town, while the mosque itself was its Friday Mosque. The Thursday Market (Suq al-Khamis), after which the district takes its name, is probably a relic of the time when this was the capital of Bahrain and when goods were brought here from the country for sale, just as today the Wednesday Market serves the same purpose in Manama.

There are several well-known springs in the vicinity, including Qasari, which has already been mentioned, the Dhobi Pool and Abu Zaidan. A relic of the old town still stands in the shape of Masjid ar-Rafia, a mosque built over a spring, which is on the west side of the town and contains an ancient Kufic inscription. Date groves and gardens surround the town but many of the inhabitants work in Manama, where some of them own shops. The white buildings in the clearing opposite the Suq al-Khamis Mosque are a Government Boys School and a dispensary. [312]

## ADARI

"The Lido of Bahrain" is a description which is often used for Ain Adari (The Virgin's Pool). It is especially applicable in the summer when every evening buses, cars, lorries and bicycles convey people from Manama to the deep, cool blue waters of the pool where they swim or sit about in the public garden or coffee-shop. Adari is the largest natural spring in Bahrain and the stream which flows from it irrigates many acres of gardens. 312 529

Adari was once a very messy pool where camels and donkeys were watered, but it has been developed by the government into a bathing place. The sides of the pool have been lined with cement and provided with steps, there is a mosque, a coffee shop, bathing huts and diving boards, and around the pool a flower garden where oleandar, bougainvillea and ponciana flourish. The road to Adari, which branches off Awal Road, is indicated by a sign-post about half a mile south of Suq al-Khamis. [491]

## UPPER AND LOWER SEHLAH

These are two villages on opposite sides of Awal Road. Upper Sehlah is a small village of stone and barasti houses built on a hill overlooking the surrounding gardens; in summer the village expands 361 245 221

use the date pickers described on this village and put up their barastis

361 when the date pickers descend on the village and put up their barastis.
245 Lower Sehlah is reached by a bridge across the water channel that borders the Manama-Awali Road. This village is surrounded by date gardens and can also be reached by a footpath from Adari. The gardens in the neighbourhood of the two villages are among the best and most thriving in Bahrain, and the date groves are locally described as the hump of Bahrain, not because they rise above the surrounding lands but on account of their being the richest and most fertile in the islands.

AALI

361 After leaving the palm belt and entering the plain north of Rifaa, thick smoke can usually be seen rising from among some date gardens to the west, this is the village of Aali, one of the largest in Bahrain. It lies on the western edge of the plain which extends from the end of the date gardens at the bridge of Radhm al-Qawari to the Rifaa hills, and is close to a group of the largest tumuli in Bahrain which are a conspicuous feature of the landscape of Bahrain island. The largest mounds in the Aali group are over 80 feet high and 100 feet in diameter.
[491] The best road to Aali is the one indicated by the sign-post on Awal
[34.2] Road, a short distance from Radhm al-Qawari. The houses of this village are better than in most of the Bahrain villages; they are large and airy and some of them have blocks of stone from the tombs in their walls. As in the case of so many Bahrain villages, Aali stands on a slight elevation surrounded by date gardens.

RIFAA AL-GHARBI

644 Straddling Awal Road on the edge of the rim-rock is the town of
361 West Rifaa, the winter residence of H.H. The Ruler of Bahrain as well as of many of his family and retainers. This settlement is comparatively modern, having been built by the present Ruler before he succeeded in 1942. Constructed in the traditional Arab pattern, the Palace is in the centre of the town and the other houses are widely scattered about it. The Ruler's love of gardens has caused the road to be lined with trees, and it is a pleasant surprise on coming across the desert surrounding the town to pass through a shady green avenue. During the three months of the Summer the Ruler lives in Manama, but as soon as the cool weather returns a long procession of cars and lorries moves slowly out of Rifaa, the lights go on, and overnight the appearance of West Rifaa is changed from a deserted town to a scene of much activity.

RIFAA ASH-SHARQI

361 This is the fourth largest town in Bahrain and has a population
712 of about 3,000. East Rifaa is without doubt the most picturesque of Bahrain's towns and villages. When approached from the west, from the plain near Awali, the fortress, which dominates the valley, presents a most romantic appearance and carries one's thoughts back

to the days when the Rulers of Bahrain lived here and ruled the Islands from the castle. Below the fortress is the spring of Hanani, whose water is the best in Bahrain, and a plain where, in the rainy season, a small lake forms and on disappearing leaves in its place a bright lawn of grass. Rifaa has been expanding rapidly during recent years, the town is spreading to the south-east, and it now possesses boys' and girls' schools and a Municipality. Some members of the Ruling Family still live in the town which has expanded owing to the development of the oil industry, in which some 500 of its male inhabitants are working.

The situation of the town is ideal for strategical purposes, from it it is possible to see Manama, Muharraq and Sitra while the land around it is free of vegetation which could have served to hide the enemy. It has an excellent climate and is drier than Manama in the summer. To the north of the town are two small graves where members of the Khalifah family are buried; these fell in battle during a civil war which took place in the 19th century.

There is a tradition connected with the fortress of Rifaa. It is said to have been built in the 17th century by the Wazir of the then Ruler, a certain Shaikh Jabbara. For years the Ruler and his wazir worked together, but one day the Shaikh was told about the beauty of the wazir's wife, and he desired her. He was tricked into believing that he had visited her, though in fact he was entertained by her maid-servant. He was so angry at the deception, about which the wazir knew nothing, that he killed him. The Wazir's widow thereupon fled from Rifaa to the mainland, from where she wrote to the Shah of Persia sending him a minature palm tree of pearls and gold and saying that so rich was Bahrain that such a tree was given to a child as a toy. She succeeded in exciting the avarice of the Persian Shah, who sent an army to Bahrain, defeated and killed Shaikh Jabbara, and annexed the Islands to Persia, thus avenging the Wazir's wife. This same Shaikh Jabbara is said to have lived in the fort of Amr, south-east of the Jebel, which is mentioned in Chapter VIII.

There is a third Rifaa, a small community built by BAPCO for its Indian and Pakstani employees; this is mentioned in the Chapter on Bahrain's Oil.

### AWALI

Meaning "The High Places," this name was given by Shaikh Hamed, the late Ruler of Bahrain, to the oil camp when it was first established in its present location. Before the oil company arrived in Bahrain the site was deserted—for who would live in the middle of a waterless desert? But the company wanted to build their town near the oil field, and so the small, 240 foot, hill was chosen. Today Awali somewhat resembles a London surburb or a small American town. As in London, varied gardens and different coloured exteriors of the houses serve to disguise their basic similarity. In these gardens children play while their mothers chat to each other over the fences. Happy

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

361 laughter comes from the Club House Swimming Bath and in the evenings sports of all kinds take place inside the camp. Today Awali
382 is a town of some 400 houses inhabited by 2,000 Europeans and
[162] Americans. Shady trees line the roads and in fact there is little to suggest the presence of oil. The roads are surfaced with it, but otherwise it is not visible, though oil is the *raison d'etre* of this town set in such an inhospitable situation, to which water has to be piped from miles away and where to plant a tree a pneumatic drill is required to pierce the rock on which the town is built.

### SAKHIR

361 Driving from Awali to Zellaq the traveller will notice a group of large buildings on the south of the road near the foot of the Jebal. This is Sakhir, founded by Shaikh Muhammad bin Khalifa (1843-67, d. 1890), but the majority of buildings which exist today were built by the late Ruler of Bahrain. The present Ruler makes little use of Sakhir, and the attractive mosques, balconied dwelling houses and high roofed rooms are now deserted ; the only human beings who remain are the Bedouin in charge of the horses and camels which are still kept there. The climate of Sakhir is excellent and in the spring there are fields of grass which provide grazing both for domestic animals, gazelle and hare. When Sakhir was occupied Saluqis were much in evidence, Shaikh Hamed was a great lover of this fine breed of dogs and his
[486] favourite hound, Housha, followed him wherever he went. It should be remembered that Sakhir is the private property of the Ruler, from whom permission must be obtained before it is visited.

### JEBAL AD-DUKHAN

133 The "Mountain" of Bahrain has already been mentioned in the Introduction, but it deserves further notice. From its peak, which is marked by a trigonometry marker, it is possible to see, on a clear day, the entire area of Bahrain from Manama and Muharraq on the north to Ras al-Barr, while on the east and west the sea is even nearer. From the peak an excellent bird's eye view of Awali can be seen, and, at night, the flares at Dhahran and at Dukhan in Qatar are visible. The strange formation of the island, with the rim-rock and the central depression can be seen from the Jebal. At the head of a wadi facing towards Awali is the Jebal cave, some 15 × 35 × 6 ft., which is hollowed out of the rock, probably by water erosion for the fantastic patterns on the walls would seem to point to nature's rather than man's handiwork.

### JAW AND DOUR (DAR AL-MANADIL)

361 On the east coast of Bahrain about a mile south of the highest peak of the Jebal are the villages of Dour and Jaw, similar in character and appearance and the southernmost inhabited villages on the east coast
[342] of Bahrain. The villages are about a mile apart and both are on the shore, they consist of a poor type of stone and gypsum hut inhabited

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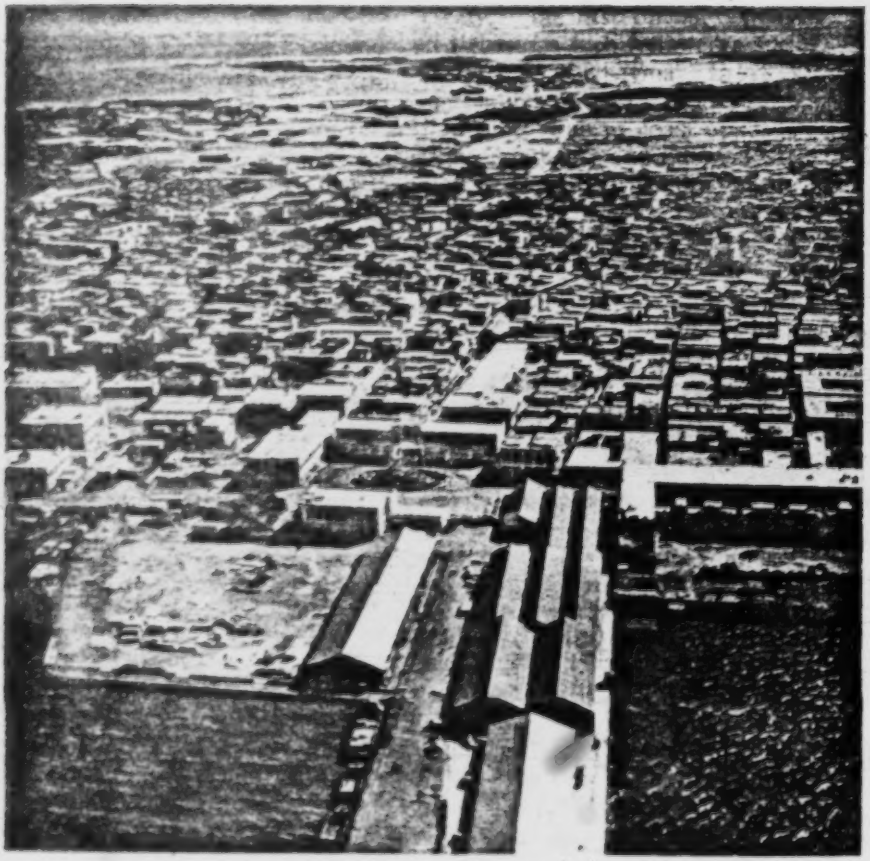

Aerial view of central Manama looking from the north. In the foreground is the Customs Pier, Shaikh Sulman Square and Bab al-Bahrain.

*Photo :*
*Bahrain Government.*

'1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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A Public Garden in Manama. Photo : The Author

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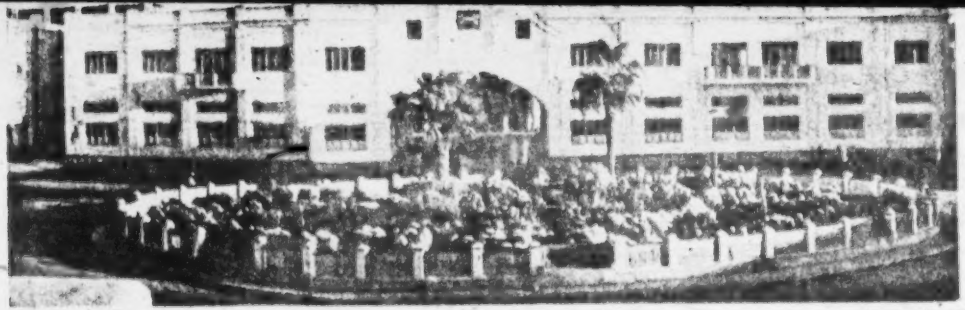
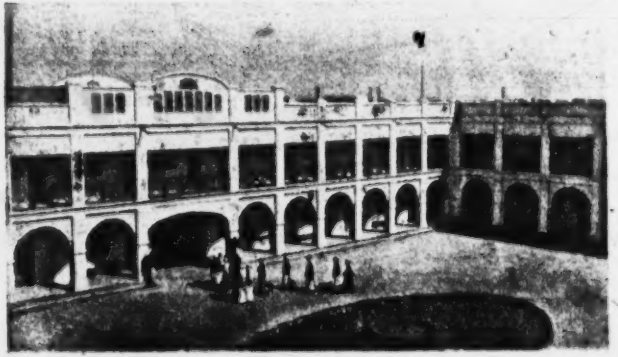
The Manama Fort.

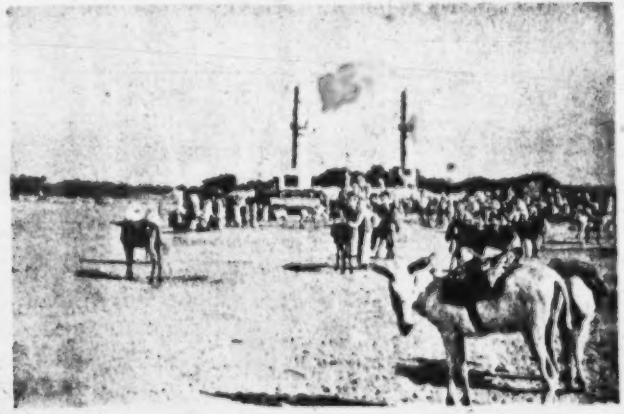
1; Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



Shaikh Sulman Square and the Bab al-Bahrain. Photo : K. P. Narayan.



Bahrain Government Students' Hostel. *Photo : Sir Charles Belgrave.*



The Suq al-Khamis Market with the Mosque in the background. *Photo : The Author.*

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1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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Aerial view of the tumuli of Aali. In the background, to the right of the photo, the Jebel ad-Dukhan can be seen.

367
529

Adari Pool.

by Sunni Arabs who were prosperous when the pearling industry flourished but who depend today upon fishing, the oil company and transporting jus from Hawar for their living. In the summer the heat and the shortage of water (for although Jaw has a well it is brackish and more to the taste of the date palms that grow around it than to the people) drive most of the inhabitants to migrate to Sitra. Jaw was once spread some distance along the shore, as can be seen from the ruins that surround it, and in addition to having been a pearling centre it was inhabited by the people of Zubara when they wanted to escape the tyrannical rule of the Wahhabis in the 19th century. Jaw is the point on Bahrain nearest to Zubara and the Qatar coast, and for that reason it was always garrisoned when there was a threat to Bahrain from the mainland, but today the Police Camel Corps, which is stationed there, is to prevent the smuggling into Bahrain of Arabs from the Trucial Coast who come seeking work.

North of Jaw on the road to the Refinery is Asker and opposite it the island of Mushaikha, where an old tomb is the centre of pilgrimage for one of the Moslem sects, the Buharas. The interior of the tomb is filled with bottles of rose water, brought by pilgrims as offerings. Asker itself is a village much like Jaw and Dour.

### JIDHAFS

We must now return to Manama and follow the other road that leads out of the town, this time in the direction of Budaiya. After passing through some miles of gardens the road reaches Jidhafs, a large village, which is also said to have been at one time the capital of Bahrain. Its inhabitants have a reputation for being enterprising and go-ahead, they have recently demonstrated this by deciding to build a club, the first in any of the villages, although in the towns there are many. Jidhafs contains one of the Shiite Juma Mosques and Friday Prayer is said there. It may seem strange that this should be a claim to fame, but according to Moslem custom only certain mosques are used for the Friday Prayers which is intended to encourage large congregations and to prevent the dispersal of the faithful in all the other mosques.

Like all the villagers, those of Jidhafs enjoy a visit to the town every now and then, and in the evenings bus loads of men and many cyclists can be seen coming in to town to enjoy themselves by going to the cinema or sitting gossiping with their friends in the coffee-shops to the blare of wireless music.

South of Jidhafs in the direction of Suq al-Khamis is the village of Ain al-Dar; although today it presents a quiet and peaceful appearance it was once the headquarters of a notorious gang of robbers who used a ruined house, inhabited by a lunatic, as a cache for storing their loot.

### BUDAIYA

This strange town, on the north-western tip of Bahrain Island, is connected with Manama by a good motor road which runs through the village of Jidhafs. Budaiya used to be a large town, divided into Two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya.

two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya. It was the home of the Dawasir tribe who came to Bahrain shortly after it was conquered by the al-Khalifah and established themselves here. The tribe acquired great wealth and prestige, owning many pearling dhows, and by degrees they became so powerful that they were able to raid with impunity the neighbouring Bahrana villages. They even challenged the authority of the al-Khalifah, but Shaikh Hamed, on becoming Deputy Ruler in 1924, threatened to punish them if they did not behave. This they considered as an infringement of their liberties and they therefore announced to the Ruler that if he prevented them behaving as they were accustomed, they would leave Bahrain and settle in Saudi Arabia. Shaikh Hamed refused to give way and the Dawasir left Bahrain. This, however, was not the last of them, for during many years it was believed that they were preparing to invade Bahrain. To prevent this a force was maintained in the Islands. However, the scare eventually died down and Budaiya after lying deserted, was later partly re-occupied by other Bahrainis, while some of the Dawasir gradually returned, many of them settling in Manama and Muharraq.

The ruins of great houses and mosques still remain, while scattered between them are the houses of the new inhabitants, who do much fishing in the prolific waters near the town, and also work in Manama and Awali. Before reaching the Police Post that marks the entrance to Budaiya the road passes through the Government Experimental Garden where new agricultural methods are tried and where cows and sheep, kept under scientific conditions, are studied for their productivity. From the Budaiya Pier launches go to Jidda, the prison island, many of whose inmates come over daily to work in the Budaiya Garden. The Pier is also used by the Ruler when he visits his island of Umm an-Nasaan.

The small Government school at Budaiya just south of the Government gardens, in addition to teaching the usual Primary School subjects gives lessons in agriculture for many of the boys' fathers own or work in gardens in the neighbourhood.

## DIRAZ

Diraz is a village about half a mile north of the Budaiya Road and about 1½ miles from Budaiya itself. It consists mainly of stone houses, many of which are two-storied. The village stands on high ground among the sand dunes and is very similar to Beni Jumra which faces it a little way off on the opposite side of the road. It is so surrounded by clumps of date palms that its size is not appreciated from the road. A feature noticeable here, as well as in many other parts of Bahrain, is that date palms grow in groups at the bottom of depressions in the sand and are not irrigated by water channels but obtain moisture from below the surface of the ground.

North-west of the village there are mounds which indicate the existence of a much larger settlement in the past and an extensive area of ground is covered with glass and pottery sherds. Among the ruins



1 [the town of Budaiya .. Analysis]

there is a deep depression surrounded by large blocks of stone which was once a great spring said to have irrigated much of north-western Bahrain. This spring, known as Ain Sejour, is traditionally associated with the name of the Caliph Abd al-Malik (685-705) who is reputed to have come to Bahrain with an army to chastise the people who had given refuge to politico-religious refugees from Iraq. According to local histories the Bahrainis worsted the invaders in a war by a clever use of the underground water channels and a truce was signed. Later the Caliph is said to have murdered the Bahraini leaders and to have filled in this well "to reduce the pride of the people of Bahrain," since then it has been dry and the land around it has reverted to desert. It seems unlikely that the Caliph himself came to Bahrain, he probably sent one of his generals and later tradition ascribed the leadership to the Caliph himself. 172

Several well-to-do families own houses in Diraz, and when pearling flourished its people were important nakhudas (captains) and pearl merchants. Many of the villagers are still divers and keep their boats on the shore near the little mosque north of Budaiya Garden. For use in these boats the villagers weave their own sail-cloth on local looms. 228 288 554

JESRA

On the edge of the open plain about 4 miles south of Budaiya is Jesra, the point where the pipeline from Arabia crosses to Bahrain, here also is a village whose Arab inhabitants are mainly retainers of the Ruling Family. Several Shaikhs have also built substantial houses in the village, as well as gardens irrigated from artesian wells. Another road leads from Jesra to Rifaa al-Gharbi, following the route of the pipeline across the desert. 315 361 491

MALAKIYA

Four miles south of Jesra the road, after passing through the villages of Karzakan and Dumistan, enters the little village of Malakiya, set in the centre of thriving date gardens, some of which belong to merchants in Manama. The only claim to interest in this village is a large tomb which is held in great veneration by the Shia community of Bahrain and is visited by pilgrims from all parts of the Islands. The tomb is of a certain Amir Zaid, but there is some difference of opinion about his identity. Some contend that he was Zaid bin Sohan, one of the Companions of the Prophet, but according to other local authorities he was a certain Amir Zaid bin Umaira al-Abdi who witnessed a covenant of truce made between the people of the Islands and al-Mua'lla bin al-Hadrami, the Moslem conqueror of Bahrain. A third version is that the worthy Amir was the leader of the people of Bahrain in a war that took place between them and the Caliph Abd al-Malik (See paragraph on Diraz). It has not yet been decided which of these versions is in fact the true one, but this does not deter Shia pilgrims from visiting Malakiya. 361 778

### ZELLAQ

361 South again of Malakiya is Zellaq, the southernmost village on the
342 western Coast of Bahrain and approximately three miles west of Sakhir. A road runs from Zellaq to Awali and is much used by BAPCO employees coming to swim at the former place. The houses of Zellaq village, which are of stone, are built along the shore and many of them are large and spacious. As a result of the activities of BAPCO, Zellaq village has increased in size and prosperity and now contains a number of substantial white stone buildings which are conspicuous from a long distance across the flat and sandy plain that surrounds it.

162 The inhabitants of Zellaq are Sunni Arabs; some are from the Dawasir tribe, and many of them are dependents of the Ruling Family.
311 North of the village there are a number of large gardens, irrigated by innumerable artesian wells, which are owned by members of the Ruling Family and by their servants; these gardens form a green belt along the two miles of coast between Zellaq and Sedad.

312 The Bahrain Petroleum Company has a pump house at Zellaq which supplies Awali with much of its water and Zellaq was also once the discharging point for tankers bringing crude oil from Saudi
517 Arabia, before the submarine pipe-line was laid. Near the pumping station is the BAPCO Plage, the excellent bathing place which is much used by the employees of BAPCO, particularly in the Summer evenings.

### RAS AL-BARR

527 This, the southernmost point of the Bahrain islands, is a popular
484 place for summer picnics, but the approaches to it are difficult, and
491 although never dangerous they can easily cause trouble to visitors by the softness of the sand. It is best to travel in parties with not less than two cars, so that one can come to the help of the other if necessary, and care should be taken to keep to the tracks, however faintly indicated rather than to carve out new roads in the desert. The road to Ras al-Barr from Zellaq first passes through Mutalla, the Ruler's hunting lodge, while that from Awali past the Jebel passes another hunting lodge at Rumaitha before joining the Western road at Akala. From here the road goes south, past the swamps on the coast and along the narrow strip of sand which marks the end of the island.

136 In certain seasons of the year the shores along this part of Bahrain
262 are covered with the eggs of sea-birds, and many Arab dhows anchor off the coast while the crews remove the eggs for food. If one is lucky, while driving down the coast, hare and gazelle may be seen, as well as rose-tinted flamingoes on the shore.

## MUHARRAQ ISLAND

### MUHARRAQ

491 The visitor from Manama approaches Muharraq by crossing the
486 1½ mile long causeway and Shaikh Hamed Bridge, completed in 1942,

which opens at 11 a.m. and at midnight, for an hour, to allow the passage of vessels through the deep channel between the two islands. There is a toll gate at the bridge and cars coming from Muharraq to Manama are charged 4 annas. Beyond the bridge, around a group of white buildings, the Customs House, Police Station and Municipal Office, there is always a scene of much activity. Here boats unload their cargoes and buses fill with passengers bound for all parts of the Islands. The sea road continues along the water front until it turns inland towards the airport. Much of the ground inside the sea road has not yet been reclaimed and at high tide the sea forms little squares of still water where children sail home-made boats. On Muharraq sea front there are several important buildings, a government dispensary, a large school and, at the northern corner, a block of flats.

Another road, opposite the causeway, runs up into the town passing through the bazaars, which branch off to the north and south. The Muharraq shops are of the old fashioned type, with neither plate glass nor fixed prices. There are antique dealers and carpet sellers and all the usual traders found in Arab towns. Ships chandlers are numerous as Muharraq has always been a sea faring centre. Arab chests, carved or brass bound, carpets, worked leather sandals, divers' equipment and goods of interest to tourists can be bought here at prices lower after judicious bargaining, than those in Manama.

Today Muharraq is still a typically Arab town, a fact of which its inhabitants are proud. Most of the shops are owned by Arabs and are not occupied by Indians or Persians as in Manama. The town, although it was once the capital of Bahrain, the centre of the pearl industry and the focus of trade (a fact that its inhabitants remember with pride) has developed more slowly than Manama. There are few modern buildings, only one cinema and no large European style shops, but its climate is said to be pleasanter than Manama and it is not so humid in the summer. Muharraq was once a walled town but no traces of the walls now remain. The high old houses which line the narrow streets have changed little during the last century, except where corners have been cut away to make passages for large American cars. Many of the larger houses belong to the Ruling Family. They are built around courtyards and in some cases a big house contains three or four such courtyards, surrounded by high walls with few outward-looking windows in them to screen the house from prying eyes.

Muharraq has a telephone service, electric light, a Post Office and a filling station, but no main water supply, apart from artesian wells. As in the case of Manama, the affairs of the town are controlled by an elected Municipal Council presided over by a member of the Ruling Family.

The sea surrounds the town on three sides but at the northern end a new residential area is developing on land which is being sold by the Municipality for building purposes. East of the town is the bay of Arad, the ancient name for Muharraq at the time of Alexander,

and on the shore there is an old deserted fort which was built by the Omanis during a short period when they occupied the Islands. A ferry service of small sailing boats plies between Muharraq and Arad fort, but to drive round the bay to the fort by car takes less time than crossing by boat.

Boat building is one of the few local industries of Muharraq and is carried out along the shores of the town, especially on the eastern coast. Carpenters and shipwrights are apt to extend their work half across the road and when driving a car one often has to avoid sails which are pegged out for joining or for repairs, rope winders, men mending nets or carpenters working on big wooden water tanks for the pearling dhows.

Many visitors to Bahrain never enter Muharraq and by failing to do so they miss the sight of a comparatively untouched Arab town, a sight that is rapidly becoming rarer in the oil rich Persian Gulf.

HEDD

Bahrain's number three town is Hedd. Long and narrow, it is built on a strip of land which juts out into the sea at the south-east end of Muharraq Island. The houses are closely packed together and extend right to the edge of the sea, one road, only just wide enough for motor vehicles, runs through the centre of the town and on each side a labyrinth of narrow lanes leads down to the shore. There are few barastis in Hedd and most of the people live in stone houses ; some of them are large, built by pearl merchants in the days when the pearl industry of which Hedd was an important centre, was flourishing. The bazaar is in the main street and it contains many shops which sell all manner of goods. Water is supplied to the town by several artesian wells.

The population of Hedd is entirely Sunni and predominantly Arab, although a few of the shopkeepers are Persians. It includes Arabs of the Bin Ali, Saada, Mesedem and Musallam tribes who used to be very influential in Bahrain ; the last were once the rulers of Qatar. Hedd was originally a diving town but although it still has much contact with the sea, many of its inhabitants work on shore. Its people have a reputation for intelligence and energy and this is shown by the fact that they have produced better results from their schools than any other community. The town is conspicuously clean, owing partly to the fact that it is surrounded by the sea on three sides.

Hedd has a handsome new police station, at the entrance to the town, which was completed in 1952, a Municipality and Boys' and Girls' Schools which were opened in 1937 and 1939 respectively. For some years the Muharraq Municipality included Hedd in its activities but in 1945 Hedd formed its own elected Municipal Council with four members. There is also in Hedd a dispensary and a small women's hospital with accommodation for a certain number of in-patients. Hedd is famous for its prawns which are caught in special traps and sent to the fish markets of Manama and Muharraq.

There is a bus service between Hedd and Muharraq and also a few taxi cabs in the town. 494

In addition to the towns of Muharraq and Hedd the island of Muharraq is fringed by many villages ; going north round the coast from Muharraq town they include Busatin, Dair, Raiya, Galali and Arad. The first three villages contain many homes of members of the Ruling Family and are especially popular in the summer when the Muharraq weather is considered superior to that of Manama. Galali is a sizeable village inhabited by fishermen and industrial workers, while Arad is the centre of the agriculture of the island and is built near a large pool in the centre of the date gardens on Arad peninsular. The inhabitants of the village work in the gardens, but on the shores of the Bay near the old Omani fort is a large village built entirely of barastis. In the summer this temporary village is entirely filled with people from Muharraq who spend the nights here, crossing by ferry every day to Muharraq town. 361

In general Muharraq island is very low-lying, so much so that it was thought at one time that there was a danger of the sea affecting the efficiency of the Airport, but this has been removed by pumping stations around the field which remove, when necessary, surplus water from the runways. It was, however, found necessary to build a raised road from Muharraq town to Hedd, for when there was any rain or an exceptionally high tide the road was often blocked. 133 491

## UMM ASH-SHAGAR ISLANDS AND UMM ASH-SHIYAIRA

These are the two islands that lie to the south of Hedd town; the former, to the north, is covered with small stone and barasti houses; the second, whose name is a diminutive of the first, contains only barastis and is inhabited by fishermen. 361 101

## THE ISLANDS

In addition to these two, there are several other small islands south of Muharraq, of which the three largest, although none of them is more than a few hundred square yards in area, are Halat-as-Suluta, Halat-al-Khulaifat and Abu Mahur.

The first two islands lie to the south of Arad peninsular and at low tide they are joined by a sand-bar which permits walking between them. They contain small villages, whose people derive their livlihood from fishing, and they are lucky enough to have on them fresh water springs. Abu Mahur, the third and largest island, is in fact named after one of the largest of these springs, which is in the sea a short distance from the shore. The fort of Abu Mahur is now in ruins but the island is now used as a quarantine station. 361 226

The fresh water submarine springs south of Muharraq and the manner in which the people obtain water from them has astounded 312

312 many of the travellers who have visited the islands. Men with deflated sheepskins dive down to the spring and place the mouth of the skin over the place where the fresh water emerges ; the skin then fills with fresh water and when full the diver comes to the surface. Before artesian wells were drilled in Bahrain both Muharraq and Manama obtained much of their water in this way, but today, owing to artesian piped wells and water systems, the undersea springs are little used except those to the north of Bahrain near the pearling banks. A Turkish traveller who visited Bahrain in 1554, Sidi Ali, says of the submarine springs, "The sailors provided with a leather sack, dive down into the sea and bring the fresh water from the bottom for Rais Murad's (the Governor of Bahrain) use. This water is particularly pleasant and cold in spring time. God's Power is boundless !" There is a 173 legend concerning the spring of Abu Mahur which says that in the time of the Caliph Merwan (684-685) a certain Ibn Hakim, a chief in Qatif, wished to marry the lovely daughter of a Bahrain shaikh. His suit was refused and so he attacked the islands and captured all the wells which supplied the towns on Bahrain Island, but the guardian diety of the Bahrainis caused the well Abu Mahur to appear in the sea near Muharraq to succour his people.

### NABIH SALIH

101 A most attractive island is Nabih Salih, set in the Khor-al-Kab between Umm al-Hassan and the mainland of Bahrain. With its 529 thick cultivation, for the date palms run right down to the sea shore, and its many springs, including a large pool much frequented by [788] bathers, Nabih Salih is a very popular place for visitors. In addition to its pool it is a place of pilgrimage for the Shia of Bahrain who go to pay their respects to the tomb of Salih after whom the island is named. The date palms of the island are particularly fine, they compare very favourably with those elsewhere in Bahrain, which is mainly due to the pool already mentioned, Safahiya, which irrigates much of the island. [505] Nabih Salih can be visited by launch or sailing boat, the nearest point to it on Bahrain is Ain al-Hakim ; boats can also be obtained from Umm al-Hasan or from Sitra. People have been known to swim to the island, but this is not the only way of getting there and in the summer this method is inclined to be rather exhausting.

### SITRA

[101] South of Nabih Salih and close to the coast of Bahrain is Sitra 361 Island, which in addition to its many villages and gardens contains the Tank Farm and Drum Plant of BAPCO and the land end of the jetty. The site of these installations is a strip of bare and often sea-swept sands, but to the north of the island there are many gardens and a sizeable pool, Ain Raha, which is much visited by the people of Muharraq and Manama. Among the villages of North Sitra are Wadiyan, Sufala, Kharijya and Kuriya. Near the third village is a school and police station. To the south of the island is Umm al-Baidh, literally "Mother

of the Egg," a small village with many seafaring inhabitants. To the north of Sitra there is a very pleasant sandy beach looking towards Umm a-Hasan where there is excellent bathing; the view also includes Nabih Salih and Jaziyra. There is deep water to the north of Sitra, and it is here that the Bahrain Government is building the new Port of Manama with a pier running into deep water from the shore between Umm al-Hasan and Jufair. 361 [504]

JIDDA

This island is about 2½ miles from Budaiya. It is small and rocky and in appearance unlike any of the other Bahrain Islands. Its high cliffs rise abruptly from the water and a few fort-like buildings are silhouetted against the sky-line. On the south side of the island there is a level strip of land which is extensively cultivated. Jidda is Bahrain's penal settlement; here all long term prisoners are detained, spending their time cutting stone, weaving and working in the gardens. There is a small house on the top of the cliffs above the jetty which catches all the wind in the summer and which is used by the Adviser to the Bahrain Government. Being a prison island, Jidda is forbidden to general visitors. 101 133 697 [486]

The stone quarries at Jidda are of great age and it is likely that the large stones which line the graves in the burial mounds were cut here. There is an Arabic inscription roughly cut on one of the cliffs which reads as follows : 316

"During the month of Shaban in the year 968 (April/May, 1561) there was completed the cutting of the 100,000th rock for the mending of the tower of the Bahrain fort in the wazirate of the Great Wazir Jilal ad-Din Murad Mahmud by the hand of the slave . . . " (a few words after this are unreadable).

UMM AN-NASAAN

This, the second largest of the Bahrain islands, lies a few miles across the shallow water to the south of Jidda. It is sandy and flat, with the exception of two small limestone hills towards its centre which break the monotony of its shape. At the north end of the island there are several natural springs and artesian wells from which extensive date gardens are irrigated; they were planted by the late Ruler of Bahrain, H.H. Shaikh Hamed, who also established on the island a herd of black buck and gazelle, the former being imported from India and the latter from the mainland of Bahrain. 101 133 312 [136]

There is evidence of ancient habitations on Umm an-Nasan, foundations of many old houses are visible and sherds of pottery can be picked up. Local legend has it that Nasaan, after whom the island is named, was one of the early rulers of Bahrain, but this legend has not been substantiated by historical research. 172

## HOWAR ISLANDS

101 This group of 16 islands is about twelve miles south-east of Ras al-Barr. It consists of one large island, Howar itself, which is about eleven miles long and a mile in breadth, and fifteen other islands much smaller in size. In the centre of the main island there is a rocky [361] eminence known as al-Jebal. There are only two villages, the larger one at the northern end on the shore of the bay consists of stone huts [625] with mat roofs (Kubbar); it also has a small mosque. The Bahrain State Police maintain a garrison on the island, in a fort which dominates 162] the bay and from the roof of which the Qatar peninsular is visible. The islands are inhabited by fishermen from Bahrain and also by men [312] who come to cut gypsum which they sell in Bahrain. The water supply of the island is very limited and consists of old cisterns cut out of living rock which are filled by rain. Attempts to drill for water have failed, but in the years when there is normal or plentiful rainfall the 133 island provides good grazing for camels and sheep. Fishing in the bay is excellent, the water is comparatively deep and a launch can 503 come alongside the short jetty. The southern tip of the island is so close to the Qatar coast that when the tide is out boats cannot pass between the island and the shore, but at one place between Howar and Qatar, a long narrow channel has been hewn out of the coral sea bed to allow boats to pass through a shallow stretch of water. This submarine canal was made by a certain Isa ibn Tarif, a notorious pirate, who played an important part in the history of Bahrain during the middle of the last century; he used the channel as a passage to his fortress on the Qatar coast from where he sallied forth to attack the shipping around Bahrain.

132 The climate of Howar is noticeably better than in Bahrain, it is drier and cooler during the summer nights, but has no other amenities to attract visitors fleeing from the dampness of Bahrain, and at present its only visitors go there for work and not for pleasure.

## ZUBARA

361 On the coast of the Qatar peninsular opposite the Bahraini village 172 of Jaw is the ruined town and the bay of Zubara, which has already been mentioned in detail in the history of Bahrain in Part II. The town of Zubara is on the east of the bay and stretches about 1½ miles along the coast and 2 miles inland. The ruins of the town are still impressive. The high wall which surrounds the wide straight streets and the fine mosques, the obvious care with which the town was laid out, speaks well for those who governed it. Further east of the town, at a distance of about two miles across the desert, is the great fort; some of the walls and the mosque are still standing. At the corners of the walls are towers with slits for rifles and the domed roof of the mosque presents an attractive picture. The whole building is made from local stone and little gypsum was used in its construction. Within the fort there are two wells one of which is dry, but the other still

contains a substantial amount of water which is protected from evaporation by the narrowness of the well's neck. The Bahraini members of the Naim tribe who live here do not occupy the fort but live in two villages in the neighbourhood, which have the advantage of being near wells. On the whole, however, Zubara is most unfertile, the soil is thick with salt which appears on the surface and it is easy to see that the only *raison d'etre* of the town was the sea and commerce. The fort itself was once connected with the sea by a long, deep canal, some 100 feet wide, which served the dual purpose of filling the moat about the fort and permitting ships to approach it. Today the eastern section of the canal has been filled in by sand, and the sea only reaches about 1½ miles inland.

Gazelle abound in Zubara, and also jackals.

# Part IV.—USEFUL INFORMATION.

## CHAPTER I

## RECREATIONS

### CINEMAS

546 THERE are in Bahrain a number of cinemas, both public and private, which show films in various languages, English, Arabic, Hindustani and occasionally French and Italian. The Bahrain Petroleum Company, through the medium of the BAPCO Club, has an open-air cinema and theatre at Awali, at the former there are nightly (except Sunday) performances of comparatively recent American and British films, the programmes changing twice a week. There is also under construction a large air-conditioned cinema and theatre to which there will be an entrance fee and which will not be restricted to the European employees of BAPCO but will also be open to the general public.

The five cinemas in Manama, the Awal, the Ahli, the Bahrain and the National in Qudabiya and the Pearl Cinema on Government Road near the Government Hospital, the Muharraq Cinema, although they show a majority of Arabic films, often have English language films and usually there are two such films running every evening in Manama and Muharraq. Details of the performances are obtainable by phoning the cinemas and it is usually possible for those interested to have cinema notices sent to them as they appear.

Of the cinemas in Manama and Muharraq, five are especially pleasant in the summer, for they are open-roofed and are consequently very cool. One cinema has two open-air performances every day in the summer and in the winter an indoors performance ; the sixth is air-conditioned.

536 There is no Bahrain theatre but there are a number of amateur dramatic clubs who give public shows from time to time.

### CLUBS

575 *The Bahrain Club* (*Nadi al-Bahrain*). This is an Arab club in Muharraq with some 300 members and was founded in 1937 for cultural, social and sporting aims. The club has its own library with a large number of Arabic and English books and the latest newspapers and magazines. The members of the club are most interested in Arabic literature and have staged a number of plays. With the proceeds from the plays and with contributions from local merchants the club has been able to purchase its own buildings. Members of the club organize basket-ball and volley ball teams and also play a number of indoor sports.

The present premises of the club are to the north of Muharraq town, but they have become too small for the number of members and there are plans for the sale of the club buildings and the future construction of new and larger premises elsewhere in Muharraq. 575

*Al-Ahli Club*. This is the largest Arab club in Manama, it was founded in 1938 and to-day has a membership of 285, which figure is rapidly increasing. The club has much the same aims as the one described above. It has a library and reading room and from time to time members and visitors deliver talks and lectures. The Club has recently moved to its new premises on Daly Road in Quadabiya. The central hall of the club has a stage for theatricals and public lectures and it is proposed to build two tennis courts in the grounds of the club. The club also has an excellent football team which usually does well in inter-Bahrain and foreign matches.

*Khalifah Eslah Club*. The second of the two Muharraq clubs, the Khalifah Eslah Club, has 150 members. Formerly housed in a building in the centre of the town, at the time of writing the club is raising funds for a new building on the Muharraq Sea Road.

This club was also founded for cultural purposes and much of its activity is connected with intellectual pursuits. At monthly meetings members of the club deliver lectures on various topics and there is a committee which encourages such activities. The club itself is administered by an elected committee which holds fortnightly meetings at which matters of interest to the club are discussed and members' proposals considered. From time to time the club produces plays which are well attended by the general public. It does not, however, take part in any sports.

*BAPCO Club*. The membership of BAPCO Club, with the exception of some 80 outside members from Manama, amounts to 1100 European and American employees of BAPCO and 400 wives and 350 children, the latter two groups being honorary members. The Club with its manifold activities is organised by the Oil Company for the entertainment of its employees during their leisure hours. Among the sports played under the auspices of the Club are cricket, association football, golf, hockey, squash, and tennis, as well as rifle shooting, archery and riding. Some of these activities are organised by separate clubs but they are all dependent upon BAPCO for financial aid and are, therefore, part of the BAPCO Club. There is also in Awali an amateur dramatic society, a library and billiards rooms. 466 575

Every Thursday evening there is a dance at the club, once a month this is formal ; also in the winter there are old-time dances which are particularly well attended.

*The Pakistan Club*. As its name implies, the majority of the members of this club are Pakistanis, but its 200 members also include many other 575

575 nationalities. The Club does valuable service in providing entertainment for some of the Pakistanis in Bahrain, it organises various sports, including volley-ball, cricket, football and physical exercises as well as indoor games. Once or twice a month the Club holds Housey sessions which are well attended by members and visitors. Also very useful in Bahrain, where there is a shortage of public libraries, is this Club's library, which as well as being supplied with books is provided with the latest newspapers and magazines.

*Bahrain Sports Club.* This Club was founded in 1918 under the patronage of H.H. the Ruler of Bahrain and other local notables. Its aim is to provide recreational and social amenities, which include a library, for its 250 members, most of whom are Indian nationals.

The Club premises are situated in Quadibiya, on Belgrave Road, and include the main club buildings, two tennis courts and an indoor badminton court. There are also two table-tennis tables and facilities for chess, bridge, etc. The Club's major activity is cricket, in which it excels, having won the Championship Shield of the Bahrain Cricket Association for the three years 1950-52. Tennis and badminton tournaments are also held every year for cups donated by the Bahrain Petroleum Company and by other Bahrain firms. Once a month there is a tombola evening to which the general public is admitted.

The Club is managed by a committee of seven members who are elected every January.

The membership fee to the Club is *Rs.*3 per month, members also pay *Rs.*7 per month for the use of the tennis courts, *Rs.*3 per month for the use of the badminton court and a library deposit of *Rs.*5.

*Gymkhana Club.* This Club, which has been in existence for some years, is for the benefit of the British and American inhabitants of Manama, although there are also some members in Awali and Muharraq. The Club premises, attractively surrounded by gardens, are to the south of the Racecourse and include, in addition to the Club building itself, a swimming bath, tennis courts and a patio where dances are frequently held.

Applications for membership to the Club should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, the Gymkhana Club.

There are other clubs in Bahrain, The Ferdousi and Gulistan Clubs, the Aruba in Manama, the Nahada in Hedd and clubs in some of the villages, but these are not likely to be of interest to visitors to Bahrain as their activities are more specialised.

## SPORTS

526 575 *Sailing.* Sailing is a pleasant relaxation which, in Bahrain, can be enjoyed all the year round. The recently formed Royal Air Force Sailing Club is actively promoting interest in sailing and dinghy racing

among residents of Bahrain and is filling a long-felt want for an organised centre for the small boat enthusiast. The R.A.F. Club was started in July 1951 mainly to provide a form of recreation for members of the R.A.F. stationed in Bahrain, but later it was found that many of the Britishers and Americans resident in Bahrain were interested in sailing so it was decided to admit fifty civilian members. In August 1952 the membership of the club numbered eighty. 526 575

The Club premises are open daily from noon to 8 p.m. except Fridays and Sundays when they open at 10 a.m. Races are held every week-end and there is a Club Day on the first Friday of each month. At the time of writing there are twelve sailing boats and numerous other craft at the Club, of the sailing boats, four are the property of the club, three loaned to it and the remainder are privately owned. There are also half-a-dozen dinghies, including four 14-foot "G.P. Dinghies" designed by Jack Holt—a class which it is planned to develop and also to encourage among private owner members. Helmsmanship is taught and tests must be passed before members are permitted to take out club boats. Sailing matches are arranged from time to time with the sailing club at Qatar.

The Club buildings are ideally situated in what used to be the B.O.A.C. Marine Airport. The premises are at the end of a short jetty which extends into the sea from a point of the shore of Manama in Quadabiya, and the areas protected from the full strength of the north-west and north winds by the mainland of Bahrain. The Khor Khaliya, the bay to the east of the Club, provides pleasant and safe water for races and the training of beginners. For qualified helmsmen who know these reef-ridden coastal waters there are many sailing excursions round the coast and to nearby islands.

The entrance fee to the R.A.F. Sailing Club for civilian members is 25 rupees with a monthly subscription of 10 rupees, the subscription for officers is *Rs*.5 and for airmen, *Rs*.3. Wives and families of members are included, paying no fees and having no voting rights.

Enquiries about membership of the Club, for which there is a long waiting list, should be made to the Hon. Secretary on forms supplied by him.

*Fishing.* "A S-T-R-I-K-E—Turn the boat!"; a pause, and then that triumphant warning scream from the reel which is music to all fishermen—"He's on." In Bahrain "he" may be a 7-lb. "Chanad" or a 40-lb Barracuda—they will both take the same 6-inch Wilson spoon or Stewart "wobbler." 526 526

The most popular method of fishing is Trolling, from any motor driven boat which can maintain a trolling speed of about 3-4 knots. A variety of rods are used—from light to heavy—and the humble hand-line is just as effective, although obviously not so much sport. Nickelled spoons, feather jigs and natural bait are the usual lures used for trolling. The best natural bait is a small gar-fish ("silts" in Arabic)

526 226 [136] about 6-in. to 9-in. long which trolls well because of its streamlined shape. The fish most commonly caught by trolling are listed hereunder; those marked with an asterisk have also been reported, but on rare occasions :—

Sea bass.
King Mackerel ("Chanad" or Indian seer).
Leer Fish.
Rock Cod.
Barracuda.
*"Sikkan" (English name unknown but weighs up to 60 lbs.).
*Sailfish.
*Shark (usually sand sharks up to 150 lbs.).
*Bonito.

Bottom fishing in the deeper water a mile or so off the coast, using crab, cuttlefish or large prawn as bait; yields Queen-fish, "Hamriyah" (English name unknown but similar to red snapper) and several kinds of rays, in addition to three or four of the above-listed species caught trolling. Many of these fish weigh 30 to 60 lbs. and give very good sport on a light sea-rod with a reel carrying about 250 yards of cutty hunk or nylon line with 18 or 24 lb. breaking strain. The American type 5-star drag reel is popular for trolling because by insulating the shock of the initial fierce strike, it enables lighter tackle to be used. Sailfish weighing about 55 lb. have been caught near the Black Buoy, the northern entrance marker to the Sitra channel, on at least two authenticated occasions. A game-fishing maxim says that "where there are sailfish, there are marlin" and, although not yet reported in local Bahrain waters, marlin have been seen as near as Umm Said on the east coast of the Qatar peninsular.

Bass (Ar. "Zbaiti"), "Shari" (12-in. long, drab colour), "Saafi" (about 24-in. long, white colour) and a colourful variety of small fish up to 5-6 lb. are caught fishing from the shore at many places around the coast. A trout rod or other light bait-casting rod with a 2½-oz. tip gives excellent sport and can be most exciting when, for instance, a 10 lb. sea bass is hooked and landed, as was done with such tackle in the 1952 season.

The spring and autumn are the best fishing seasons, although fish are sought and caught by the enthusiasts throughout the winter, except during the very cold spells. The hot summer months of July, August and September are the worst or fishing in Bahrain, the Bahrainis say that the fish go out to the deeper water to keep cool, in which they are both missed and envied by the local "Isaac Waltons," left ashore to prepare their tackle for the coming autumn season.

526 231 *Riding and Racing*. Bahrain offers excellent opportunities for riding, but it is only recently that these have been recognised by European and American residents in the Islands. The BAPCO Club has a stable of twelve horses at Awali and riding classes are held for children and adults. In Manama a number of Arab merchants keep horses for

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The Refinery. Photo : *Bahrain Petroleum Company.*

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Qasiri Pool. Photo : *Sir Charles Belgrave.*

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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A roadside Mosque. Photo : Sir Charles Belgrave.

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A Qanat (Water Channel) Photo : The Author.

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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An Aerial view of Muharraq town. *Photo : Bahrain Government.*

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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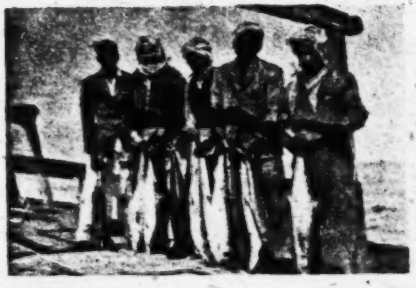

The Results of a Fishing Expedition. *Photo: Y. A. Shirawi.*

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A Village Pool, North Sitra. *Photo: The Author.*

Rifaa Ash-Sharqi. *Photo: The Author.*

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A Bahrain Football Team.

hacking as well as for racing and they are often willing to lend them to those interested in riding. With the exception of a few horses owned by Europeans, the remainder in Bahrain are the property of H.H. The Ruler, of the State Police and of other members of the Ruling Family. The keeping of horses in Bahrain is an expensive matter as the cost of fodder is high.

There are at the time of writing only two race meetings a year, these are held at the Manama Racecourse on Jufair Road. The race meetings take place in the spring and autumn, but it is hoped shortly to increase their number. The Races are run by a committee which receives the full support and patronage of the Ruler and there is a Totalisator under Government control. The races are very popular in Bahrain and not only is the Enclosure always packed with many hundreds of Arabs and Europeans but the whole length of the track is lined with onlookers who during the morning of the races come in buses, taxis and on foot to the Racecourse. The races vary in distance from four furlongs to one mile, some are handicaps and others are open. The Race Meetings of Bahrain are one of the social events of the year and people come from Dhahran and Qatar for the occasion. The brightly coloured dresses of the ladies, the equally colourful clothes of the Arabs and the more sombre get-up of the Englishmen are worthy of this Gulf Ascot !

*Bathing.* Around the shores of Bahrain are a number of excellent beaches, particularly to the south of the island, away from the villages. Unfortunately the coast of Bahrain is so shallow that it is often necessary to walk for a long way into the sea before deep water is reached. Swimming and picnicing is particularly pleasant at Ras al-Barr and along the west coast of Bahrain below Zellaq. There is no real danger from swimming in the sea, sharks are very rarely seen and it is only the occasional ray that should be treated with respect. Swimming shoes are, however, very necessary as the sharp coral stone in many places along the coast causes bad cuts which are liable to go septic. At Zellaq there is the BAPCO Plage which, in the summer, sees an attendance of over 50 a day and as many as 200-300 bathers at week-ends.

There are a number of places for fresh water bathing, the Pool at Adari is very pleasant but in the summer is inclined to be crowded. There are also pools at Ain Hakim, Sitra and elsewhere. At Awali there are two swimming baths and the Gymkhana Club also possesses a large bath situated in very attractive surroundings. In all the natural springs and in the baths which receive their water direct from artesian wells, the water has a temperature of about 83 degrees ; this remains the same in winter and in summer so that in the former the water seems warm, in the latter, cool.

*Other Sports.* In addition to these activities it is possible to play many other games in Bahrain, including tennis, golf, hockey, cricket, volley-ball, football, etc.

There are a number of public and private tennis courts in Bahrain, in Awali the courts of the BAPCO Club, and in Manama the Bahrain

526 529 Sports Club, and the Gymkhana Club have courts and the Ahli Club is also building some. Tennis is often played at night, by the light of batteries of flood-lamps, and there are many tennis matches between Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Qatar. There are also cups and shields for Bahrain tournaments.

Bahrain has two golf courses, one in Manama, around the Racecourse, the other near Awali. The latter belongs to the BAPCO Club and is situated in the desert between Awali and Sitra. As with other sports, golf teams from Bahrain play matches with teams from other parts of the Persian Gulf, but this is a sport that is confined to Europeans and Americans, the Arabs not yet having taken it up.

Football is one of the most popular sports in Bahrain, both with Arabs and Europeans, and has been played since the late 'twenties although there was no general organisation for its encouragement. In 1952, however, the Bahrain Football Association was formed and was supported by the Ahli Club's team, the Muharraq Sports team and the teams of the Gulistan Club, the Ferdousi Club, the R.A.F., the International Aeradio Company and the Bahrain Petroleum Company. It is the eventual aim of the Association to build a sports stadium in Bahrain, but till this object can be achieved, the Association does what it can to encourage sporting spirit in Bahrain and to organize matches and tournaments.

The other games mentioned above are also played, but on a smaller scale than the ones already described in detail. There is no doubt, however, that with the cinemas, with the clubs and with the opportunity of participation in the many sports played in Bahrain there are many ways of spending one's leisure hours and enjoying one's stay in Bahrain.

## CHAPTER II

## GARDENING IN BAHRAIN

247 GARDENING in Bahrain often seems to be a frustrating and disappointing hobby, but in time and with perseverance satisfactory results can be obtained and it is possible in the cold season to have a garden full of colour and flowers. The soil is thin and salty, the water is somewhat brackish and the strong north wind which blows in the winter is apt to play havoc with young seedlings. All gardens are irrigated as the rainfall is very small. Rain, when it does fall, often does more harm than good, it splashes the salty surface soil on to the stems of plants, shrubs and sometimes trees which causes small plants to die and often damages trees and shrubs. It is to prevent this damage that gardeners irrigate the ground immediately after rain, a labour which appears rather superfluous to people who do not appreciate the reason.

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Speaking generally most of the hardy annuals can be grown without much difficulty, some perennials succeed but as they invariably die in the summer only those which flower in the first year should be attempted. Seeds are apt to behave capriciously in Bahrain; one year a certain species will grow well, producing masses of flowers, next year the same seed, sown under identical conditions, will fail to germinate or will grow a few inches and then wither away. The following annuals are the most reliable and most easily grown from seed: Ageratum, Allysum, Annual Chrysanthemums, Balsam, Calendula, Coreopsis, Gillardia, Hollyhock, Linum, Marigold, Nasturtiums, Nicotiana, Sunflower, Stocks, Sweet Sultans, Virginia Stock, Wallflower (annual).

Bulbs do fairly well the first year but if left in the ground they perish and if lifted and stored they are apt to rot. The following have been grown with some success: Anemone, Dahlias, Cannas, Gladiolus, Iris, Jonquils, Ranunculus, Tuberous, various lilies including Spider Lilies, Amaryllis and Arum.

The following annuals can be grown, often successfully, but they require care and mature soil: Anchusa, Antirrhinum, Carnations (which sometimes survive the summer), Cornflower, Cosmos, Coleus, Candytuft, Cineraria, Dahlia, Dianthus, Gypsophila, Kochia, Larkspur, Mignonette, Petunia, Phlox, Pansy, Statice, Salvia, Verbena, Zinnia. Certain species, when once established, will seed themselves every year to such an extent that they become a nuisance, these include Larkspur, Petunia, Ageratum, Nicotiana, Coreopsis, Sunflowers and Hollyhocks. The method of planting seeds in pots or boxes is rarely successful in Bahrain, owing to the salt in the ground and in the water the insides of boxes and pots are liable to become coated with salt which eventually kills the seedlings; in the open ground better results are obtained. Seeds can be sown from the beginning of October until as late as January. Local gardeners take little interest in flowers and are not accustomed to deal with flower seeds, so to get good results it is almost essential to sow the seeds and transplant seedlings oneself. Seed beds should be watered from a can during the first few days, locally made watering cans can be obtained in the bazaar. The rush of water which gardeners release over newly sown seeds usually carries away most of the seeds the first time that the seed bed is irrigated.

There are few if any indigenous flowers in Bahrain. Flower gardens did not exist before the development of artesian wells and certain plants, shrubs and trees which now appear to be growing wild were introduced from India or from Iraq during the last 27 years; under this heading come Gaillardias, Oleanders, the Mesquite bean tree and many others. Almost all the flowering shrubs, trees and creepers were originally brought from the Municipal gardens in Karachi; these include Hibiscus, Tecoma, Duranta, Bougainvillea, Buddleia, Jatroba, Frangipani, Antigonon, Cassia, Lantana, Crotons, Achania, Indian Lilac, Datura, Myrtle, Ponciana (several types), Asparagus, Anchania, Bauhinia, Millingtonia, Cordia.

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351 Several types of local grass, if cultivated, can be used for lawns. The best method of planting a lawn is by "dubbing in" small clumps of grass about six inches apart from each other. In two or three months the grass will cover the ground. It requires liberal watering especially during the summer, in the winter time it lies dormant. After three or four years lawns are apt to become thin and patchy, the grass should then be dug up and a new lawn laid down. The best kind of grass for lawns is "Nejma" which means a star, so called owing to the star shaped seed pod which it produces and "Murani," both can be obtained easily from any cultivated ground.

244 Most European vegetables can be grown in Bahrain and if planted
137 in October quite a small garden should provide vegetables for a household from December until the beginning of June. Gardeners, if left to their own devices, are apt to use old seed which they have collected from previous crops; this almost always results in failure. The following are the most easily grown vegetables, Beetroot, Cabbage, family Carrot, Celery, Leek, Lettuce, Onion, Parsley, Radish, Spinach, Turnip. Peas and Beans do not seem to thrive in Bahrain. Tomatoes are grown extensively in the country and can be bought cheaply in the bazaar, so unless one has plenty of space it is hardly worth cultivating them. They ripen in Bahrain before they ripen in Iraq and at the beginning of the season they are exported from Bahrain to Basra.

Asparagus, Artichoke (Jerusalem) and Brussel sprouts have been grown from seed with rather uncertain results. Sweet Basil (Mashmoom) and Dill are herbs which are found in almost every garden, Mint grows well and retains its perennial habit but most of the other English herbs are not successful.

In the summer only local and somewhat uninspiring vegetables are obtainable, the best of these are Aubergine, Cucumber, Ladies Fingers, Pumpkin, Marrow and Sweet Potatoes.

One of the problems in Bahrain is how to obtain sufficient fertiliser. Before so many people took an interest in gardening cow manure could be obtained by anyone who sent a cart to remove it from the owner's shed. Today it is a marketable commodity and has to be paid for.

247 In spite of all difficulties gardening in Bahrain is a popular hobby, not only among the Europeans but also among the Arabs.

## CHAPTER III

## MISCELLANEOUS

### AIR FARES

509 THE following air lines make scheduled stops at Bahrain :—

British Overseas Airways Ltd.
Gulf Aviation Ltd.,
Djibouti Airways,
Cyprus Airways,
Iraki Airways,
Middle East Airways,
T.A.I.

509

Bookings can be made in Bahrain on these air lines either through their Bahrain offices or through any of the various travel bureaux that function in Manama. It is also possible to charter aircraft from Gulf Aviation Ltd. at rates which can be ascertained from the Company or its agents. D.H. Doves, carrying 7 passengers, are used.

Below are given some of the current air fares to various world cities and to the other Persian Gulf towns :—

| *Bahrain to* : | *Fare single* Rs. | *return* Rs. | *Bahrain to* : | *Fare single* Rs. | *return* Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Amsterdam | 1547 | 2475 | Doha | 65 | 130 |
| Bombay | 680 | 1224 | Karachi | 547 | 985 |
| Brussels | 1494 | 2475 | Kuwait | 147 | 265 |
| Cairo | 627 | 1129 | London | 1547 | 2475 |
| Colombo | 907 | 1633 | New York* | 3428 | 5861 |
| Damascus | 534 | 962 | Paris | 1547 | 2475 |
| Delhi | 707 | 1273 | Rome | 1240 | 2232 |
| Dhahran | 30 | 60 | Sharjah | 150 | 280 |

**Off season return fare New York Rs.5380.*

## TELECOMMUNICATIONS

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The telecommunication system of the islands is owned and operated by Cable and Wireless Ltd., who maintain an automatic telephone system within Bahrain itself and also a radio-telephone system with other countries.

The following are representative cable rates :—

*Telegraph Rates (per word).*

| *Country.* | Ordinary (*Full Rate*) | Letter telegram (*Min. charge for 22 words*) | *Each additional word.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. As. | Rs. As. | Rs. As. |
| Australia | 2 13 | 30 15 | 1 6½ |
| Canada | 1 10 | 17 14 | 0 13 |
| Egypt (1 and 3 regions) | 1 13 | 19 15 | 0 14½ |
| Egypt (region 2) | 1 14 | 20 10 | 0 15 |
| France | 1 1 | 11 11 | 0 8½ |
| Great Britain | 1 1 | 11 11 | 0 8½ |
| Holland | 1 1 | 11 11 | 0 8½ |
| India | 0 13 | 8 15 | 0 6½ |
| Irak | 0 10 | 6 14 | 0 5 |
| Italy | 1 1 | 11 11 | 0 8½ |
| Pakistan | 0 12 | 8 4 | 0 6 |
| U.S.A. : | | | |
| New York City | 1 6 | 15 2 | 0 11 |
| Alaska | 1 14 | 20 10 | 0 15 |
| All other places | 1 8 | 16 8 | 0 12 |

The following are radio-telephone charges, for three minute calls :—

| | | Rs. | As. |
|---|---|---|---|
| (*a*) | Great Britain, Northern Ireland and Eire | 40 | 0 |
| (*b*) | France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg | 43 | 15 |
| (*c*) | Denmark, Germany and Switzerland | 48 | 1 |
| (*d*) | Norway and Sweden | 49 | 15 |
| (*e*) | United States of America and Canada | 50 | 0 |

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## CUSTOMS REGULATIONS

439 There is usually little difficulty in importing goods into Bahrain, except the following, which are not allowed :—

656 (a) Arms and Ammunition,

651 (b) Alcoholic and intoxicating liquors (except under licence).

(c) Cultured, bleached or tinted pearls and undrilled pearls produced outside the Persian Gulf,

(d) Obscene, indecent or seditious literature or pictures,

(e) Dogs, except with special permission of the Director of Customs which will only be granted in the case of dogs accompanied by a veterinary surgeon's certificate of innoculation against rabies.

(f) Counterfeit coins,

(g) Opium and its allied products and cocaine and its allied products.

Books and printed matter, gold and silver bullion and coinage, samples, undrilled Persian Gulf pearls, implements and tools of trade for the use of the traveller are exempt from customs duties. For those arriving for the first time in Bahrain to take up residence, household effects, new clothing, silver and plate are also exempt from duties.

[276] All travellers may bring into the country not more than 100 cigarettes, 50 cigars or ½ pound of tobacco, the containers of which must have been opened.

651 All other goods are liable to a customs duty. The duty on tobacco and liquor is 15%, luxuries pay 10% and necessities, 5%, but prospective travellers should not depend upon this as a hard and fast rule but are advised to ascertain the rates for each article. The Bahrain Government published a Customs Ordinance in 1950 in the form of a booklet, price Rs.2, which is obtainable from the Director of Customs, Manama, Bahrain.

## LANGUAGES

191 The official language of Bahrain is Arabic, but some English is spoken in most parts of the State; it is usually possible in cases of difficulty to find an English-speaking Arab

On the other hand the Arabs much appreciate foreigners who take the trouble to learn even the rudiments of their language, which, it must be admitted, is very difficult. For this purpose possibly the best book in print is Van Ess's *Spoken Arabic of Irak*. There are, of course, many other excellent books on Arabic, but for conversational purposes the one above approaches nearest to the particular brand of Arabic spoken in Bahrain.

## PASSPORTS AND VISAS

486 All intending visitors to Bahrain are required to have passports endorsed for Bahrain, and in addition they should apply for an entry

visa either directly to the Bahrain Government or to the nearest British Consulate which will, after reference to the Bahrain Government, accept or reject the application on the latter's behalf. Passengers arriving in Bahrain without visas are likely to find themselves on the next plane outward bound. 486

Travellers from Bahrain who require visas for other countries must apply for them to H.B.M.'s Political Agency. In some cases the Agency is able to issue these visas on behalf of the foreign countries, but in the case of others it will be found necessary to apply for visas directly to the nearest consulate of the country concerned. H.B.M's Political Agency are in a position to inform prospective travellers about the latest regulations on this subject.

## TAXES

There is no income tax in Bahrain, but for owners of houses and other premises within the Municipal areas of Manama, Muharraq, Hedd and Rifaa there is a small Municipal tax. 651

## WATER AND ELECTRICITY

Within the Municipal area of Manama both water and electricity is provided by the State. 312 377

Within the Municipal area of Muharraq electricity only is provided by the State. 655

Rates for these amenities are as follows :—

*Electricity.*

First 50 units per month, 4 *annas* per unit.
Next 200 units per month, 3 *annas* per unit.
Over 250 units per month, 2 *annas* per unit.
Meter rent 8 *annas* per month.
Minimum charge *Rs.*1 or 4 units per month.

*Water.*

1,000 gallons *Rs.*1 *As.*14.
Meter rent, 8 annas per month.
Minimum charge, *Rs.*1 *As.*14 per month.

## CURRENCY

Local currency in use in Bahrain at the time of writing is the Indian Rupee, worth, at the current rate of exchange, 1/6d. 436

Coinage is as follows :—

12 pice make 1 anna.
4 pies make 1 anna.
16 annas make 1 rupee.

The following coins and notes are in circulation :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 pice (1/12 anna) | .. copper | 1 rupee | .. nickel and note |
| 1 pie (¼ anna) | .. copper | 2 rupees | .. .. note |
| 1 anna | .. nickel and brass | 5 rupees | .. .. note |
| 2 annas | .. nickel and brass | 10 rupees | .. .. note |
| 4 annas | .. .. nickel | 100 rupees | .. note |
| 8 annas | .. .. nickel | | |

## TRAFFIC

494 363 Traffic regulations in Bahrain are much the same as those in force in England and the United States; there is a left hand rule of the road and the speed limit in built up areas is 20 m.p.h. Special care should be taken when driving through towns and villages in Bahrain for in common with other parts of the Arab world pedestrians consider the roads as well as the pavements as their property and behave accordingly. Donkey and cycle riders should also be treated with caution for they are apt to be rather reckless. In case of accidents the Bahrain State Police must be notified immediately, failure to do so is likely to involve the drivers in unnecessary trouble.

To drive in Bahrain it is necessary to hold a valid Bahrain driving licence. These are obtainable at the Traffic Department, Bahrain Police Fort, Manama, at a cost of Rs. 5 p.a. Holders of valid licences of countries adhering to the International Traffic Convention, which include England, the U.S.A. and France and most other countries, will be granted a Bahrain licence on production of their own one. In other cases, drivers are required to take out provisional licences, and after a period of one month may apply at the Traffic Office for a driving test. The usual regulations concerning passengers apply to learner drivers.

494 All owners of cars and motor cycles in Bahrain are required to register them annually or semi-annually at the Traffic Office. The fee for a car is Rs. 50 per annum, for motor cycles Rs. 12—8 per annum, both fees can be paid in one or two instalments. Failure to register or re-register cars or motor cycles is liable to involve their owners in pecuniary loss.

For further information about Bahrain traffic laws, car owners are advised to contact the Traffic Office, Bahrain Police Fort, Manama, or phone Manama 334.

## BANKS

453 There are at present two banks in Bahrain :

The British Bank of the Middle East, Prior Road, Manama ;
The Eastern Bank, Government Road, Manama.

These banks provide the usual facilities and arrange for such matters as foreign currency and the transference of drafts. In addition, there are in Manama and Muharraq a number of money changers who deal in most of the commoner forms of currency and who are willing to change money. Most shops will also oblige in this matter, particularly if offered dollars, but care should be taken that a reasonable rate of exchange is given.

## LIQUOR

273 Bahrain is a Moslem country and is therefore "dry," but non-Moslem residents have been granted the privilege of being permitted

to buy liquor for their own use. In Awali liquor is sold through the medium of BAPCO, while residents in Manama must apply for a permit to buy liquor from H.B.M.'s Political Agent. 273

It is a serious offence in Bahrain for a Moslem to be found in possession of liquor, or "under the influence" and it is also illegal for non-Moslems in possession of liquor to give or sell it to Moslems.

### MEDICAL FACILITIES

There are in Bahrain a number of private and public hospitals, as well as dentists, doctors and chemists. 743

For the benefit of the people of Bahrain the State Department of Health maintains a number of medical institutions in various parts of Bahrain. At the western end of Manama is the Naim Hospital for men and women, containing both public and private wards and equipped to deal with all emergencies. This hospital is used by the foreign community, except those employed by BAPCO, as well as by the people of the country. Also in Manama there are isolation hospitals, a mental hospital, a T.B. Sanatorium and the Office of Public Health. There are also State Hospitals in Muharraq and Hedd and dispensaries in the three towns and various villages. 657

For the use of its employees, both Bahraini and foreign, BAPCO has two hospitals in Awali.

The oldest hospital in Bahrain is that run by the mission of the Dutch Reformed Church of America in Shaikh Isa Road, Manama. This hospital contains both public and private wards. There are also several dentists and doctors practising privately in Manama. [797]

### RATES OF POSTAGE

205

| | Letters | Rs. | As. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Inland : | Not exceeding 1 oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 1½ |
| | For each additional oz. | 0 | 1 |
| Foreign : | | | |
| *Seamail* : | | | |
| | Kuwait, Dubai and Muscat, not exceeding 1 oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 1½ |
| | For each additional oz. | 0 | 1 |
| | Great Britain and Eire, British Empire and territories under British Mandate, U.S.A. and Egypt, not exceeding 1 oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 2½ |
| | For each additional oz. | 0 | 1 |
| | All other countries, not exceeding 1 oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 4 |
| | For each additional oz. | 0 | 2½ |
| *Airmail* : | | | |
| | Europe, per half oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 6 |
| | Australia, New Zealand, per half oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 12 |
| | Canada, U.S.A., per half oz. or fraction thereof | 1 | 0 |
| | India, per half oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 6 |
| | Saudi Arabia, Irak, Cyprus, Dubai, Egypt, Lebanon, Kuwait, Syria and Jordan, per half oz. or part thereof | 0 | 3½ |

205 For those interested in sending food parcels to friends or relatives in England the following facts may be of interest. Not more than one parcel may be sent at any one time to one consignee in England. The total weight of the food parcel may not exceed 18 pounds, and no more than four pounds of any one commodity can be sent. There are no restrictions at present in force regarding the export of foodstuffs from Bahrain.

There are three post offices in Bahrain; one on Prior Road, Manama, a second on Sea Road, Muharraq and a third at Awali.

### PUBLIC HOLIDAYS

627 The following are public holidays in Bahrain :

*Every Friday*, this is the Moslem sabbath.

*New Years Day.*

*Eid Ramadan*, a three days holiday at the end of the month of fasting, in 1953 this feast will fall on the 13th, 14th and 15th June.

*Eid al-Hajj*, a three days holiday on the 10th 11th and 12th of the Arabic month of Dhul Hajj at the conclusion of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. In 1953 this feast will fall on the 10th, 11th and 12th August.

*Ashura*, a two days holiday, but not a feast; these days, the 9th and 10th Muharram are when the Shia mourn the death of Hussein at Kerbela. In 1953 this holiday will take place on the 18th and 19th September.

*The Prophet's Birthday*, the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad. In 1953 this feast will take place on 19th November.

*Christmas Day.*

The dates of Moslem feast days and holidays are based on the Islamic lunar calendar, and consequently *move back ten days each year and eleven days in leap years,*

### CALENDAR

805 The official calendar in Bahrain is the Moslem calendar and as stated above, Moslem holidays are based on it. The Moslem months are as follows :

| | |
|---|---|
| Muharram | Rajab |
| Safar | Shaban |
| Rabia al-Awal | Ramadan |
| Rabia ath-Thani | Shawal |
| Jamadi al-Awal | Dhul Qada |
| Jamadi ath-Thani | Dhul Hajj |

The Islamic calendar dates from 622 A.D., the year in which the Hijra took place.

The following are the first days of the next ten Hijra years : 805

1372—September 21st, 1952
1373—September 10th, 1953.
1374—August 30th, 1954.
1375—August 20th, 1955.
1376—August 8th. 1956.
1377—July 29th, 1957.
1378—July 18th, 1958.
1379—July 7th, 1959.
1380—June 26th, 1960.
1381—June 15th, 1961.

## WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

In addition to the standard weights and measures, the following are in use in Bahrain : 804

| *Weight.* | | *Length.* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 39 tolas | = 1 ratl (1 pound) | 12 busas (inch) | = 1 qadm (foot) |
| 4 ratls | = 1 rub'a | 3 aqdam | = 1 waar (yard) |

56 ratls = 1 maund.
14 rub'as = 1 maund.

## SUNRISE AND SUNSET

| *Date.* | *Sunrise.* | *Sunset.* | *Date.* | *Sunrise.* | *Sunset.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st Jan. | 7.25 a.m. | 5.58 p.m. | 1st July | 5.49 a.m. | 7.34 p.m. |
| 1st Feb. | 7.44 a.m. | 6.20 p.m. | 1st Aug. | 6.03 a.m. | 7.26 p.m. |
| 1st Mar. | 7.02 a.m. | 6.40 p.m. | 1st Sep. | 6.18 a.m. | 6.57 p.m. |
| 1st April | 6.31 a.m. | 6.55 p.m. | 1st Oct. | 6.30 a.m. | 6.25 p.m. |
| 1st May | 6.02 a.m. | 7.09 p.m. | 1st Nov. | 6.47 a.m. | 5.56 p.m. |
| 1st June | 5.41 a.m. | 7.27 p.m. | 1st Dec. | 7.08 a.m. | 5.45 p.m. |

## CHURCHES

At the time of writing there are three churches in Bahrain, the Roman Catholic Church on Shaikh Isa Road, Manama, where there is also an English speaking school, and the Dutch Reformed Church of America, at the junction of Shaikh Isa Road and Shaikh Abdulla Road. 795 797

There is also in Bahrain an Anglican Chaplain and an Anglican Church on a plot of ground to the east of the Police Fort donated by the Ruler of Bahrain.

There is a church building in Awali which is used for services by various denominations.

## NEWSPAPERS AND BOOKS

There are no English language newspapers published in Bahrain with the exception of a fortnightly duplicated magazine published by and for the English speaking employees of BAPCO. There are, however, four Arabic publications. The *Government Gazette*, the official publication of the Bahrain Government in which official notices, laws and reports are found, *Sawt al-Bahrain*, a monthly with articles of literary, cultural and religious interest, articles on Bahrain, poetry and a gossip column, *al-Khamila*, a weekly mainly concerned with the doings of the entertainment world in Egypt and containing light articles, jokes and poems and *al-Qafila*, the newest publication. 204

204 In addition to the English language papers published in Iraq, Lebanon and Egypt, many English and American papers have airmail editions, which take a very short time in reaching Bahrain. Other papers and magazines are on sale in the Manama shops, both American and English, but they take rather longer to arrive. It is possible to receive the *Irak Times* by air, and also numerous Arabic papers from Egypt and Lebanon.

217 There is a public library in Bahrain, the Library of the Education Department, in Shaikh Abdulla Road, which contains Arabic and English books and magazines. There is a subscription library of English fiction and non-fiction at the Residency, Jufair and also libraries in many of the clubs. The largest library in Bahrain is that of the Bapco Club. Some Manama shops have large selections of books and one of them specialises in new books on Middle Eastern topics and stocks them soon after their publication.

### CLOTHING (EUROPEAN)

291 Men in the summer wear shirts and slacks or shorts and light tropical suits on formal occasions. In the evening white opened-necked and short sleeved shirts and white trousers are usual, with black shoes and socks and a black cummerbund at more formal affairs. Aertex or similar day shirts are the most suitable form of wear and cellular vests are useful, not for warmth but to absorb sweat. All forms of clothing for summer wear in Bahrain can be bought in Manama, both ready made and tailored.

In cold weather ordinary tweed suits are worn, or flannel trousers and sports coats and dinner jackets in the evening. It is cold enough for pullovers and overcoats, especially after sunset.

Washing frocks, preferably cotton, are the best wear for women in the very hot weather, as linen or silk are unsuitable when the temperature and humidity are high. Light frocks are usually worn from April till December. Hats are worn on rare occasions. Cotton dress materials can be obtained locally as well as ready made English and American frocks.

In the cold season women require the type of clothing which is worn in England in April and May, and in the Fall in the States. In addition, the cold winter winds call for a really warm coat. As with summer clothes, those needed in the winter can be made in Manama from locally purchased material.

### HOTELS

185 366 There are only two hotels in Bahrain attaining European standards, the B.O.A.C. Guest House and the Bahrain Hotel. The former is primarily built for the benefit of transit passengers and it is often difficult for visitors to Bahrain who expect to stay for some time to get a room there. The Bahrain Hotel, which is at the west end of Prior Road, offers good food and is in fact the only alternative to the B.O.A.C. Guest House. There are a number of small local hotels which are not in the same class as these two.

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/For implicit information concerning the effect of contact with the West, in the form of Portugese mariners, the British Empire and the oil industry,/ see category 116, complete text. /

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The sections of the map facing page 42 are designated according to the plan below:

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| a | b | c | d | e |
| f | g | h | i | j |

The sections of the map facing page 78 are designated according to the plan below:

| | |
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| a | b |
| c | d |
| e | f |
| g | h |
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# THE PORTUGUESE IN THE BAHRAIN ISLANDS, 1521-1602

175.

AT the end of the fifteenth century the Arabs, especially those of Oman and the Yemen, were the principal sea traders of the East. They held a position which was somewhat similar to that previously held by the Venetians in Europe. Their well-equipped fleets were strong enough to protect their trade from the pirates who at that time, and for many centuries before, infested the coasts of the Persian Gulf.

The city of Calicut on the west coast of India, which was ruled by the Zamorin, a Hindu King, was the focus of the Indian Ocean trade, but the great emporium and the meeting-place of Eastern merchants was the famous town of Hormuz, situated on an island on the Iranian coast. To Calicut came huge Chinese junks laden with merchandise from countries beyond India, and from Calicut the Arab fleets carried their cargoes of species and cinnamon and all the produce of the Indies up the Iranian Gulf to Basra and through the Red Sea to Tor and Jedda, where caravans met the ships and conveyed the cargoes across the deserts to the Mediterranean ports.

The Portuguese, whose seamen were then the finest in Europe, possessed the spirit of adventure and the ambition to extend their empire, and for many years they had been interested in the spice trade. Several times they had sent successful missions by the overland route to India to enquire into the source of this lucrative industry. In 1498 Vasco da Gama made his historical voyage to India by rounding the Cape of Good Hope. He led the way for the successful entry of his countrymen into the Iranian Gulf and opened up the road for Europe's maritime invasion of the East. Fleets followed fast, and in a few years the Portuguese had ousted the Arabs from their supremacy at sea and had laid the foundations of their great Eastern empire with its capital at Goa.

When the Portuguese first arrived in the Indian Ocean they anchored off Calicut, where they met with opposition from the Hindu King. They bombarded the city, which finally surrendered to Pedro Cabral, who ordered it to be sacked. A few years later the famous Admiral Alfonso d'Alboquerque took over command in the Gulf and attacked Muscat with a large fleet. Muscat was an important place, a tributary

of Hormuz. The Governor of Muscat refused to submit, so the town was pounded by the Portuguese guns until it surrendered. The Portuguese landed and captured many of the chief inhabitants, whose ears and noses they chopped off; the city was plundered and then wantonly destroyed by fire, and the victorious fleet sailed off along the Oman coast and captured several other ports, which were treated in the same way. After this Alboquerque turned his attention to Hormuz, the key of the Iranian Gulf.

To-day Hormuz is a tiny fishing village on a barren salty island which is visible from ships as they enter the port of Bander Abbas, but when Alboquerque first sailed the waters of the Gulf, Hormuz had the reputation of being a city of fabulous wealth and incomparable luxury and magnificence. The city was originally on the mainland, but when the Tartar hordes swept over Persia it was destroyed and then rebuilt on the island. So famous were the wonders of Hormuz that the sixteenth-century poets in Europe frequently referred to it in their works. To this "jewelled signet of a golden ring" came merchants from all parts of the Orient trading in precious Eastern wares. In the richly stocked markets of Hormuz they sold silks and jewels, ivory and pearls, cloths of silver and of gold, as well as Arab horses and "the finest asses in the world," which may well have been the forbears of the famous Bahrain strain of white donkeys. Even to-day these donkeys have a great reputation and are found as far off as the centre of the Tanganyika Territory in East Africa, where they were taken by Baluchis from Muscat via Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam. The King of Hormuz, who had accumulated great wealth from the Indian trade and the pearl fisheries, possessed large territories both in Iran and on the Arab coast. The islands of Bahrain were subject to Hormuz, which was the distributing centre for the pearls of the Gulf, but Hormuz itself paid tribute to the Sultan of Kerman. The rapid success of the Portuguese navy, both on the Indian coast and in Oman, established for it a reputation of invincibility, and the coming of the foreign conquerors with their strange ships and weapons spread fear and terror along the coasts and the islands of the Gulf.

When Alboquerque and his fleet of tall ships arrived at Hormuz he found that the King was aware of his intention and the Hormuzians were prepared to defend their island. The harbour was filled with ships, the battlements were lined with armed men, and foreign mercenaries had been [illegible]d in to assist the defenders. Bahrain had sent a fleet with "relief of men and provisions," but the Portuguese met the

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Bahrain ships near Kishm and pursued and scattered them. Albo- 175
querque called on the King to surrender the island to Portugal, and when he refused a fierce sea fight took place in which the Portuguese gained the day, although they were tremendously outnumbered. The King of Hormuz became the vassal of the King of Portugal and was forced to allow the conquerors to build a fortress at one end of the island for their garrison; he agreed to pay an annual tribute, and granted the Portuguese certain concessions in the matter of Customs. These concessions were revised in later years until finally the complete control of Customs passed into the hands of the Portuguese. In 1507 the King of Hormuz refused to pay tribute to Shah Ismail, the ruler of Iran, having transferred his allegiance to Portugal. In the following year, mainly owing to the intrigues among his captains, Alboquerque was obliged to leave Hormuz and returned to India.

During the next few years, while Alboquerque was in India, Iran endeavoured to regain control of Hormuz, but without success. In 1514 Alboquerque sent his nephew Pero to collect the annual tribute from the King of Hormuz and to reoccupy the fortress, and while at Hormuz Pero explored the northern straits of the Gulf as far as Bahrain. This appears to be the first time that the Portuguese visited Bahrain, but no fighting took place and they did not leave a garrison. Owing to a civil war in Hormuz, the demands of the Portuguese were not carried out, and in 1515 Alboquerque returned there himself, and after negotiations with the King of Hormuz, Saif al Din, the island was handed over again to the Portuguese and their garrison was installed in the fortress. About this time the King of Egypt despatched a fleet to the assistance of the Indian princes, who had appealed to him for help against the tyranny of Portugal, and Egypt from this date joined issues against the Portuguese. Alboquerque died at Goa in 1515, leaving his nephew Pero at Hormuz. He was succeeded as Viceroy by Lopo Soarez.

The power of Portugal was approaching its zenith; Hormuz and its tributaries were under its sway and it controlled the import trade and the northern routes to Europe. The naval prestige of the Portuguese was unrivalled, and everywhere their fleets were victorious; their King's representative kept regal state in Goa, from where he ruled over Portugal's Eastern empire, and "only rare and feeble opposition told of deep resentment of their intrusion and brutality." Bahrain, as well as the other dependencies of Hormuz, was subject to Portugal.

Duarte Barbosa, when mentioning the various islands in the Iranian

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175 Gulf which previously belonged to Hormuz, gives the following description of Bahrain:

"Barem, wherein dwell many merchants and other worthy folk, is well placed in the midst of the Persian Gulf, so many ships with much merchandise sail thither. Around it grows much seed pearl, also large pearls of good quality; merchants of the island themselves fish for pearls and have great profit . . . hither come Hormuz merchants to purchase seed pearls, which they sell in India: . . ." Other characteristics which he mentions are the variety of fruits, extraordinarily deep springs of brackish water, dates, wheat and barley, falcons, and horses. Manamah is mentioned as being the name of a town at that time.

The first detailed account of the coming of the Portuguese to Bahrain is the description of its conquest in 1521. When the Portuguese ordered their vassal, the King of Hormuz, to pay the annual tribute, he pleaded as an excuse for not paying his quarrel with Mocrin, the ruler of Hassa, over the ownership of Bahrain and Katif. Diego Lopes Sequiera, the Portuguese Governor, agreed to help the King of Hormuz by sending an expedition against Bahrain to enforce the payment of tribute. Antonio Correa, the Governor's nephew, was given command of the expedition, which consisted of 400 Portuguese soldiers, who filled seven ships, and about 3,000 Arabs, who were carried in 200 vessels. The Armada set sail from Hormuz on June 15, but owing to bad weather the ships were scattered on the way, so that when Antonio Correa reached Bahrain he had with him only 250 Portuguese besides some Hormuzian soldiers, who were commanded by Rais Zarafa.

Mocrin had prepared defences against the enemy and had built earthworks and entrenchments along the shore. He had a force of 300 Arab horsemen, 400 Iranian archers, 20 Turkish musketeers, and about 11,000 Arabs armed with various weapons. His fortifications were furnished with some cannon, and his forces were led by tried commanders, but they had never before been called upon to face an attack by European forces clad in armour and using European weapons.

The Portuguese led the attack. Antonio came first with 170 men, followed by his brother with 50 men, and Rais Zarafa stood in reserve. The Portuguese waded ashore and stormed the trenches, which were hotly defended by the Bahrain troops under the King in person. The heat was terrible, and at noon weariness and the sun compelled both sides to pause. In the evening the attackers advanced again, and Mocrin was shot through the thigh. His followers were so disheartened that they began to give way; many surrendered, and many were killed

and wounded, and finally at the end of the day the Portuguese won a complete victory, and their occupation of Bahrain dates from this time. 175

Rais Zarafa obtained information that the body of King Mocrin, who died a few days after he was wounded, was being taken to Hassa for burial. He intercepted the ship and seized the King's body. The head of Mocrin was cut off and carried back to Hormuz, a bilingual inscription was set up in the city commemorating the bold exploit of Antonio Correa, and the King of Portugal granted him permission to add a King's head to his coat of arms and to assume the title of "Baharem" after his name. The only description available of the taking of Bahrain is from Portuguese sources, and it is likely that the numerical strength of the forces is not accurately described, but in any case the defenders must have far outnumbered the Portuguese and their Hormuzian allies.

In 1522 the King of Hormuz organized a rebellion throughout the Gulf against the Portuguese. On a given night there were simultaneous risings in Hormuz, Bahrain, Muscat, and Sohar. At Hormuz the Portuguese garrison was besieged in the fortress, but eventually relieved by reinforcements from Muscat. In Oman the rebellion was not successful, and, seeing that it had failed, the King of Hormuz fled to Kishm, where he was afterwards murdered. He was succeeded by his son, aged 13, who made a new treaty with the Portuguese in 1523.

The rebels in Bahrain met with better success. According to an Arab history, the people of Bahrain had suffered very severely from the tyranny and oppression of the conquerors. On the appointed night, led by their chief, Shaikh Hussein bin Said, they attacked the Portuguese garrison and completely surprised them. They seized the Portuguese Governor and hung him on a date tree, and they expelled the remnants of the garrison. Shaikh Hussein then proclaimed himself the ruler of Bahrain. After some time, however, he made terms with the Portuguese and was appointed by them as a local governor with a Portuguese official, de Menzies, as his assistant and adviser. Bahrain returned again to the Portuguese rule.

There is a story told in one of the local Shia histories of Bahrain about its occupation by the Portuguese. 173

The islands were ruled, on behalf of Portugal, by a Mohammedan Governor, or Wali, who belonged to the Sunni sect, although the people of Bahrain were Shias. The Wali had a Wazir, who was also a Sunni, and he hated the Shias so bitterly that he never ceased plotting to injure and destroy them by every possible means.

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173 One day the Wazir came to the Wali holding in his hand a pomegranate. On the pomegranate was inscribed "La illah ila Allah wa Mohammed rasool Allah" and the names of the Caliphs Abu Bakr, Omar, Othman, and Ali. The Wali examined the pomegranate carefully and saw that the writing was actually embedded in the pomegranate itself, not merely cut upon the skin; without doubt it could not have been written by any human hand.

He said to the Wazir, "This is a miracle, an evident demonstration against the belief of these apostates. Now what is your opinion about these Shia people in Bahrain?"

The Wazir replied, "Allah has shown you the right way. Verily these are a fanatical people. You should summon them all and show them this pomegranate, and if they accept this divine proof and are converted to the right belief, then Allah will reward you. If they do not accept this proof, you should order them to provide an answer to the miracle, and, if they cannot explain it, then degrade them, make them pay tribute, seize their women, kill all their men."

The Wali accepted his Wazir's advice and summoned all the chief men of the Shias, the Ulema, the nobles, and all who were intelligent and religious, and he showed them the pomegranate and told them what he had decided. They looked at the pomegranate and they were amazed, their faces changed colour, and the muscles of their shoulders shook. Then the oldest of them all stepped forward and said, "Give us three days' time, and in three days we will seek an acceptable answer. If we find no answer in this time, do with us as you wish."

The Wali granted their request, and they left him in fear and trembling and assembled in one of their houses to consider the matter. They chose ten of their most religious men, and out of the ten they chose three, and to one of the three they said, "Go this night out into the desert alone and worship Allah and implore our Imam to help us and to give us some sign which will show us an escape from this calamity."

The mullah went out into the desert and stayed all night, worshipping Allah, weeping and praying for help, but when the dawn came he had seen nothing, and he returned sadly to his people.

On the next night the second mullah went out, but he, too, returned in the morning, having seen and heard nothing, and there was wailing and lamentation among the women in all the villages of Bahrain.

On the last night the third mullah went out. He was a very pious man and his name was Mohamed bin Isa. He went bareheaded and

barefooted into the desert, and the night was very dark, for there was no moon. He wept and he prayed and he implored Allah to save the believers from destruction. A little before the dawn he saw the figure of a man which approached him and said, "Why do I see you, Mohamed, in this condition? Why are you out in the desert at night?" 173

The mullah replied, "Oh, man, leave me alone. I am here for an urgent purpose, to prevent a great calamity, and I cannot speak or complain about it except to my Imam."

Then said the man, "Yah Mohamed, I am the Imam. Tell me what it is that you need."

"If you are really the Imam," said the mullah, "you could read what is in my heart and you would know what I need without my telling."

The man replied, "Indeed I do know. You came out because of what was written on a pomegranate."

When the mullah heard this he was convinced and became all ears while the Imam spoke the following words:

"In the house of the Wazir there is a courtyard, and in the centre of the courtyard there grows a pomegranate tree. When the tree bore fruit in the summer the Wazir made a mould of clay the size of a pomegranate and cut it into two halves. Inside each half he wrote the writing which you saw on the pomegranate. Then he placed the halves of the mould over a young pomegranate and bound it tightly while the fruit was still immature. In this way he affected it and caused it to become as it is now.

"To-morrow, when you return, say that you have found the answer, but refuse to deliver it except in the house of the Wazir. When you go to the house, enter the courtyard and look to the right. You will see a stairway leading to an upper room. Say to the Wali that you will give your answer in that upper room. The Wazir will refuse to allow this, but you must insist. When the Wazir goes up the stairs, follow him closely and do not on any account leave him alone in the room. As you enter the room look towards the window, and on a shelf above it you will see a white bag. Take the bag, and you will find the very mould which the Wazir used for his device. Then take the pomegranate from the bag, force it into the mould, and place it before the Wali so that he can see the trick which was practised by his Wazir. Tell the Wali that you have another miracle, and ask him to order the Wazir to break the pomegranate and see what will befall."

173 When the mullah heard this advice he was overjoyed and kissed the ground at the feet of the Imam and returned to his people to tell them the good news. On the next morning they all assembled before the Wali, and the mullah did all the things that the Imam had ordered, and everything happened as he had been told, but when the Wali commanded his Wazir to break the pomegranate, smoke and ashes burst forth from it and covered the face and beard of the Wazir.

Then the Wali turned to the mullah and asked him, "Who told you about this trick?"

The mullah answered, "Our Imam and the demonstration of Allah towards us."

Then the Wali rose up from his seat and took the mullah by the hand and called on Allah to bear witness to the trick which had been played on the Shias, and he summoned his servants and his executioner and cut off the head of the Wazir and asked pardon from the people of Bahrain.

175 In 1529 Bahrain was again in rebellion against the Portuguese. The islands were governed by a relation of the King of Hormuz. The King of Hormuz himself had been sent to Portugal, as he became too rich in Hormuz. The Portuguese demanded a higher tribute, and in order to pay this the Hormuzians tried to obtain more money from Bahrain, but the Governor refused to pay.

The Portuguese Viceroy, Nuno da Cunha, appointed Tavarez da Sousa as commander of the seas, and it was intended that he should take command of an expedition against Bahrain. Apparently he was loath to go there, and he persuaded the Viceroy to appoint in his place Simon da Cunha, the Viceroy's brother. After waiting some time for reinforcements from Portugal the fleet sailed from Hormuz. It consisted of five vessels carrying 400 men, and some native craft, but it is said that they had only one and a half casks of gunpowder.

[132] They reached Bahrain in September, the hottest, dampest, and most unhealthy month in the year. They wasted half their small supply of powder in saluting the port. The Bahrain chief hung out two flags on the tower of his fortress, one white and the other red, to show that he was prepared either for peace or for war, but the Portuguese captains were determined to fight. For three days they pounded the walls of the fort with their cannon, and then their supply of gunpowder gave out. In the meantime the Arab leader offered to surrender, on certain conditions, but the Portuguese were determined not to lose the chance of

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looting and refused to accept the surrender. A ship was sent back to Hormuz to bring more powder, but it took not less than fourteen days to go and return, and before this time elapsed the Portuguese were conquered by natural causes. 175

The soldiers were attacked by fever, and a severe epidemic broke out among them which affected the Hormuzian troops almost as severely as the Portuguese themselves. Their food supplies gave out and they had to depend upon what was given to them by the enemy, who seem to have acted with remarkable benevolence. When only thirty-five of the Portuguese remained fit for duty they decided to withdraw. The sick men were dragged down to the shore by ropes tied to their feet and carried into the boats by the native sailors. The wretched survivors of this ill-fated expedition, weak from illness and so few that they could scarcely man the ships, had great difficulty in reaching Hormuz; many of them perished on the way, including Simon da Cunha, who is said to have died of a broken heart.

Up to this time the Portuguese were still the masters of the Gulf and boasted proudly that its seas were "covered with a wood of ships, the product of the Government's great care"! One of their ambitions was to found a new race from the offspring of their soldiers and seamen, who had intermarried with Indian and Arab women, which would provide them with sailors and local troops. The Portuguese Governors lived richly in splendid residences, and their ships and fighting men were still very superior to those of their opponents. But there were signs that their power was beginning to decline. They depended for ammunitions and reinforcements on Portugal, which was far away; their captains no longer confined themselves to the work of conquest and consolidation, but indulged in private trading; and before the middle of the century they were faced with serious opposition from the Turks, whose strength had gradually been increasing since they first encountered the Portuguese at the beginning of the century.

In 1517 the Turkish Sultan Selim conquered Egypt, made himself *Caliph, and annexed the Yemen*, so the Turks were able to increase their opposition to the Portuguese by threatening them in the Red Sea. In 1534 Suliman the Magnificent, son of Selim, took Baghdad from the Persians, and from there he began to extend his influence southwards down the Persian Gulf. In the same year the King of Hassa and the ruler of Bahrain, who were, for the time being, independent, sent envoys to submit to the Turkish Viceroy, though actually they paid no allegiance to the Turks. This is the first time that Bahrain came into

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175 contact with the Turks, and it is possible that the baseless claim that Turkey advanced at one time to the sovereignty of Bahrain dates from this incident.

Soon after the capture of Baghdad a Turkish fleet commanded by Piri Beg arrived in the Gulf and attacked Muscat. After capturing the city and taking many prisoners, Piri Beg made an unsuccessful attack on Hormuz. The Portuguese fleet pursued him, and he returned to Basra with the enemy at his heels. Among the prisoners on his ship was the Portuguese Governor of Muscat, and, acting on his advice, Piri Beg left Basra with three galleys loaded with loot and plunder. He managed to evade the Portuguese fleet and sailed out of the Gulf, but he lost one of his ships, loaded with treasure, off Bahrain, and finally reached Egypt with the remaining two. History does not relate what happened to the Portuguese officer, but Piri Beg was eventually tried, convicted, and executed, and his vast wealth, most of which was accumulated by acts of piracy, was confiscated by the Sultan.

During the following years the Turks gained many successes in the Gulf. They captured and destroyed Kishm and twice occupied Muscat, but each time they were driven out by the Portuguese. In 1550 Katif, which was a place of importance, was ruled by a vassal of the King of Hormuz, who was subject to the King of Portugal. The people of Katif, assisted by the King of Hassa, rebelled against the Hormuzian rule, expelled the Governor, and appealed to the Turks for help. The Turks welcomed the opportunity of establishing themselves on the mainland of Arabia and sent a force from Basra which occupied the port. Their proximity was a serious danger to Bahrain, and in order to prevent its occupation by the Turks the Portuguese sent a force from Hormuz under Antonio da Naronah, who drove out the Turks, levelled the fortress of Katif to the ground, and re-installed the Hormuzian Governor.

By the middle of the sixteenth century the Turks were vigorously challenging the supremacy of the Portuguese in the Gulf. Sultan Suliman had ambitions which rivalled those of the Portuguese; he aimed at extending his realm throughout the Iranian Gulf, and he hoped to possess the western coast of India. The Portuguese ships were superior to those of the Turks, and their men were better armed, but the Turks enjoyed advantages over their adversaries in other ways. The religious sympathies of the people in the Gulf were with the Turks, and the Portuguese were regarded as infidels. The Turks were nearer to their

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base and less affected by climate and disease, and they had not been long enough in the Gulf to acquire the reputation for rapacity and cruelty which characterized the Portuguese.

In 1553 the Sultan appointed Sidi Ali Chalabi as Admiral of the Turkish fleet, with orders to recover the Turkish ships which had been abandoned in Basra after the piratical exploits of Piri Beg. Sidi Ali was a distinguished Turk, a poet, a writer on navigation, and a brave fighter. He wrote a book about his travels and adventures, in which he described his experiences in the Iranian Gulf. He travelled from Aleppo to Basra by land, a journey which took several months, and he took over charge of the ships at Basra from Murad Beg, formerly the Governor of Katif. After repairing and equipping the Turkish galleys, Sidi Ali set sail from Basra and cruised down the Gulf, visiting various ports, including Bushire, Katif and Bahrain. At the last place he stayed a little time. The islands were governed on behalf of the Portuguese by a local ruler, Rais Murad, who received Sidi Ali with friendliness and showed him, among other things, the strange springs of fresh water coming up from the bed of the sea. When Sidi Ali made enquiries about the Portuguese he received evasive answers.

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On leaving Bahrain he met a strong Portuguese fleet in the neighbourhood of Muscat; there were twelve large ships of war and twenty-two smaller ones. Their mizzen sails were set and their gilded beak-heads, towering forecastles, and masts gay with bunting obscured the horizon. Undaunted by their superior numbers, the gallant Turkish Admiral attacked the enemy. The ships bombarded each other with cannon; then they came closer, and the fighting men hurled down javelins and arrows from the high turrets while the sweating slaves tugged at the oars. Finally, they grappled and fell upon each other, fighting fiercely with swords and spears. Five Turkish galleys were destroyed, and there was great loss on both sides; many of the refugees landed on the shore, where they were hospitably treated by the natives, but eventually the remainder of the Turkish fleet made its way down the Gulf.

Shortly afterwards the Turks made a determined effort to capture Bahrain. In 1559 a powerful force of 1,200 Turks and Janissaries, in two galleys and seventy barques, was sent against the islands. Rais Murad was still the Governor, and the Portuguese sent a fleet from Hormuz to his assistance. On the way it met some Turkish ships and drove them on to the shore. The Turks had landed and besieged the fortress, and when the Portuguese arrived they had a council of war and decided to

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175 surround the besiegers. However, the Portuguese officers became impatient and forced an engagement. Rais Murad broke through the Turkish line with 300 well-armed men and joined the Portuguese, and together they routed the Turks. The Portuguese pursued the Turks, counting the victory already won, but the Turks rallied and fell on the Portuguese in an ambush, killing many of them, including their leader, Don Alvara da Silvera, whose body was never recovered from the enemy. A great number of the Portuguese were slain, and Rais Murad retired again to his fortress.

Pero Peixoto took command of the Portuguese, and while the guns of his ships cut off their retreat to the sea he launched another attack on the Turks, who finally surrendered. They were allowed to leave Bahrain on condition that they handed over their arms, prisoners and animals and ammunition, and ten thousand ducats. After this ignominious defeat the Turks retired to Basra, and the Portuguese re-established their authority over Bahrain.

During the second half of the sixteenth century there is very little recorded about Bahrain. A local Arab author states that the Portuguese repaired the fort in 1580 and that this date is inscribed on some stones in three of the four towers, but no such inscription exists now, although someone during recent years wrote this date in black paint on various places on the walls.

After 1580 the power of the Portuguese in the East began definitely to wane, mainly owing to the domination in Europe of Spain over Portugal, which lasted for sixty years. It was a disastrous period for the Portuguese; in India and the Persian Gulf they were threatened by the Turks, the Dutch, the French, and the English, who snatched from them most of their great Eastern empire. They were no longer able to sustain their garrisons, and, as the number and quality of the reinforcements dwindled, the Arabs and the Persians became more bold in opposing the tyranny of the infidel conquerors. The prestige of the Portuguese navy decreased; the captains of the fleets, who when they first arrived were almost invincible, began to "shirk encounters"; instead of confining their attention to fighting, they paid too much attention to enriching themselves by trade.

In 1602 the Portuguese were expelled from Bahrain by Iran, and an account of the incident is given at some length by a contemporary writer. The Governor of Bahrain, a relation of the King of Hormuz, treated the people of the islands with excessive harshness and oppression. His tyranny culminated in the murder of a wealthy and much-respected

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Bahrain pearl merchant, whose possessions, which included many valuable pearls, were seized by the Governor. The murder caused great indignation, but the people were too afraid to retaliate. The murdered merchant had a brother who was very devoted to him and who determined to avenge the murder. Concealing his feelings, he attached himself to the Governor and eventually managed to win his confidence so thoroughly that one day he got an opportunity and stabbed him to death with a dagger. Having done this, he proclaimed himself ruler and was joined by most of the local population. They overpowered the small Portuguese garrison and seized the fortress, and the Prince of Shiraz sent a force to assist the rebels and to take control of the islands in the name of the Shah of Iran.

Portugal and Iran at this time were outwardly on friendly terms, and a Portuguese mission was visiting Iran and endeavouring to persuade the Shah to join the Portuguese in fighting the Turks. If the mission achieved its object, the Portuguese would be free to deal with the Dutch, whose ships were "infesting the oceans." The King of Portugal remonstrated with the Shah of Iran at his unfriendly action in assisting the rebellion in Bahrain, but the latter made the flimsy excuse that he had not taken Bahrain from the Portuguese, but from a vassal of the King of Hormuz.

In spite of their difficulties, the Portuguese prepared to recover Bahrain, and the Governor of Hormuz, Don Pedro Contigno, appointed one of his officers, Captain Francisco da Soto Major, as the commander of a mixed force of Portuguese and Hormuzians, whose object was to prevent the Persians sending more troops to Bahrain and recapture the islands. Although they were joined by some troops and ships of war from India under Don George of Castel Bruno, the expedition was a weak one and the ships were undermanned.

The Governor of Hormuz "arranged all things well, with diligence and prudence, and without doubt he would have recovered Bahrain as he hoped, having acquired great reputation in all sea affairs," but unfortunately for him he had enemies at the court of the Viceroy at Goa who were intriguing against him. At this critical moment their intrigues bore fruit. He was suddenly dismissed from his command, which was not an unusual event, without even being given an opportunity to defend himself.

Diezo Barrato, his successor, was a sick man, and on assuming command he found that the forces were severely depleted by disease and the need of taking away men to fight the Dutch. His second in com-

2: Belgrave G-4 (no date) 1935 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



175 mand, Gasper da Mello, made strenuous efforts to fit out the expedition, but with small success.

The ruler of Iran, the famous Shah Abbas, on hearing that the Portuguese were preparing to recover Bahrain, despatched a formidable army of five or six thousand men, under Adam Sultan, to threaten the Portuguese garrison in Gombrun (Bander Abbas) to divert the Portuguese from Bahrain, and the Portuguese mission in Iran sent one of its members post-haste to Hormuz to persuade his countrymen not to jeopardize the success of the negotiations by provoking a breach with Iran over the occupation of Bahrain. It is stated in a Portuguese history that Shah Abbas ordered that Bahrain should be restored to the Portuguese, but if this order was given it was not carried out. The Portuguese garrison in Gombrun mutinied and surrendered the town to the Persians, and eventually, partly for political reasons and partly because they were so hard-pressed, the Portuguese abandoned their project of an attack on Bahrain "for the pretensions of an island which we could easily conquer later on." But this was a vain boast; Bahrain was never again taken by Portugal, although for many years the King of Portugal continued to protest at the occupation of Bahrain by the Iranians, and on one occasion, in 1605, he ordered his Viceroy to make war on Bahrain by sea and by land and suggested that the Captain of the fort might be bribed to surrender. It was not until 1622, when the Portuguese lost Hormuz to an allied Iranian and English force, that they finally gave up all hope of recovering Bahrain.

2: Belgrave MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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[For one of the folktales taken from a Shi'a local history of Bahrain about its occupation by the Portuguese, see category 173.]

3: Bahrain G-5 (1950) 1950 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

GOVERNMENT OF BAHRAIN

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# CENSUS

# 1950

Bahrain, 3rd March, 1950.
12th Jumad al Awal, 1369

3: Bahrain G-5 (1950) 1950 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# BAHRAIN'S SECOND CENSUS

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**THE 1359 (1941) CENSUS.** The first General Census of Bahrain was taken on the 22nd January 1941. Previous to this there were no accurate figures about the population of Bahrain although figures were given in various books of reference showing the number of inhabitants as being as much as 200,000. The basis of these estimates, which were so wide of the mark, is not known; they were not calculated from the numbers of births and deaths because the registration of births and deaths is not yet compulsory in Bahrain, it is however a measure which the Government hopes soon to introduce.

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In 1359 the Government announced by proclamation that there was to be a counting of the people. The news was received with disapproval and suspicion by a large proportion of the community. Few people, except those who had been abroad, believed that the only reason for the census was because the Government wanted to know how many people lived in the country. Many rumours, some of them very wild, became current, especially in the villages. It was said that conscription was to be introduced, that taxation was to be imposed, that a municipality was to be set up in every village and, finally, that no women in future would be allowed to give birth to a child except in one of the Government hospitals. Some of the rumours were deliberately spread by mischief makers. Another factor which effected the census was the rationing system which allowed a larger ration of cereals to adults than to children under a certain age. Eventually after many public meetings, talks from the Bahrain Broadcasting Station, which was then in action, articles in the local paper and intensive propaganda intended to remove doubts and suspicion this first census was carried out.

659/162 The census was taken during the night of 22nd January, 1941. The figures which were obtained showed a total population of 89,970 persons; 27,835 lived in Manamah and 17,775 were in Muharraq. There were 48,267 males and 41,703 females but only 20,519 children; 74,040 persons were of Bahrain nationality; 41,944 were Sunnis and 46,354 were Shias, 15,930 were foreigners, including Europeans, Indians and Arabs from other Gulf states. The total number of houses in Bahrain was 14,482, of these 4,051 were in Manamah and 3,185 were in Muharraq. The number included both stone houses and palm branch huts. About 9,500 people claimed that they were literate, a proportion of somewhat over 10% of the total population. There was much surprise and some indignation because the census revealed a very much smaller population than most people had expected. It is probable however that a certain number of men did not register because they believed that they might be conscripted.

## THE 1369 (1950) CENSUS

659 PRELIMINARY WORK: Preparations for the new Census were begun several weeks before the appointed date. The census staff consisted of about 150 clerks and officials from the various Government departments, the forms which were used were those which had been left over from the first census. The first work to be done was the numbering of all houses and occupied buildings in all the towns and villages and the division of the larger towns into sections. In addition to Manamah and Muharraq which together contain about half of the population there are about 80 villages situated mostly at the north end of Bahrain Island and along the eastern and western coasts. Many of the villages are in the centre of groups of date gardens and are not visible from a distance. With a few exceptions there are no nomad tent dwellers in Bahrain

659 which made the work of counting easier. After numbering the houses a preliminary registration of the names of the [561] occupants with details of age, sex etc., was made. The question of age was a problem as the majority of the people had no idea how old they were, often they asked the clerk to put down what he thought best. People who could read and write, however, especially children, eagerly volunteer- [961] ed information. Occupation, in the case of men, was easily answered, but in some cases husbands described the occupation of their wives as "eating and sleeping". The first investigation took some time to complete.

The particulars which were required included the person's religious sect, also the full names of both men and women. In the first census the names of women had not been recorded. In some of the Arab Sunni villages and in Muharraq, which is predominantly Arab, strong objection was taken to enquiries about the names of women, but the Shia Baharna raised no objections to this question. There was also a certain amount of organised agitation about recording sects, although in the first census nobody had objected to giving this information. Some of the young town Arabs feared that the census might show a higher proportion of Shias than of Sunnis. By dint of talks and explanations, in which His Highness took an active part, public feelings on these matters were allayed.

THE COUNTING. A Friday night when there was a full moon was fixed for the census. Shops in the towns normally close from noon time on Fridays and fishermen and men employed in cutting coral stone in the sea take a day off. In the moonlight it was easier for the counters to find their way about in the narrow lanes in some of the towns and villages and to see the numbers written in red paint on the doors of the houses. The date and time of the census was announced by proclamation some weeks before

659 and on two days before the census town criers in Manamah and Muharraq reminded the people that on Friday night from 8 p.m., until midnight they should stay indoors. Cinemas coffee shops and all public places were ordered to close, taxis were not allowed to ply for hire during the hours of the census and crews in the boats in the harbours were ordered to remain on board their vessels. The counting and checking in all the towns and villages was done by the census staff but certain foreign communities such as the Royal Air Force in Muharraq, the Bahrain Petroleum Company, the Jufair Naval Base etc., agreed to make their own arrangements for filling in the census forms.

All available police and the census staff assembled at the Government Offices in Manamah and at the Muharraq Municipal Building an hour before the work began. Clerks who were responsible for distant villages were sent off earlier in the day in Government cars and those who were counting the crews of boats in the harbour had launches allocated to them, there were about 80 sailing vessels in the port at the time of the census. A policeman in uniform was told off to accompany every counter and the remainder of the police, including the mounted section, patrolled the streets. The public gave the fullest possible cooperation and no trouble of any kind was encountered. Not a person or a vehicle was visible on the roads and streets during the four hours except the census clerks moving from door to door with their electric torches. In most houses the man of the house was expecting the visit and, although it was unnecessary, in many cases children and even women came to their doors apparently eager to be counted. Most of the counters finished their work at about midnight and returned to their bases where they handed in their books. The preliminary registration made the work of the actual census very much easier.

3: Bahrain G-5 (1950) 1950 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



## RESULTS OF THE CENSUS

**POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION.** The number of people in Bahrain on the night of 3rd March 1950 (12th Jamad-al-Awal, 1369) was 109,650. This represents a growth in the population of about 30,000 since the first census was taken in 1941 ( 1359). The increase was not evenly distributed; in 1941 about 55% of the population lived in the three towns, Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd and the rest of the inhabitants of Bahrain lived in the villages. The proportion of town and country dwellers has changed, the three towns now contain 61% of the population and the villages contain 39%. (these figures do not include Awali). There are about 90 villages and many small hamlets and settlements in Bahrain.

In Manamah the census showed a population of 39,648, an increase of nearly 12,000 (43%) in nine years. The population of Muharraq and Hedd was 25,577, an increase of 4,138 (20%) over the 1941 figure. In the villages, excluding the two Rafaas, there was an increase of only 344.

From records in the Passport Office at the time of the census it appeared that about 6,000 persons, almost all of them males, who normally resided in Bahrain, were absent from the country. It can be assumed that most of these men were working with oil companies and contractors in the neighbouring states. In 1941 very few Bahrain Arabs were working abroad. The proportion of men who are employed outside Bahrain is very high.

The large increase in the population of Manamah is not due to urbanization but it is due to immigration. The village communities especially in the Shia villages are very closely knit and insular so the census clerks had no difficulty in ascertaining whether there had been

621 166 any exodus from the villages to the towns. It was found that there had been no movements from the villages to Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd. With a few exceptions the population of individual villages was the same as it was nine years ago. The only population movements which took place were among the Arab villages. In Dour, the last village on the eastern coast, which in 1941 contained 166 people only one house remained occupied; the population of Jow, a mile or two north of Dour, decreased from 427 in 1941 to 214 in 1950. Some of the people from these two places crossed to Qatar, others moved to Rafaa. The population of the two Rafaas, and Sakhir, was 2,929 in 1941, it is now over 4,000.

## NATIONALITY AND RELIGION

167 Assuming that the growth of Manamah's population was mainly due to more foreigners having settled in the town, which is very evident, it might be expected that the total number of foreigners in the country would be very much larger than the number which was recorded in 1941. In 1941 there were 15,930 foreigners. In 1950 the number was [563] 18,471. The largest foreign minority were, and still are, the Persians who in 1941 numbered 7,547 but in 1950 only 6,934 persons registered themselves as Persians. This [641] figure is open to doubt. For many reasons it is advantageous for Persians to acquire Bahrain nationality, if they are Bahrain subjects they can buy land and can travel to Persia on Bahrain passports. During the last year or two the Government has refused all applications by Persians for Bahrain nationality. It is probable therefore that a number of Persians described themselves as Bahrain subjects in the hope that they would be accepted as such. As most foreigners in Bahrain carry no papers which could establish their nationality it was not possible for the census staff to verify the nationality of Persians.

563 167 Indians and Pakistanis (3,043) mostly living in Manamah, were the next largest foreign community followed by Saudi-Arabians (2,536) who included many Hasawis employed as agricultural labourers; Omanis, Muscatis and Arabs from the Trucial Coast (2,466) were mostly people who entered Bahrain in recent years seeking work; British, Americans and other Europeans numbered 1,683, this total does not include ships crews at Sitra and at Jufair (564). In Manamah and Muharraq the British and American population was 270, including R.A.F. personnel. Other nationalities included Iraqis (224), Omanis (438), Kuwaitis (149), Yemenis (105). In the population of Bahrain at the time of the census over 30 nationalities were represented.

[208] 715 Owing to local feeling Sunnis and Shias were not registered separately but sectarial distribution outside Manamah and Muharraq is sharply defined. The Shia villages contain no Sunnis and the Sunni villages contain very few Shias. Muharraq contains a small number of Shia Baharna, who are scarcely distinguishable from the Arabs and a long established community of Persian Shias. In Manamah the Shias, both Baharna and Persians, are a large and important section of the population; certain quarters of the town are inhabited almost exclusively by Baharna and some of the suburbs are occupied almost entirely by Persians.

795 162 Bahrain is predominantly Moslem. There are less than 4,000 persons belonging to other religions, of these 2,348 are Christians, not including men on ships in the harbours, 698 are Jews and 975 are Hindus.

AGE AND SEX.

162 Reliable information about ages was difficult to obtain because few of the local inhabitants knew their own ages. There is as yet no registration of births

162 and deaths in Bahrain. In the distribution of sexes males predominated, the census figure showed 58,601 males and 51,049 females. If the number of Bahrain men who are working abroad were included in this figure the proportion [167] of men would be very high. A reason for the heavy preponderance of males is that most of the people who have come to Bahrain to work during recent years did not bring their wives and families with them, this fact is particularly noticeable in the case of Indians, Hasawis, Persians and Omanis. If Indians and Europeans are deducted from the total number of males and 30% of the males are reckoned as being under 15 or over 65 years of age the total local man power available in Bahrain would be about 38,000.

## OCCUPATION

162 464 Details of occupation were difficult to obtain; in most cases the replies to questions were vague, men described themselves as "labourers" which included cultivators oil field workers and labourers employed by contractors [308] and by the Government. A significant point was that nobody described himself as a diver though a few years ago half of the able bodied men in Bahrain would have given their occupation as divers. Now-a-days men dive during the season, in the summer, and have regular employment during the rest of the year. Generally it can be said that the cultivators who work in the gardens are always Shia Baharna and Hasawis. Arabs never work on the land in Bahrain, the village Baharna are also employed as fishermen, weavers, coral cutters and labourers in the oil fields. Few of them willingly take on work which keeps them away from their villages at night. The men of the Arab villages work in the oil fields and at sea. The townsfolk of Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd, who are of mixed nationalities, include merchants, shopkeepers, Government servants, mechanics and oil field workers and labourers.

162
464 Fairly detailed information was obtained from a cross section of the village population numbering 31,606; this included 16,047 males and 15,554 females. In the total there were 3,960 infants aged, as far as could be ascertained, under 4 years of whom 1947 were males and 2,013 were females, 1,043 men and 115 women were literate. Occupations which were recorded were as follows:-

| | |
|---|---|
| Cultivators | 3,615 |
| Fishermen, boatmen, coral stone cutters | 1,178 |
| Shop Keepers and traders living in villages and having shops in the towns | 285 |
| Skilled labourers, carpenters, weavers, car drivers | 419 |
| Oil Company workmen | 1,508 |
| Government employees | 86 |
| Religious teachers and readers | 135 |
| Imams of mosques | 11 |
| School teachers | 9 |
| Labourers | 1,989 |
| | 9,232 |

The difference between the total number of males (excluding infants) and the number of males in classified employment is accounted for by the old men and boys who are either too old or too young to have regular employment.

## LITERACY

212 An effort was made to ascertain the number of literates.
162 In addition to people who were educated at Government and private schools those who had learned to read and write at Quran schools were counted as literate. The first Government school was opened in 1919 and during the last twenty years the number of schools for boys and girls has steadily increased. Persons registered as literate amounted to 14,087. If Europeans and Indians were deducted from this total there remain about 10,000 literates among the local population of 106,000, approximately 10% of the indigenous population being literate. This percentage, for Bahrain, is not low.

## HOUSES

362 All occupied houses were numbered and counted; in some cases a "house" consisted of one small hut, in other cases it was a building occupied by thirty or forty members and hangers-on of one family. Empty houses, of which there were none in Manamah and few in Muharraq, were not included. The number of houses in Manamah was 5,703 and in Muharraq 3,720; in the first census the numbers were 4,051 and 3,155 respectively. In nine years 1,600 new houses have been built in Manamah and 800 in Muharraq. In both towns the proportion of stone houses
[621 has increased considerably. The figures for houses in
342] the villages are less accurate, it was often difficult to determine where one dwelling, consisting of a group of huts in a compound, ended and the next dwelling began. The census showed 6,232 houses in the villages and islands as against 5,575 in 1941. Taking the whole population and the number of houses, the average number of persons occupying one house was 6½.

## CONCLUSIONS

161 The most striking fact which has emerged from the second census of Bahrein is that although there has been an increase in the total population of about 20% in nine years yet this increase is confined to Manamah and Muharraq alone, the growth of the population of Manamah being twice as much as in Muharraq. Even if the number of men who are working abroad is taken into consideration the lack of increase in the rural districts discloses an unsatisfactory state of affairs in the villages which was only revealed 165 by the census. During the preliminary registration, which in the case of the villages took about a fortnight, and the night of the census, the census staff recorded 43 deaths in a village population of about 31,500 (the Arab villages were not included in this total). In one small village with a population of 248 persons there were eight deaths in ten days and in every case the deaths were of very young children, yet no epidemic existed.

464 There is no unemployment in Bahrain and the cost of living in the villages is no higher than it was a few years ago. There is no reason to suppose that the lack of increase in the rural population is due to economic causes.

744 The people in the towns and in the villages which are near the towns make more use every year of the public health facilities which are provided by the Government. Cleanliness and sanitation have improved and the anti-malaria work which the Government has carried out has done much to reduce malaria, but few women patients come to the hospitals from distant villages, although today almost all the villages are on bus routes. From what information can be obtained, without vital statistics, it would appear that infant mortality rate in the villages is extremely high. It used to be equally high in the towns but conditions in this respect in the towns have much improved.

162 Another interesting fact which emerges from the census is the comparatively small number of non-Bahrain nationals, or persons who do not wish to be regarded as Bahrain subjects, who live in the country, (18,471 out of 109,650). It was expected that the proportion of foreigners would have been very much higher.

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## CENSUS STATISTICS

161

| Town | Census 1941 (1359-60) | Census 1950 (1369) | Increase | Percentage of Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Manamah | 27,635 | 39,648 | 11,813 | 43 % |
| Muharraq and Hedd | 21,439 | 25,577 | 4,138 | 19½% |
| Other towns and villages | 39 164 | 40,579 | 1,415 | 3½% |
| Ships at anchor and Awali | 1,532 | 3,846 | 2,314 | 150 % |
| Total population | 89,970 | 109,650 | 19,680 | 22 % |

## DISTRIBUTION BY SEX

162

| Sex | Census 1941 (1359-60) | Census 1950 (1369) | Increase | Percentage of Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Males | 48,267 | 58,601 | 10,334 | 21½% |
| Females | 41,703 | 51,049 | 9,346 | 22½% |
| Total population | 89,970 | 109,650 | 19,680 | 22 % |

## DISTRIBUTION BY NATIONALITIES

162

| Nationality | Census 1941 (1360) | Census 1950 (1369) |
|---|---|---|
| Bahrain subjects | 74,040 | 91,179 |
| Persians | 7,547 | 6,934 |
| Indians<br>Anglo Indians<br>Pakistanis<br>Goanese | 1,434 | 3,043 |
| Saudi Arabs | | 2,826 |
| Omanis & Muscatis | | 2,466 |
| Qataris | | 438 |
| Kuwaitis | | 149 |
| Yemenis | | 108 |
| Iraqis | | 224 |
| Palestinians | | 28 |
| Syrians & Lebanese | | 52 |
| Egyptians | | 30 |
| Others | | 268 |
| Europeans: | | |
| British | | 1,840 |
| Americans | | 290 |
| Others | | 78 |
| | 6,039 | 8,494 |
| | 89,970 | 109,650 |
| Bahrain subjects | 74,040 | 91,179 |
| Foreigners | 15,930 | 18,471 |

162

INCREASE - BY NATIONALITIES

| Nationality | Increase in 9 years. |
|---|---|
| Bahrain Subjects | 17,139 |
| Foreigners | 2,541 |

162

DISTRIBUTION BY RELIGION

| Religion | Census 1941 (1360) | Percentage of popula - tion | Census 1950 (1369) | Percentage of popula tion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mohomedans | 88,998 | 98% | 106,401 | 96% |
| Non-Mohomedans | 1,672 | 2% | 4,949 | 4% |

DISTRIBUTION OF NON-MOHOMEDANS

| Religion | Census 1941 (1360) | Census 1950 (1369) |
|---|---|---|
| Christians | not recorded | 2,932 |
| Jews | | 296 |
| Hindus | | 975 |
| Others | | 49 |
| Total | 1,672 | 4,949 |

162

## DISTRIBUTION BY TOWNS AND VILLAGES

| Town or Village | Census 1941 (1360) | Percentage of population | Census 1950 (1369) | Percentage of population |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd. | 49,274 | 56% | 68,225 | 61½% |
| Other towns and Villages | 39,164 | 44% | 40,579 | 38½% |
| Total | 88,438 | | 108,804 | |

## CENSUS OF DWELLING HOUSES

| Towns or Villages | Census 1941 (1360) | Census 1950 (1369) |
|---|---|---|
| Manamah | 4,649 | 5,705 |
| Muharraq | 3,217 | 3,780 |
| Hedd | 719 | 619 |
| Other towns and villages | 5,697 | 6,838 |
| Total | 14,282 | 16,974 |

## LITERACY

212 Census 1941 (1360) — Not recorded.

162 Census 1950 (1369) — 14,087 (literates)

[It is blank]

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# GOVERNMENT OF BAHRAIN

## ANNUAL REPORT FOR YEAR 1372

(OCTOBER 1952 — SEPTEMBER 1953)

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## REVIEW OF 1372

000 The two most important events during the year were the conclusion of a new oil agreement between the Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company and His Highness Shaikh Sulman's first visit to Europe to attend the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth.

471 651 439 The new oil agreement was on a 50—50 basis on the same lines as other agreements which have recently been made between governments and oil companies in the Middle East, it also provided for a payment to the State on oil imported into Bahrain for refining. As a result of this agreement the total revenue for the year under review was 3734 lakhs of rupees, approximately £2,800,000, though the new scale of payments was not in operation throughout the whole of 1372.

652 657 Expenditure was higher than in 1371. Excluding the one third of the oil revenue, which is paid to the Privy Purse, 48 per cent. of the State's expenditure was on social and public services; Education, Public Health, Public Protection and grants to Municipalities absorbed 18¼ per cent., 15-3/8 per cent., 10-4/5 per cent., and 3 per cent. respectively, including capital expenditure on new schools, dispensaries and police quarters. The demand for more schools and hospitals is continuous and insistent but few Bahrain people realise the heavy recurrent cost of medical and education services which can be maintained on the present scale only as long as the present revenue continues.

651 511 342 471 Trade flourished and the revenue from customs was higher than in the previous year; during recent years customs collections have risen annually. Local prosperity was apparent from what might be described as a building boom. Many new houses and shops were built in the towns and suburbs by private enterprise. The type of house varied from European style bungalows and blocks of flats, built by merchants and shaikhs for letting, to small stone houses which are gradually replacing barasti, palm branch huts. Several serious fires in barasti areas, which destroyed many dwellings, gave an impetus to building. Working men who owned pieces of ground built small houses and the Government received hundreds of applications from people who wished to buy building plots. Unfortunately the Government owns very little land in and around the towns, much of it having been given away or sold cheaply many years ago.

511 167 161 The standard of living in Bahrain is very much higher than it was a few years ago and the health of the people is noticeably better than it used to be. For these reasons and owing to a steady influx of foreigners, mostly from Oman and the Trucial Coast, who come to Bahrain to work, it is believed that there has been a substantial increase in the population which at the time of the last census, in 1950, was found to be 110,000.

578 The state of public security was good in spite of the presence of large a number of foreigners who are not as naturally law abiding as the people of Bahrain. There were no political or labour disturbances.

648 439 Relations with Qatar deteriorated owing to incidents connected with the visit of a party of Bahrain schoolboys and school teachers to Zubara during the Spring holiday. The commercial development of Qatar tended to reduce Bahrain's transit trade and deprived some of the Bahrain merchants of agencies which used to include both Bahrain and Qatar. Relations with Saudi Arabia and Iraq were friendly, a deputation headed by Shaikh Isa bin Sulman, His Highness's eldest son, represented Bahrain at the coronation of King Faisal in Baghdad.

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H.H. Shaikh Sulman on the Palace with H.R.H. The Duchess of Kent, H.R.H. The Duke of Kent, and Sir Charles Belgrave

H.R.H. The Duchess of Kent inspecting a guard of honour, with H.H. Shaikh Sulman

[facing page 5]

## DIVING INDUSTRY

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There is little to report on this subject. Under present conditions it seems probable that in a few years the diving Nakhudas will find that it is impossible to obtain any recruits for diving in Bahrain. During the season only 12 boats went out to the banks from Bahrain and most of the divers who were engaged were from Persia and the Trucial Coast. So much money can be earned on shore that few men are willing to leave their shore jobs in order to dive during the summer months.

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The tax on imported pearls imposed by the Government of India was in force throughout and after the diving season and this contributed to a large extent to the slackness in the pearl trade. Taking into consideration the small number of boats employed in diving the catch was moderately good and pearl prices were not much lower than in the previous season.

## MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

### 1372

(Report by Dr. R. H. B. Snow, M.B.E., Senior Medical Officer)

**Summary of the Year**

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751

A change is gradually infiltrating and making itself evident in the scope and policy of medical work which is increasing in every department and subconsciously affecting the life of the Island. Traditions are now being established which the new generation are growing up with, and health ideas which once were revolutionary are now accepted as the normal course of reasonable upbringing.

657

The medical department which started in a small way, and expanded slowly is seeing results which are very satisfying but which are taken for granted, although they took years of striving to achieve. From its small beginnings and tiny nucleus of key staff it has now spread out from something rather personal to more of a departmental outlook. This in the course of things is bound to be, but its danger is that lack of co-ordination may develop or that the department may absorb the individual expression. At present there seems to be no signs of this because the various heads of departments meet together continually to exchange ideas and align themselves in a common policy, and also they are readily accessible to the public.

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758

Lines of expansion have shown themselves everywhere. The surgical work has been given great impetus by the advent of an F.R.C.S. specialist, Mr. R. D. Wilkins.

The operation theatre now runs a staff rota for every 24 hours of the day, made possible by recruiting Sister Ford and Sister Johnston from England. Sister Edwards was appointed to the Nursing Home to replace Sister Millson. The X-Ray department has an English Radiographer in charge—Mr. Havey. The Laboratory has a staff of six technicians. Four new Indian doctors arrived, one lady doctor for the Women's Hospital, and the others, male, were appointed to the Boys' Schools, The Port, and the Hospital. Mr. Burgin replaced Mr. Hanvey as Public Health Inspector, and Mr. Nambiar became the new Anti-Malaria Supervisor. Both hospitals recruited many more Indian trained nurses. The lack of sufficient staff has now been made good and at present meets all needs which recently have been very pressing. It meant also that more specialised apparatus could be installed being safely handled by expert hands. Such things include a more powerful X-Ray plant, a modern anaesthetic apparatus to administer all gases and curare, an electro-cautery unit and an electro-cardiograph.

743
758

The Geneva T.B. project for Bahrain very unfortunately was cancelled owing to changes of policy and financial aid in the World Health Organisation. This severely dislocated the programme to meet this problem. However, a modified scheme has been evolved making use of the ideas of Geneva and London and will be launched next year when in-patient accommodation will be considerably increased. The number of patients seen this year and treated were 275 men and 87 women. Many were foreigners and returned to their countries. Ninety were admitted and a few promising patients sent to Miraj Sanatorium. It is very satisfactory to report that those treated in Bahrain are showing greater improvement than in the past due to better drugs and surgery. A few have been in hospital for two years.

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The Bahrain Medical Society had a good year of meetings and the annual Persian Gulf conference at Kuwait was well attended from Bahrain and again proved most worth while. The co-operation of doctors and hospitals up and down the Persian Gulf is a noteworthy feature not only on account of valuable mutual aid, but of interchange of knowledge on problems common to all. This also applies to medical officers of the R.A.F. and Royal Navy.

758
743

The hot weather was of average intensity with no heat exhaustion cases except from ships and these numbered 36 with 2 deaths. This has been causing considerable concern among all medical officers in the Gulf dealing with ships who report similarly, and as this department admits many to hospital it has now assumed some importance here. Certain shipping lines provide adequate facilities, and others do not, among which are certain British ships. The matter was taken up in a personal interview with the Chief Medical Officer, Port of London, where it was found that air conditioning might be considered but has not come into force yet. One air conditioned emergency room on each ship would greatly solve the problem and this is a matter needing prior attention.

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The health of the Islands for the year was again well maintained with no epidemics or serious outbreaks of disease.

000

**Miss W. E. Millson.** Sister-in-Charge Nursing Home and Operating Theatre.

It was with great regret that we accepted the resignation of Sister Millson who left to go to New Zealand in June 1953.

She had completed six and a half years of service in three contracts and been the first British Sister for this post.

By sheer hard work and selfless service she tackled these exacting dual duties with great determination and was not daunted by insufficient staff and ever increasing work.

She made a wonderful success of it, and her work will not be forgotten.

# MALE STATISTICS

## 1372—1953

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| OUTPATIENTS | New. | Return. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hospital | 15,182 | 73,991 | 89,173 |
| Muharraq | 12,274 | 16,806 | 29,080 |
| Dispensaries | 5,464 | 7,271 | 12,735 |
| Schools | 15,914 | — | 15,914 |
| Police | 1,801 | 3,580 | 5,381 |
| | 50,635 | 101,648 | 152,283 |

| IN-PATIENTS | |
|---|---|
| Hospital | 1,397 |
| European Nursing Home | 124 |
| Isolation Block | 127 |
| T.B. Block | 61 |
| Mental Asylum | 65 |
| | 1774 |

| OPERATIONS | |
|---|---|
| Major | 644 |
| Minor (Hospital) | 2,098 |
| Minor (Dispensaries | 1,003 |
| | 3,745 |

| LABORATORY AND EX-RAY | |
|---|---|
| Laboratory Tests | 9,440 |
| X-Rays | 4,497 |
| | 13,937 |

| INJECTIONS | |
|---|---|
| Penicillin | 18,481 |
| Streptomycin | 5,096 |
| N.A.B. and Bismuth | 1,275 |
| Osmo-Calcium | 3,118 |
| Emetine | 355 |
| Quinine | 318 |
| Vaccinations | 540 |
| Miscellaneous | 4,802 |
| | 33,985 |

### PREDOMINATING MALE OUT-PATIENT DISEASE

| | |
|---|---|
| Respiratory Disease | 1,749 |
| Opthalmia | 1,465 |
| Abscess, Boil and Ulcer | 1,244 |
| Rheumatism, Myositis, etc. | 955 |
| Fractures and Injuries | 938 |
| Abdominal Disease | 634 |
| Dermatitis | 558 |
| Malaria | 538 |
| Otitis | 489 |
| Venereal Disease | 483 |
| Worms | 443 |
| Piles and Fistula | 387 |
| Ear, Nose and Throat conditions | 380 |
| Dysentery | 268 |
| T.B. (Pulmonary) | 234 |
| Genito-urinary disease | 229 |
| Asthma | 173 |
| Cardiac Disease | 53 |
| Nephritis | 44 |

TOTAL SEEN : 15,182

## PREDOMINATING POLICE OUT-PATIENT DISEASE

| | |
|---|---|
| Respiratory Disease | 283 |
| Opthalmia | 228 |
| Abscess, Boil and Ulcer | 141 |
| Venereal Disease | 132 |
| Injuries | 115 |
| Dysentery | 102 |
| Worms | 35 |
| Malaria | 31 |
| Pulmonary T.B. | nil |

(TOTAL SEEN : 1801)

The results of these figures differ little from last year, except that septic conditions are doubled. Malaria is well under control, but venereal disease gives some cause for concern as this shows a high incidence compared with 46 of two years ago.

## MALE IN-PATIENT :

### SURGICAL :

| | |
|---|---|
| Abscess, Boil and Ulcer | 92 |
| Acute Abdomen | 34 |
| Hernia | 66 |
| Injuries | 124 |
| Fractures | 81 |
| Piles | 113 |
| Fistula-in-Ano | 26 |
| Genito-urinary | 46 |
| E.N.T. | 11 |
| Others | 105 |
| Total | 708 |

### MEDICAL :

| | |
|---|---|
| Abdominal | 32 |
| Asthma | 19 |
| Cardiac | 28 |
| Dysentery | 36 |
| Venereal Disease | 16 |
| Malaria | 53 |
| Pneumonia | 61 |
| Respiratory | 64 |
| Rheumatism, Myositis | 27 |
| Nephritis | 7 |
| Central Nervous System | 29 |
| Others | 105 |
| Total | 497 |

### EYES :

| | |
|---|---|
| Cataract | 22 |
| Leucoma | 13 |
| Staphyloma | 6 |
| Trichoma | 9 |
| Conjunctivitis | 8 |
| Trichiasis | 79 |
| Keratitis | 3 |
| Iritis | 9 |
| Glaucoma | 5 |
| Panopthalmitis | 6 |
| Corneal Ulcer | 21 |
| Others | 11 |
| Total | 192 |

## RESULTS

### TOTAL No. 1397

| | Cured. | Improved. | Not Improved. | Died. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Surgical | 657 | 12 | 16 | 23 |
| Medical | 362 | 64 | 30 | 41 |
| Eyes | 133 | 40 | 19 | |

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### MALE ISOLATION, TUBERCULOSIS AND MENTAL BLOCKS ISOLATION

**SYPHILIS**

| | |
|---|---|
| Primary | 7 |
| Secondary and Sero Positive | 13 |
| Tertiary | 6 |
| Neurological | 2 |
| Remaining from last year | 2 |

**GONORRHOEA**

| | |
|---|---|
| Acute | 10 |
| Chronic | 2 |
| Complicated | 6 |

**MISCELLANEOUS V.D.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Bubo | 8 |
| Other venereal | 4 |
| Chancroid | 1 |

**DYSENTERY**

| | |
|---|---|
| Acute Amoebic | 15 |
| Chronic Amoebic | 12 |
| Bacillary | 14 |
| Mixed | 2 |
| Diarrhoea | 2 |
| Remaining from last year | 2 |

**MISCELLANEOUS**

| | |
|---|---|
| Hookworm | 2 |
| Other Worms | 2 |
| Dermatitis | 13 |
| Leprosy | 5 |
| Others | 17 |
| Remaining from last year | 2 |

**TUBERCULOSIS**

| | |
|---|---|
| Pulmonary | 43 |
| Others | 3 |
| Remaining from last year | 15 |

**MENTAL**

| | |
|---|---|
| New patients | 45 |
| Remaining from last year | 20 |

**TREATMENT**

| | |
|---|---|
| Penicillin | 1998 |
| N.A.B. and Bismuth | 489 |
| Emetine | 106 |
| Streptomycin (with P.A.S.) | 2746 |
| Osseo-calcium Vitamin D | 1148 |
| Others | 624 |
| Artificial Pneumo-Thorax | 211 |
| Pneumo-peritoneum | 223 |
| Phrenic Avulsion | 12 |

## RESULTS

| | Total | Cured | Improved | Arrested | Still under Treatment | Not Improved | Died |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Syphilis | 41 | 32 | 10 | — | — | 1 | — |
| Gonorrhoea | 16 | 17 | — | — | 1 | — | — |
| Dysentery | 67 | 64 | 1 | — | 2 | — | — |
| Leprosy | 7 | — | 3 | — | 2 | 2 | — |
| Others | 14 | 10 | 2 | — | — | 1 | 1 |
| *T.B. | 61 | — | 10 | 1 | 37 | 13 | 10 |
| Mental | 67 | — | 21 | — | 22 | 17 | 5 |
| Totals | 273 | 23 | 55 | 1 | 64 | 36 | 16 |

* 6 T.B. patients transferred to Mercy Hospital, Basra

## MALE EUROPEAN NURSING HOME IN-PATIENTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Acute Appendicitis | 16 |
| Fractures and Injuries | 14 |
| Heat Exhaustion | 13 |
| Respiratory Disease | 8 |
| Abdominal Disease | 8 |
| Septic complaints | 8 |
| Peptic Ulcer | 6 |
| Genito-urinary | 5 |
| Mental states | 5 |
| Acute Abdomen | 4 |
| Dermatitis | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 29 |
| Total | 121 |

There were two deaths—(1) Diabetic Coma ; (2) Perforated Gastric Ulcer.

## MAJOR OPERATIONS

(a) ABDOMINAL

| | |
|---|---|
| Appendicectomy | 35 |
| Laparotomy | 10 |
| Lapro-cholecystectomy | 5 |
| Gastro-enterostomy and Vagotomy | 1 |
| Gut-skin wounds, abdominal repair | 1 |
| Colectomy | 1 |
| Perforated Duodenal | 1 |
| Volvulus | 1 |
| Gall Bladder | 4 |
| Cholecysto-Jejunostomy | 1 |
| Meckel's Diverticulum | 1 |
| Ventral Hernia | 5 |
| Strangulated Hernia | 5 |
| Inguinal Hernia | 67 |
| Acoustic Abscess Liver | 1 |

(b) RECTO-GENITO-URINARY

| | |
|---|---|
| Piles | 106 |
| Fistula-in-Ano | 28 |
| Hydrocoele | 14 |
| Orchidectomy | 6 |
| Suprapubic cystotomy | 9 |
| Renal stone | 2 |
| Ureteral stone | 4 |
| Bladder stone | 5 |
| Prostatectomy | 6 |
| Others | 16 |

(a) BONE

| | |
|---|---|
| Excision head of Radius | 2 |
| Excision fracture fragments | 1 |
| Sequestrectomy | 11 |
| Pinning | 3 |
| Amputation | 5 |
| Others | 10 |

(b) OPHTHALMIC

| | |
|---|---|
| Cataract – intracapsular | 2 |
| Cataract – extracapsular | 22 |
| Cataract – couch delivery | 1 |
| Needling | 2 |
| Iridectomy | 12 |
| Iridectomy | 4 |
| Dacryocystectomy | 4 |
| Enucleation | 6 |
| Enucleation | 8 |
| Excision – partial exenteration | 151 |
| Others | 2 |

(c) MISCELLANEOUS

| | |
|---|---|
| Sub-mandibular stone | 1 |
| Plastic Operation | 12 |
| Grafts | 19 |
| T.B. Glands | 2 |
| Suture of arteries | 2 |
| Drainage of chest | 1 |
| Tuberculin | 4 |
| Others | 2 |

## RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Total number | 644 |
| Cured | 553 |
| Improved | 54 |
| Not improved | 23 |
| Died | 14 |

## ANAESTHETICS

| | |
|---|---|
| Spinal | 237 |
| Intravenous | 88 |
| Local | 194 |
| General | 125 |

## MINOR OPERATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| Cysts | 17 |
| Circumcision | 68 |
| Injection | 127 |
| Abscess | 214 |
| Teeth Extraction | 906 |
| Aspiration | 34 |
| Tapping | 12 |
| Plasters for fractures | 60 |
| Splints and Bandages | 75 |
| Retrograde Pyelogram | 11 |
| Cystoscopy | 33 |
| Artificial Pneumo-Thorax | 211 |
| Pneumo-Peritoneum | 223 |
| Sub-Conjunctival Injection | 3 |
| Pterygium | 5 |
| F.B. Eye | 27 |
| Others | 114 |
| TOTAL | 2098 |
| Dispensaries | 1003 |
| GRAND TOTAL | 3101 |

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



## LABORATORY AND X-RAY DEPARTMENTS

| | |
|---|---|
| **BLOOD TESTS** | **TOTAL 5469** 164 |
| TOTAL Kahn's | 2201 |
| Khan positive | 334 |
| TOTAL Malaria films | 358 |
| M.T. positive | 40 |
| B.T. positive | 16 |
| Haemoglobin estimations | 244 |
| Red Cell counts | 64 |
| White Cell counts | 951 |
| Differential counts | 369 |
| Haematins | 10 |
| Erythrocyte Sedimentation Rates | 1026 |
| Widal agglutinations | 40 |
| B. Typhi positive | 21 |
| B. Paratyphi positive | 11 |
| Bl. groupings | 6 |
| **URINE TESTS** | **TOTAL 1059** |
| Albumin | 178 |
| R.B.Cs | 116 |
| W.B.Cs | 140 |
| Casts | 69 |
| Sugar | 189 |
| Bile | 38 |
| Normal | 549 |
| **STOOL TESTS** | **TOTAL 3484** |
| Entamoeba Histolytica—amoebae | 36 |
| Entamoeba Histolytica—cysts | 30 |
| Entamoeba Coli—cysts | 220 |
| Ova Ascaris | 443 |
| Ova Ancylostomata | 32 |
| Miscellaneous | 551 |
| Normal | 249 |
| **SPUTUM TESTS** | **TOTAL 775** |
| T.B. positive | 60 |
| **Bacteriological Cultures** | 294 |
| B. Shiga and Flexner | 6 |
| Salmonella | 2 |
| Meningococci | 7 |
| **Biochemical estimations** | **TOTAL 174** |
| **MISCELLANEOUS** | **TOTAL 205** |
| Urethral smears. TOTAL | 58 |
| Conjunctival smears. TOTAL | 17 |
| G.C. Positive | 21 |
| Ear clippings—Leprosy. TOTAL | 38 |
| B. Leprae Positive | 5 |
| Others | 92 |

## TOTAL EXAMINATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| Laboratory | 9440 |
| X-Rays | 4497 |

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



**BAHRAIN GOVERNMENT MALE DISPENSARIES**

| | Muharraq | *E. Rafaa | W. Rafaa | Sitra | Karzakan | *Arli | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total Patients | 29080 | 1582 | 3867 | 3[illegible]2 | 2339 | 3415 | 41815 |
| New Patients | 12274 | 670 | 1252 | 1011 | 1159 | 1392 | 17758 |
| Old Patients | 16806 | 912 | 1795 | 1341 | 1180 | 2043 | 24077 |
| Schools | 7399 | 357 | — | 1195 | 785 | 1148 | 10884 |
| Ophthalmia | 1569 | 76 | 188 | 135 | 150 | 196 | 2263 |
| Malaria | 32[illegible] | 3 | 17 | 10 | 10 | 19 | 391 |
| Venereal Disease | 134 | 3 | 5 | 68 | 13 | 7 | 230 |
| Dysentery | 189 | 19 | 40 | 16 | 27 | 34 | 325 |
| Worms | 750 | 58 | 143 | 122 | 139 | 128 | 1340 |
| T.B. | 24 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 7 | 3 | 41 |
| Minor Operations | 1003 | — | — | — | — | — | 1003 |
| Injections | 764 | 21 | 94 | 478 | 204 | 104 | 1665 |
| Vaccinations | 56 | — | 140 | — | 115 | — | 309 |

* — Newly opened.

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## FEMALE STATISTICS

Report by Dr. I. M. A. Doey, Lady Medical Officer.

During the year the need for increased accommodation for women patients has made itself increasingly felt. This is more particularly so in the Maternity Department where on several occasions extra beds and "shake downs" have had to be provided to accommodate the overflow of patients beyond the full capacity of the present wards. As regards private room accommodation this has for a long time been completely inadequate for our numbers. In most instances the midwifery cases are remaining in hospital only 7 or 8 days instead of 10 days as formerly—but even so the beds are always full.

During the year a third Indian Lady Doctor has come and the Nursing Staff has been increased enabling us to have two nurses on night duty.

An Ante-natal Clinic has been started on Wednesday evenings from 5—7 p.m. and from the outset has been very well attended.

The Clinics in Muharraq Dispensary have been trebled.

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4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Behrain MZ2



# FEMALE MEDICAL STATISTICS

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## WOMEN'S HOSPITAL, MANAMA

### OUT-PATIENT DEPARTMENT

1372

| | Adults | Children |
|---|---|---|
| New cases | 7,562 | 5,930 |
| Return cases | 14,289 | 10,658 |
| | 21,851 | 16,588 |

**PREDOMINATING DISEASES**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Diseases of Women | 517 | — |
| Pregnancy | 571 | — |
| Abortion | 62 | — |
| Disease of the Ear, Nose and Throat | 429 | 631 |
| Diseases of the Eye | 683 | 579 |
| Fractures and Dislocations | 10 | 20 |
| Burns | 25 | 56 |
| Other injuries | 01 | 95 |
| Haemorrhoids | 27 | — |
| General surgical conditions | 52 | 66 |
| Ulcers and Skin diseases | 417 | 978 |
| Septic conditions | 150 | 177 |
| Anemia | 104 | 80 |
| Pneumonia | 28 | 112 |
| Tuberculosis (Pulmonary) | 68 | 7 |
| Tuberculosis (other forms) | 5 | 15 |
| Other diseases of the Respiratory System | 403 | 642 |
| Nephritis and other diseases of the urinary system | 48 | 36 |
| Severe Anaemia | 204 | 64 |
| Diseases of the Circulatory System | 15 | — |
| Diseases of the Liver | 17 | 6 |
| Diarrhoea | 115 | 588 |
| Dysentery | 33 | 50 |
| Intestinal Parasites | 625 | 349 |
| All other diseases of the Alimentary System | 379 | 340 |
| Malaria | 180 | 115 |
| Venereal Diseases | 43 | 9 |
| Rheumatic Conditions | 1,039 | 28 |
| Infectious Diseases | 7 | 120 |
| All other Medical Conditions | 1,228 | 860 |

| | |
|---|---|
| MINOR OPERATIONS | 71 |
| TOOTH EXTRACTIONS | 657 |
| INJECTIONS | |
| Penicillin | 8329 |
| Streptomycine | 467 |
| Others | 4522 |
| Vaccinations | 90 |
| POLICE CASES | 21 |

## WOMEN'S HOSPITAL. YEAR 1952.

164

### LABORATORY (In-Patients and Out-Patients). PATHOLOGICAL EXAMINATIONS

Total Examinations for year ... ... ... ... 9,786

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| HAEMATOLOGY | HB | 1,307 |
| | R.B.C's | 308 |
| | W.B.C's | 2,104 |
| | Differentials | 305 |
| | Haemacrits PCV's MCV's | 4 |
| | E.S.R.'S | 340 |
| | Malaria films | 308 |
| | M.T. positive | 37 |
| | B.T. positive | 53 |
| SEROLOGY | Kahn | 758 |
| | Khan positive | 93 |
| | Widal | 61 |
| | B Typhosus positive | 11 |
| | B Para Typhosus positive | 7 |
| | Rh grouping | 55 |
| URINES | Total | 1,381 |
| | Albumen positive | 377 |
| | Sugar positive | 43 |
| | Casts present | 110 |
| | R.B.C.'S present | 73 |
| | Pus Cells present | 311 |
| | Bile present | 32 |
| | N.A.D. | 334 |
| STOOLS | Total | 603 |
| | E. Histolytica Amoeba positive | 9 |
| | E. Histolytica Cysts positive | 10 |
| | Round worm positive | 229 |
| | Hook Worm positive | 30 |
| | E.Coli Cysts positive | 126 |
| | Miscellaneous ova, etc. | 277 |
| | N.A.D. | 380 |
| SPUTUMS | Total | 171 |
| | T.P. Positive | 15 |
| CERVICAL SMEARS | Total | 40 |
| | G.C. Positive | 1 |
| EYE SMEARS | Total | 7 |
| Ear Clippings for Leprosy | Total | 30 |
| Skin Scrapings for Fungus | Total | 40 |
| Bio Chemical Estimations | Total | 58 |
| Bacteriological Cultures | Total | 824 |
| | Dysentery positive | 7 |
| Miscellaneous Tests | | 97 |

(Blood Grouping, Bleeding and Clotting Times Filaria, etc.).

N.B.—T.B., G.C. and B Leprosa positives given here refer only to new cases.

### X-RAYS

In-Patients and Out-Patients ... ... ... ... ... ... 1,346

## IN-PATIENT DEPARTMENT

Total Number of In-Patients treated ... ... ... ... ... 1670

### PREDOMINATING DISEASES AND RESULTS OF TREATMENT:

| | Adults | Children | Total | Cured | Relieved | Discharged Otherwise | Died |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Abdominal | 827 | — | 827 | 811 | 6 | 5 | 5 |
| Gynaecological | 93 | — | 93 | 72 | 12 | 7 | 2 |
| Fractures, Bone Conditions, Injuries | 20 | 16 | 36 | 20 | 12 | 4 | — |
| Burns | 3 | 8 | 11 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 3 |
| Ulcers and Skin Diseases | 4 | 4 | 8 | 7 | 1 | — | — |
| Septic Conditions | 12 | 10 | 22 | 12 | 8 | 2 | — |
| General Surgical Conditions | 31 | 15 | 46 | 33 | 2 | 4 | 3 |
| Diseases of the Ear, Nose and Throat | 22 | 7 | 29 | 27 | — | — | 2 |
| Diseases of the Eye | 61 | 4 | 65 | 52 | 10 | 3 | 0 |
| Anaemia and Malnutrition | 19 | 24 | 43 | 22 | 12 | 5 | 5 |
| Asthma | 17 | 2 | 19 | 14 | 4 | — | 1 |
| Pneumonia | 12 | 15 | 27 | 19 | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| Pulmonary Tuberculosis | 11 | 2 | 13 | — | 7 | 5 | 1 |
| Tuberculosis, other forms | 3 | 13 | 16 | 1 | 13 | 2 | — |
| All other diseases of the Respiratory System | 16 | 16 | 32 | 26 | 4 | — | 2 |
| Diseases of the Circulatory System | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Nephritis and other diseases of the Urinary System | 17 | 7 | 24 | 14 | 8 | 1 | 1 |
| Diarrhoea | 27 | 54 | 81 | 60 | 4 | 5 | 12 |
| Dysentery | 10 | 1 | 11 | 11 | — | — | — |
| Diseases of the Liver | 4 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 1 | — | — |
| Intestinal Parasites | 23 | 2 | 25 | 20 | 3 | 1 | — |
| All other diseases of the Alimentary System | 18 | 5 | 23 | 17 | 2 | 4 | — |
| Malaria | 17 | 10 | 27 | 26 | — | — | 1 |
| Diseases of the Central Nervous System | 4 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Infectious Diseases | 10 | 10 | 20 | 20 | 1 | 4 | 3 |
| All other Medical Conditions | 74 | 62 | 136 | 106 | 74 | 23 | 2 |
| | 1364 | 309 | 1670 | 1489 | 131 | 77 | 23 |

### DETAILS OF OBSTETRIC CASES:

| | Total | Cured | Relieved | Discharged Otherwise | Died |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pregnancy | 79 | 75 | 3 | 1 | — |
| Normal Labour | 330 | 329 | — | 1 | — |
| Abnormal Labour | 97 | 92 | — | 1 | 4 |
| Abortions | 98 | 96 | 1 | 1 | — |
| Puerperium | 35 | 30 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Infants born alive | 382 | | | | |
| Infants still-born | 35 | | | | |
| Infants dying during first 10 days of life | 15 | | | | |

### INJECTIONS:

| | |
|---|---|
| Blood Transfusions | 8 |
| Intravenous Injections | 107 |
| Penicillin | 3516 |
| Streptomycin | 1428 |
| Other Injections | 3853 |
| Intravenous | 26 |
| Saline Cases | 13 |

### OPERATIONS:

| | |
|---|---|
| Gastrectomy | 1 |
| Gastrostomy | 1 |
| Oesophago-Cardioplasty | 1 |
| Pyloric Stenosis (Rammel's Op) | 1 |
| Appendicectomy | 5 |
| Ventral Hernia | 2 |
| Splenectomy | 1 |
| Transplantation of Ureters | 5 |
| Hysterectomy | 5 |
| Ovarian Cysts | 4 |
| Gillam's Operation | 3 |

164 **OPERATIONS**—*continued*

| | |
|---|---|
| Myomectomy | 1 |
| Laparotomy | 3 |
| A.P Colporraphy | 6 |
| V.V. Fistula Vaginal Repair | 2 |
| R.V. Fistula Vaginal Repair | 1 |
| Other Gynaecological Operations | 4 |
| Excision Cancer, face | 1 |
| Excision Glands, neck | 3 |
| Skingraft | 1 |
| Haemorrhoids | 8 |
| Other general Operations | 7 |
| Cataract | 2 |
| Iridectomy | 3 |
| Enucleation Eye | 2 |
| Trichiasis | 87 |
| Other Eye Operations | 4 |
| Caesarean Section | 7 |
| Forceps Deliveries | 37 |
| Craniotomy | 1 |
| Internal Version | 2 |
| Manual Removal Placenta | 3 |
| Evacuation of Uterus | 35 |
| Other Obstetrical Operations | 35 |
| Dilatation and Curettage | 29 |
| Ascitis | 16 |
| Abscesses | 8 |
| Sutures | 4 |
| Circumcision | 27 |
| Tonsilectomy | 6 |
| Hare-lip | |
| Other minor Operations | |
| Sigmoidoscopy | 4 |
| P.O.P. | 24 |

## WOMEN'S HOSPITAL—MUHARRAQ

### OUT-PATIENT DEPARTMENT

| | |
|---|---|
| New Cases | 6,581 |
| Return Cases | 17,334 |
| | 23,915 |

**PREDOMINATING DISEASES**

| | |
|---|---|
| Diseases of Women | 201 |
| Pregnancy | 318 |
| Abortions | 47 |
| Outdoor Labour Cases | 18 |
| Diseases of the Eye | 747 |
| Ulcers and Skin Diseases | 616 |
| Injuries | 86 |
| Sepsis | 317 |
| Diseases of the Ear, Nose and Throat | 610 |
| Pneumonia | 61 |
| Asthma | 34 |
| Tuberculosis | 12 |
| All other diseases of the Respiratory System | 468 |
| Diarrhoea and Dysentery | 576 |
| Intestinal Parasites | 411 |
| Other diseases of the Alimentary System | 458 |
| Venereal Diseases | 22 |
| Malaria | 89 |
| Rheumatic Conditions | 481 |
| Infectious Diseases | 45 |
| Miscellaneous | 962 |

**OPERATIONS AND INJECTIONS**

| | |
|---|---|
| Minor Operations | 170 |
| Penicillin | 4,376 |
| Streptomycine | 11 |
| Other Injections | 2,588 |
| Vaccinations | 6 |

## MUHARRAQ IN-PATIENT DEPARTMENT

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Total Number of In-Patients | | 164 |
| Normal Labour | 285 | |
| Normal Labour with Anemia | 8 | |
| Abnormal Labour | 13 | |
| Abortions | 12 | |
| Infants born alive | 292 | |
| Infants still-born | 16 | |
| Infants dying in first 10 days of life | 7 | |
| Maternal Deaths | Nil | |

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## HIDD HOSPITAL AND DISPENSARY OUT-PATIENT DEPARTMENT

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New Cases | 1,996 | |
| Return Cases | 6,768 | |
| TOTAL | 8,764 | |

### PREDOMINATING DISEASES :

| | |
|---|---|
| Injuries | 28 |
| Ulcers, Sepsis and Skin Diseases | 315 |
| Diseases of the Eye | 107 |
| Diseases of the Ear, Nose and Throat | 194 |
| Pneumonia | 25 |
| Asthma | 10 |
| All other diseases of the Respiratory System | 170 |
| Diarrhoea and Dysentery | 163 |
| Intestinal Parasites | 100 |
| All Other Diseases of the Alimentary System | 95 |
| Malaria | 36 |
| Rheumatic Conditions | 17 |
| Gynaecological Conditions | 28 |
| Pregnancy | 63 |
| Abortion | 15 |
| Outdoor Labour Cases | 78 |
| Infectious Diseases | 15 |
| Miscellaneous | 293 |

### INJECTIONS :

| | |
|---|---|
| Penicillin | 2,090 |
| Other Injections | 1,053 |
| Vaccinations | 25 |

## IN-PATIENT DEPARTMENT

| | |
|---|---|
| Normal Labour | 78 |
| Abnormal Labour | 5 |
| TOTAL | 83 |
| Infants born alive | 77 |
| Infants still born | 6 |
| Infants dying first 10 days of life | Nil |

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## RAFAA DISPENSARY

164

| | |
|---|---|
| New Cases | 2,228 |
| Return Cases | 2,486 |
| TOTAL | 4,714 |

**PREDOMINATING DISEASES :**

| | |
|---|---|
| Injuries | 12 |
| Ulcers, Sepsis and Skin Diseases | 205 |
| Diseases of the Eye | 255 |
| Diseases of the Ear, Nose and Throat | 164 |
| Diseases of the Respiratory System | 287 |
| Diarrhoea and Dysentery | 120 |
| Intestinal Parasites | 254 |
| Diseases of the Alimentary System | 164 |
| Malaria | 29 |
| Rheumatic Conditions | 179 |
| Gynaecological Cases | 44 |
| Pregnancy | 90 |
| Abortions | 6 |
| Infectious Diseases | 27 |
| Miscellaneous | 384 |

**OPERATIONS AND INJECTIONS :**

| | |
|---|---|
| Minor Operations | 2 |
| Penicillin | 609 |
| Other Injections | 396 |

## SUQ AL KHAMIS DISPENSARY

| | |
|---|---|
| New Cases | 2,207 |
| Return Cases | 1,267 |
| TOTAL | 3,474 |

**PREDOMINATING DISEASES :**

| | |
|---|---|
| Intestinal Parasites | 747 |
| Ulcers, Sepsis and Skin Diseases | 347 |
| Diseases of the Eye | 177 |
| Diseases of the Ear, Nose and Throat | 158 |
| Diseases of the Respiratory System | 177 |
| Diarrhoea and Dysentery | 95 |
| Other Diseases of the Alimentary System | 77 |
| Malaria | 88 |
| Rheumatism, etc. | 101 |
| Gynaecological Cases | 9 |
| Pregnancy | 12 |
| Abortions | — |
| Infectious Disease | 7 |
| Miscellaneous | 281 |

**INJECTIONS :**

| | |
|---|---|
| Penicillin | 590 |
| Other Injections | 197 |
| Vaccinations | 13 |

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## KARZAKAN DISPENSARY

164

| | |
|---|---|
| New Cases | 1,558 |
| Return Cases | 1,722 |
| TOTAL | 3,280 |

**PREDOMINATING DISEASES :**

| | |
|---|---|
| Intestinal Parasites | 392 |
| Diseases of the Eye | 221 |
| Diseases of the Ear, Nose and Throat | 80 |
| Ulcers, Sepsis and Skin Diseases | 197 |
| Diseases of the Respiratory System | 124 |
| Diarrhoea and Dysentery | 51 |
| Other Diseases of the Alimentary System | 33 |
| Malaria | 61 |
| Rheumatism, etc. | 140 |
| Gynaecological Cases | 6 |
| Pregnancy | 7 |
| Miscellaneous | 246 |

**INJECTIONS :**

| | |
|---|---|
| Penicillin | 522 |
| Other Injections | 129 |

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## WOMEN'S ISOLATION HOSPITAL

| | *Total.* | *Cured.* | *Relieved.* | *D.O.* | *Died.* | *Remaining in Hospital* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pulmonary T.B. | 29 | 1 | 7 | 12 | 1 | 8 |
| Syphilis | 4 | — | 3 | — | — | 1 |
| Leprosy | 9 | — | — | — | — | 9 |
| Total | 42 | 1 | 10 | 12 | 1 | 18 |

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## PUBLIC HEALTH

Report by Dr. J. D. Grant.

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During its first year of existence the Public Health Service had its fair share of growing pains caused chiefly by Staff changes, a shortage of trained technical and clerical personnel and an apathy or lack of education on the part of local bodies and people in matters of hygiene and sanitation. On the other hand, the port and quarantine side functioned smoothly, anti-malaria control measures were extended to cover the whole Island except for a few villages in the southern end, and a Boys' School Medical Service was inaugurated.

**Staff.** Mr. L. J. Hanvey, Public Health Inspector, resigned on the 1st March to rejoin the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company at Aden and was replaced by Mr. F. Burgin who arrived on the 2nd June.

The following new appointments were made :—

Dr. Ali Mustafa, School Medical Officer, 26th November.
Dr. P. P. Mathew, Port Health Officer, 22nd June.

**Trained Personnel.** The shortage of this class of labour was a constant problem, and to fill some of the gaps it was necessary to recruit from Pakistan and India. These sources will have to be tapped further until requirements can be met from Bahrain.

**Hygiene and Sanitation.** Sanitary measures were chiefly confined to the Municipal areas, and in each case the local Council was responsible for carrying out these duties, with the Public Health Authorities acting in an advisory capacity. This arrangement proved unsatisfactory, as for one reason or another, the Baladiyas were very loath to carry out the suggestions offered and most reluctant to implement the recently drawn up Sanitary Bye-laws. At the end of the year it was decided that much stronger action was required and that Health Education by legislation would have to be resorted to where necessary; the Public Health Authorities were therefore invested with summary powers to enforce sanitary measures.

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The absence of a proper sewerage and drainage system continues to be one of the greatest stumbling blocks to any effort or progress in improving the standard of sanitation in Municipal areas. The present rapid rate of building adds daily to the problem and the stage has now been reached when it is imperative to change from the prevailing highly dangerous and obnoxious cesspool method of conservancy and drainage. The impending survey by a consultant Sanitary Engineer with this end in view is being looked forward to eagerly.

Regular inspections resulted in a slight improvement in the standard of cleanliness of restaurants, eating houses, coffee shops, bakeries, aerated water factories and other premises used for the preparation and sale of foodstuffs. In future, licences for these premises will be issued direct by the Public Health Department after they have been inspected and passed as satisfactory and those premises which, after due warning fail to reach the standard required will be closed down. The hawking of foodstuffs will not be permitted unless adequate precautions against contamination by dust and flies are taken and the general sanitary conditions under which this type of business is conducted are satisfactory.

The new fish, meat and vegetable and fruit markets at Quadabiya were opened during the year, but so far have not proved very popular. They set a very good standard with fly proofing, cement floors, washing and drainage facilities and adjacent rubbish receptacles and latrines. A similar type of building is under construction in Manama for the sale of fruit and vegetables. The other Manama markets and all the Muharraq ones are in such an insanitary state that their reconstruction on the above lines is most essential and should be carried out without further delay.

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The standard of domestic sanitation is poor. Dirt, disease and squalor reign in many houses causing much unnecessary sickness at considerable cost to hospital and medical services. Better and cleaner houses and less money spent on drugs and more on drains would be of greater value in the task of promoting health and preventing disease.

1 [presumably A.D. 1952-19[illegible] — Analyst]

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**Anti-Malaria Control.** Control measures were continued on the same lines as in former years linking up with the Oil Company's campaign of the East and West central areas, and in addition a system of residual spraying on a large scale was introduced and the area of activities extended to cover practically the whole of the Island. The maximum labour employed at any time consisted of 27 semi-skilled and 70 unskilled workers under two supervisors.

Malaria transmission is restricted to two periods, the first from March to June, and the second from October to January. Breeding, however, is perennial and the number of breeding places reported and treated was :—

| | Anopheline. | Culex. | Anopheline and Culex. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Town Areas .. .. | 188 | 1,340 | 129 |
| Garden and Country Area .. | 8.050 | 40,617 | 18.163 |
| Total .. | 8,238 | 41,957 | 18,292 |

Town breeding places are water storage containers, exposed sub-soil water, shallow wells, cesspools and faulty drains. The present building campaign is adding daily to the number in the form of cesspools and inadequate drainage. In the gardens and country areas, breeding occurs in badly maintained irrigation channels and drains, wells, borrow pits and stagnant pools resulting from an overflow.

Larvicidal measures consisted of oiling and suspensions to deal with water collections, weeding and canalising water channels and the use of larvivorous fish. A larvicidal oil containing Diesel 70 per cent., crude 20 per cent. and waste motor 10 per cent. with or without D.D.T. 1.5 per cent. was found to be most effective and economical. The measures employed against adult mosquitoes were fogging by Tifa machine, and residual spraying by Knapsack sprayers. Gammexane P.520 and D.D.T. were the chief insecticides used.

The incidence of malaria has been on the decline for some years past and is no longer a major problem. As the disease is not notifiable, it is not possible to define its exact proportions, but a spleen count carried out amongst 4,556 schoolboys gave a rate of enlarged spleen of 3.5 per cent, with the following figures for the most malarious areas :—

| School. | Total number of Boys. | Number of enlarged spleens. | Percentage. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sitra .. .. | 120 | 29 | 24.0 |
| Khamis .. .. | 281 | 48 | 15.0 |
| East Rafaa .. .. | 140 | 21 | 15.0 |
| Tubli .. .. | 60 | 8 | 13.0 |
| West Rafaa .. .. | 63 | 8 | 12.5 |
| Karzakan .. .. | 63 | 6 | 9.5 |

These figures show a decided improvement on those reported in a survey carried out some years ago when the average village spleen rate was much higher. The Bahrain Petroleum Medical Department reported a rate of 3.15 per cent. of malaria cases for the year with 0.4 per cent. occurring in the first transmission period and 2.75 per cent. for the second period. These cases were diagnosed on the presence of parasites in the blood and covered a group of 7,350 local employees from all over the Island.

Both these sets of statistics will be available in the future and will give an indication of the trend of the disease.

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**School Medical Service (Boys).** This service was inaugurated in the early part of the year. The staff consisted of a Medical Officer and an Arab nursing orderly. The scope of the service was routine medical examination of all pupils, treatment of minor illnesses with the referring of the more serious cases to hospital, education in elementary hygiene and the supervision of school sanitation.

1 [A.D. 1952-53 - Analyst]

744 871. There are 19 Boys' Schools on the Islands with an attendance of 4,318 pupils located as follows :—

| School. | | Number of Pupils. |
|---|---|---|
| West Primary | Manama | 666 |
| East Primary | Manama | 195 |
| East Kindergarten | Manama | 453 |
| Secondary | Manama | 165 |
| Technical | Manama | 54 |
| Old Kindergarten | Muharraq | 305 |
| New Kindergarten | Muharraq | 364 |
| Primary | Muharraq | 687 |
| Samhij | | 96 |
| Hidd | | 340 |
| Budayia | | 167 |
| Khamis | | 271 |
| Tubli | | 62 |
| Sanad | | 20 |
| Aali | | 68 |
| Kazakan | | 86 |
| West Rafaa | | 64 |
| East Rafaa | | 136 |
| Sitra | | 119 |
| | Total | 4,318 |

744 871 All these pupils were examined during the year and the results noting the defects and other relevant information recorded on an individual school medical card.

164 145 The most common defects were :—

| Defect | Number cases... | Percentage Town School. | Country School. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Trachoma and Conjunctivitis | 1250 | 20.9 | 52.7 |
| Defective vision | 413 | 7.5 | 15.4 |
| Enlarged tonsils | 223 | 5.5 | 3.9 |
| Enlarged spleens | 182 | 1.4 | 12.3 |
| Skin diseases | 136 | 0.5 | 10.7 |
| Corneal opacities | 88 | 1.6 | 3.2 |
| Squint | 37 | 1.0 | 0.3 |

The number of defects was on the whole, much higher among boys attending country schools than boys at town schools and their rate of growth was slower between the ages of 11 and 16. (Fig. 1). A lower standard of living, malnutrition and poor sanitary conditions in the villages contribute towards this discrepancy but it is hoped that the extension of anti-malarial activities, the school medical service and, if possible, the provision of a school meal, will help to remedy this state of affairs in due course.

The measurement of the weight and height of all pupils was carried out and recorded graphically on each boy's school medical card. This procedure over a number of years should be of immense value in detecting disease and assessing health, as loss of weight, failure to gain, or cessation of growth may be early indications of such various conditions as tuberculosis, sub-acute rheumatism, malnutrition, chronic disease of an essential organ, etc. While every care was taken to ensure reasonable accuracy, the anthropometric technique employed was liable to a certain measure of error as it was not possible to provide at, or carry around to each school, a beam scale weighing machine, or a proper height measuring scale. In addition, it was often difficult to estimate the correct age, as births are not registered in Bahrain, and many children especially in towns, gain admission before the school entrance age of seven years, and are shown as being of that age. As a point of interest, comparative figures in respect of weights and heights between groups of English and Bahrain schoolboys are shown (Fig. 2) from which it will be seen that at all ages, English schoolboys are heavier and taller than Bahrain schoolboys.

The condition of school buildings varied, but in all cases overcrowding was common. The new schools are well built, lighted and ventilated and are provided with ample recreation space and adequate latrines and ablution facilities. Most of the others are reasonably good, but require improvements in lighting, ventilation, condition of floors and desks as the case may be. Samahij is, however, quite unsuitable and a new building is required. Some of the town schools are situated in congested areas and accordingly lack adequate playground space. All country schools must have good washing facilities and the pupils given routine baths. This would reduce their high incidence of disease resulting from dirt and uncleanliness.

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The service has been well received by the teaching staff and has been given their full co-operation and help.

**Port and Quarantine.** The number of people entering Bahrain, their place of entry and the number arriving without valid certificates of vaccination were recorded as follows :—

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| Number of arrivals. | Place of Entry. | Number without valid vaccination certificate. |
|---|---|---|
| 67,172 | Manama Jetty .. .. .. | 9,292 |
| 22,107 | Muharraq Airport .. .. | 721 |
| 2,112 | Muharraq Jetty .. .. | 684 |
| 2,344 | P. C. L. Jetty, Sitra .. .. | nil |
| 111 | Sitra Port .. .. .. | nil |
| Total 93,846 | | 10,697 |

This was an increase of 18,710 arrivals on last year's figures. Once again the heaviest traffic passed through Manama Jetty and also the largest number without vaccination certificates. This traffic was mostly local, coming from neighbouring Gulf ports by launch and dhow and necessitated a strict watch, but no quarantine measure other than vaccination was necessary.

Muharraq Airport still lacks adequate control arrangements for the segregation of passengers from the general public until they have passed through quarantine. To assist in this matter, a separate enclosure has now been provided for non-passengers, but due to lack of organisation it has not achieved its purpose.

The number of arrivals at Muharraq Jetty was small but important in that so many of them did not possess the necessary vaccination certificates.

Neither of the two remaining places of entry at Sitra presented any difficulty.

It was not necessary to place any person, ship or aircraft in quarantine and no case of quarantinable disease occurred during the year.

Medical attention was afforded to 1701 members of ships' crews, 1,258 attending the Port Health Dispensary at Sitra and the remaining 443 at the Public Health Dispensary in Manama. The Bahrain Government Hospital provided hospitalisation facilities and sick personnel from overseas tankers were accommodated in the Bahrain Petroleum Company's hospital. There were 36 heat cases with two deaths, otherwise illnesses were of a routine nature. Attention was again drawn to the inadequacy of arrangements on board many ships plying in the Persian Gulf in respect of insufficient supplies of cold drinking water, medicines, salt tablets, refrigeration, ventilation and air-conditioning facilities.

The Mecca Pilgrimage of the year 1372 Hegira (A.D. 1953). It is estimated that 2,578 pilgrims passed through Bahrain. All came by air, and a transit camp was established at the Airport. There was no case of infectious disease and all possessed the necessary certificates of vaccination against small-pox and cholera.

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Bahrain Port Health Regulations 1952 were drawn up in accordance with International Sanitary Regulations and were put into effect during the year.

**Number of Ships granted Practique**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| After Boarding | | 352 |
| Without Boarding | | 1179 |
| | Total | 1531 |

**Number of Passengers, Dhows and Launches arriving at Bahrain.**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Manama Jetty | | 1558 |
| Muharraq Jetty | | 157 |
| P.C.L. Jetty, Sitra | | 152 |
| | Total | 1867 |

**Number of Passenger Aircraft arriving at Muharraq Airport** .. .. 4348

**Number of Aircraft, Ships or other vessels placed in Quarantine** .. .. nil.

**Number of Deratization Exemption Certificates issued** .. .. .. 38

**Number of Vaccinations and Inoculations carried out against :**

| | |
|---|---|
| Smallpox | 25,840 |
| Cholera | 3,698 |
| Enteric Group | 680 |
| Yellow Fever | 129 |
| Typhus | 120 |
| Plague | 104 |

# EDUCATION

## Boys Schools

(From the report of Mr. Ahmed Umran, Director of Education).

**Schools.** Three new village schools, at Sanad, Tubli and Karzakan, were built and presented to the Government by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The schools were fully furnished and in each place there was space for a playground near the building. His Highness Shaikh Sulman was present at the opening of the Tubli school and His Excellency Shaikh Abdulla, Minister of Education, attended the openings of the other two schools. The gift of these three buildings was much appreciated by the Government and by the people of the villages for which the schools provided education.

A large new school, on the Muharraq sea front, for small boys, was opened at the beginning of the term, with this school and three new village schools, and some additional class rooms in existing schools, it was possible to increase the total number of boys in the state schools by 610.

The building of these three schools roused immediate demands from other villages for schools to be built in their districts. Some of these requests came from villages within easy walking distance from schools. The desire for schools and sometimes for dispensaries is not always governed by real need; the existence of a school now seems to confer on a village a certain cachet. It was decided by His Highness on his return from England that three more village schools should be built by the Government, at Jidhafs, Asker and Jaw, the last place being the most distant inhabited village on the western coast. Towards the end of the year work was begun on these schools.

The growth of schools in the villages has had some repercussions. In the past the Shia villages provided the tenants and labourers in the date gardens, most of which are owned by Sunni Arabs. Landlords now realise that when the village boys acquire education they will no longer be content to work in the gardens, or as fishermen, as their fathers did before them. There is already a shortage of local labour for the date gardens and little competition to lease them. The town-dwelling landlords therefore do not view with enthusiasm the spread of education in the villages.

**Staff.** Every year the expansion of education makes it necessary to employ more teachers; those who complete their training in Bahrain are insufficient and have not enough experience to fill all the posts so each term the number of foreign teachers increases. Among most people this is regarded with disfavour, although there is a tendency among some to assume that because a teacher comes from abroad he must necessarily be better than any local product. Again in 1372 more teachers were recruited from neighbouring countries. The Director of Education, with the valuable assistance of the British Council in Beirut, enlisted 22 Lebanese, Syrians and Palestinians and he obtained from Cairo 5 Egyptians teachers to fill vacancies made by retirements and to provide staff for larger schools. At the end of the year the number of teachers in the boys schools was as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Egyptians | 10 |
| Indians | 2 |
| Syrians | 6 |
| Lebanese | 24 |
| Palestinians | 23 |
| Others | 3 |
| Bahrainis | 136 |
| Total | 204 |

There was a continued improvement in the standard of English in the Secondary School, due principally to its being taught by a British teacher lent to the Government by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. This arrangement has proved extremely successful.

1 [A.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst]

875 **Teachers Training Courses.** Eight students graduated at the end of the school year from the teachers training class for secondary school students. They were posted to village and primary schools. At the beginning of the next term fifteen new students joined the class.

Evening classes for teachers were held during the term with an examination for certificates on the completion of the course.

**Special Courses.** In March, 1953, for the fourth time, the British Council Representative in Basra arranged a week's English course in Bahrain. This time the course was taken by Mr. W. R. Keight, M.B.E., of the British Council and Mr. W. Hedley, the British teacher lent by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The aim of the course was to teach masters and students in training for teachers, the correct use of the Oxford University English Course books.

In the summer eleven senior primary school teachers attended a refresher course at the American University of Beirut which was arranged for teachers from Bahrain and other Arab states. They lived in the British Council Hostel and had their meals in the University.

873 **Higher Education.** Four more boys, who passed out of the Secondary School, went to Beirut University for further education, three of them had scholarships from the Government and one had a scholarship from the Bahrain Petroleum Company. Two students were nominated for scholarships in Baghdad schools, allocated by the Government of Iraq to boys from Bahrain. One of these boys, however, did not take up the scholarship but entered the American University of Beirut at his own expense.

Again some of the Shaikhs and merchants sent their sons, sometimes after finishing only primary education, to schools and colleges abroad, in Beirut, Syria, Egypt and England, in one case a member of the Ruling Family was sent to a University in America. Privately made arrangements for educating young men abroad are not always successful, students who go to Europe, not under the auspices of the Government, seem disinclined to stick to one line of learning, sometimes they wander from one school to another which is an expensive waste of time.

873 177 183 It is very doubtful whether at present the education of Bahrain boys at schools in England is beneficial to them or desirable. A few boys who were at school in England have returned to Bahrain and if they can be taken as typical of the results of a European education then it is clear that the experiment is not usually successful. Parents, who in many cases have never been in Europe, send their sons to English schools with the hope that they will return equipped and eager to help their fathers in their business. The boys return. They have acquired some education, sufficient to make them critical and contemptuous of many things in their own homes and country, they resent having to resume the life which they used to lead and they have no inclination to settle down in Bahrain.

871 The Bahrain schools provide primary education for all and secondary education for a limited number of boys. The standard of education is about on a level with that in similar schools in other states in the Middle East. It is not proposed that higher education should be introduced in Bahrain, this can be obtained in neighbouring Arab countries, particularly at the American University of Beirut where 31 boys from Bahrain are now studying, 16 hold scholarships from the Government, four have scholarships from the Bahrain Petroleum Company and 11 are studying there at their own expense. In addition, the Government has sent six young men to study religion in Mecca and in Iraq.

872 Another 20 Bahrain boys are being educated, at their own expense, in schools and colleges in England and in the Middle East.

658 The policy of the Government is to give scholarships for higher education to boys from Bahrain schools to universities in the Middle East; it does not send boys to schools in England. It does, however, send young men from various government departments to do courses in England in the type of work on which they are employed in Bahrain. These candidates are sent at Government expense or, sometimes, they are granted bursaries by the British Council. This arrangement has produced satisfactory results in the case of men from the Passport Department, Municipalities, Technical School, Electric Department, Public Works Department and State Police. Men who have held positions of some responsibility for some years in Government service are improved by such courses in England and do not return to Bahrain with unsettled minds.

**Secondary School.** At the end of the year there were 168 boys in the school. At the end of the school year 20 boys graduated; nine became school teachers, seven went to Beirut, Egypt and Iraq for higher education and four either joined their parents in business or obtained employment in Saudi Arabia. 873

A new class with a special teacher, was started with the aim of providing a two-years commercial course. The 12 students who joined this class are being taught typewriting, book-keeping and business methods. The course appeared to be very successful and it was decided that a second class, on the same lines should be started next year.

**School Hostel.** There were 84 boarders in the hostel throughout the year, distributed as follows:— 871

| | |
|---|---|
| Attending Secondary School .. .. .. .. | 37 |
| ,, Technical School .. .. .. | 15 |
| ,, Primary Schools .. .. .. | 25 |
| ,, Teachers Training School .. .. .. | 7 |

Yusuf Shirawi continued temporarily to hold the post of Warden, which he relinquished when he went to the United Kingdom to enter Glasgow University.

**Town Primary and Village Schools.** In the towns the four primary and three infants schools were full to capacity throughout the year. In Muharraq a new infants school was opened, owing to lack of space in the Muharraq primary school classes of the lower primary stage were opened in two of the infants schools. In Manama it was not possible to take in all the children who were on the waiting list for admission. 872

Consideration is being given to building more primary and infants schools in Manama and Hidd.

In some of the village schools full primary courses were introduced, up to third form standard. In future village schools will provide a six years programme similar to the course in the town schools.

**Transport.** One of the difficulties in opening more village schools is the matter of transport. Almost all the teachers live in the towns of Manama and Muharraq and even those teachers who came originally from the villages almost invariably move to the towns when they obtain employment as teachers. Local bus services are unorganised and erratic and cannot be depended on. The department has to maintain an expensive transport system for taking teachers to and from schools and for conveying boys to special classes and to games. [487] 872

**Medical.** A school doctor was appointed, under the supervision of the Senior Medical Officer and a system of medical records has been started. The doctor paid regular visits to all the schools and dealt with minor ailments, other cases were passed by him to the Government hospitals.

The health of boys during the year was satisfactory.

**General.** During the Spring holiday a group of boys from the school hostel visited Zubara, on the coast of Qatar, where they camped for several days.

Other young boys went into camp at Safra, near Rafaa.

**Finance.** The amount spent during the year on boys' schools, excluding the cost of building and excluding the Technical School, was Rs. 20,22,500/-. 658 871

The cost of educating one boy at school in Bahrain for a school year, of nine months, was approximately Rs. 400/-.

[H.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst]

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**Statistics.** The numbers of teachers and students in the boys schools at the end of the year was as follows:—

| *School.* | *Teachers.* | *Boys.* |
|---|---|---|
| Secondary School | 20 | 168 |
| Manama West Primary School | 29 | 679 |
| East Primary School | 13 | 298 |
| Muharraq Primary School | 35 | 720 |
| Hidd Primary School | 16 | 356 |
| Manama Infants School | 13 | 475 |
| North Muharraq Infants School | 13 | 388 |
| South Muharraq Infants School | 10 | 358 |
| East Rafaa School | 7 | 154 |
| West Rafaa School | 6 | 73 |
| Budiya School | 7 | 171 |
| Khamis School | 11 | 270 |
| Sitra School | 7 | 135 |
| Samahij School | 4 | 101 |
| Tubli School | 3 | 64 |
| Sanad School | 2 | 23 |
| Karzakan School | 4 | 85 |
| Aali School | 4 | 62 |
| Total | 204 | 4580 |

**Girls Schools**

(Report by Lady Belgrave, Directress of Girls Education)

872

In 1372 three new schools were opened, one in a hired house in Manama, one in a building which used to be a Police station, in Muharraq, and one in West Rafaa.

Zahra School in Manama and Mariam School in Muharraq were made into Kindergarten schools with first and second Primary classes. The school in West Rafaa has only four classes, one Kindergarten and three Primary, as it is only for the children from a group of houses at West Raffa, the other schools cover all the Primary years from class one to class six. It is very much more satisfactory to have the really small children in separate schools. The second year secondary class was started.

We again had excellent reports about the girl at school in the Lebanon, at the end of the year she was transferred to The British Syrian Training College in Beirut where the teaching is in English.

The nurse continued to work in the schools visiting one or two schools each day with very good results, but owing to domestic reasons she resigned at the end of the year. An arrangement was made with one of the dentists to treat children whose teeth needed fillings.

The health and cleanliness of the children has improved very visibly since regular medical work was undertaken.

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Staff is still a problem, especially now that we have the Secondary School. We try not to engage Bahrain teachers with only a Primary certificate, but owing to the fact that the Secondary School has only been in existence for two years there is a gap in the supply of teachers, the better students prefering to continue studying. To bring more teachers from abroad creates a problem of accommodation, but more will have to be enlisted next year.

7[A.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst]

We are already seeing the satisfactory results of having higher qualified teachers in the Kindergarten and lower sections of the schools, the children who are now coming up to the fourth year are much better grounded and able to advance further than the children in the higher classes. Those in school now will certainly make better teachers than their elders. 872

The needlework on show at the Annual Exhibition was as good as ever, although less time had been given to it especially in the higher classes. Undoubtedly many of the girls have a real aptitude for embroidery and it seems a pity not to develop it to the full. 874

There were nine Primary and one Secondary Schools during 1372, with a total of 2272 students. 871

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**Technical School** 874

(From the report of Mr. Said Tabbara, Headmaster, Technical School).

At the beginning of the year there were 66 boys registered as students at the school, 20 in the carpentry section and 46 on the mechanical side, at the end of 1372 (October 1953) the total number of students was 70. In addition to the ordinary students 17 Bapco employees did a special course at the school during the school year.

The school programme was the same as in the previous year and there were no changes in staff. Ahmed Ali Shoumali, one of the local teachers who started as a student in the school and did two years in the Cairo Technical School before becoming a teacher, some years ago, was sent to England for a course of instruction in Technical School teaching.

Transportation of students to and from Muharraq was made in the school bus whose body was built by the students last year.

Six students took their final examination in June 1953, five of them were successful. Two of these young men joined the Bahrain Petroleum Company, one joined the P.W.D. and two others are working in the bazaar.

Both health and attendance at school during the year were satisfactory. The usual show of work done by the students was held in the Spring.

There is at present an urgent need for wiremen in Bahrain and this need will increase when the Gas-Electric Scheme develops. Many of the electricians now working in Bahrain are foreigners though some local men have been successfully trained in the State Engineer's department. The Technical School is to be enlarged by the addition of a large new workshop, new plant is on order to replace some of the existing plant and a new branch is to be opened next year for training students as practical electricians. For this purpose one of the senior students now in the school will be sent to England to do a course and a teacher will be engaged from abroad to take charge of the new branch. This development has been planned in conjunction with the State Engineer. 874 464

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½ [A.D. 15.2.53 -- Analyst]

## MUNICIPALITIES

### MANAMA MUNICIPALITY

(From the report of Mr. Mohamed Saleh Shater, Secretary of the Manama Municipality)

633 795 At the beginning of the year, owing to sectarian differences between Sunni and Shia members in 1371 which caused the resignation of the Shia members, Municipal affairs were being dealt with by a committee of Sunnis. This was the situation until the middle of the year when the Government succeeded in persuading the Shia members to resume their duties on the Council. They returned on the understanding that they would serve for only one year after which an election should be held.

During the latter part of the year the Council functioned in a more or less normal manner; by shelving all matters which might cause controversy between the sects the Council succeeded in performing its duties without serious differences. The situation, however, was not satisfactory.

633 **Finance.** The Financial Committee which drew up the budget was formed from the temporary Sunni committee. Estimated revenue for 1372 was Rs. 7,04,000 and expenditure was assessed at the same figure. The actual revenue exceeded the estimate by Rs. 1,16,000, the expenditure was Rs. 61,000 more than was expected and at the end of the year a surplus of revenue over expenditure amounting to Rs. 61,000 was added to the Reserve which was then Rs. 2,83,000.

651 427 The increase in revenue was due to a great extent to higher receipts from house and shop taxes. There were many new buildings in the town and higher rents were charged for existing buildings, both for houses and shops. House taxes and shop taxes on buildings which are leased are charged on a percentage basis of the rent. Taxation on houses which are occupied by their owners is extremely low in comparison with that of rented premises. A large proportion of the rented houses are occupied by foreigners and most of the houses in which the owners live are occupied by people of the country.

425 653 368 During the year the Municipality sold land to the public at the price of Rs. 35,200 and it purchased a new fire engine for Rs. 48,000. The Government presented to the Municipality a motor-driven trailer fire pump and jeep, a rubbish carrying vehicle and a gully-emptying vehicle.

364 **Municipal activities.** Town cleaning was effected during the year by two trucks and 30 donkey carts, town rubbish was utilised to reclaim a large portion of sea on the shore at Hora, opposite Cable and Wireless premises. The method of employing donkey carts to carry town refuse is not a satisfactory one. An order was placed in England during the summer for small rubbish-carrying vehicles which can be used in narrow streets.

363 A number of roads in the town were metalled, the area dealt with was about 380,000 square feet on which was used 480,000 cubic feet of stone and 105,000 cubic feet of sand, the whole costing approximately Rs. 1,76,000.

363 247 Some progress was made in widening streets in the bazaar area, 112 new street lights were installed and more trees were planted on the roads, unfortunately each year a number of trees are destroyed, by wind or sometimes by rain which when it falls strongly seems to kill both plants and trees.

362 427 There was much building activity both in the town and on the outskirts of the town, numbers of small houses were built for occupation by their owners and more European style bungalows and flats were built for letting. House rents are excessively high, landlords expect to recover the cost of their property in less than ten years, so building houses for letting is at present a profitable investment. However, so many houses are now being built that it seems possible that in a short time there may be more houses than tenants.

633 342 During the year permits for new buildings were issued by the Municipality for 144 stone houses and 100 barasti huts and permits for repairs and additions to 186 shops and 717 houses were also granted.

1 [A.D. 1951-52 -- Analyst]

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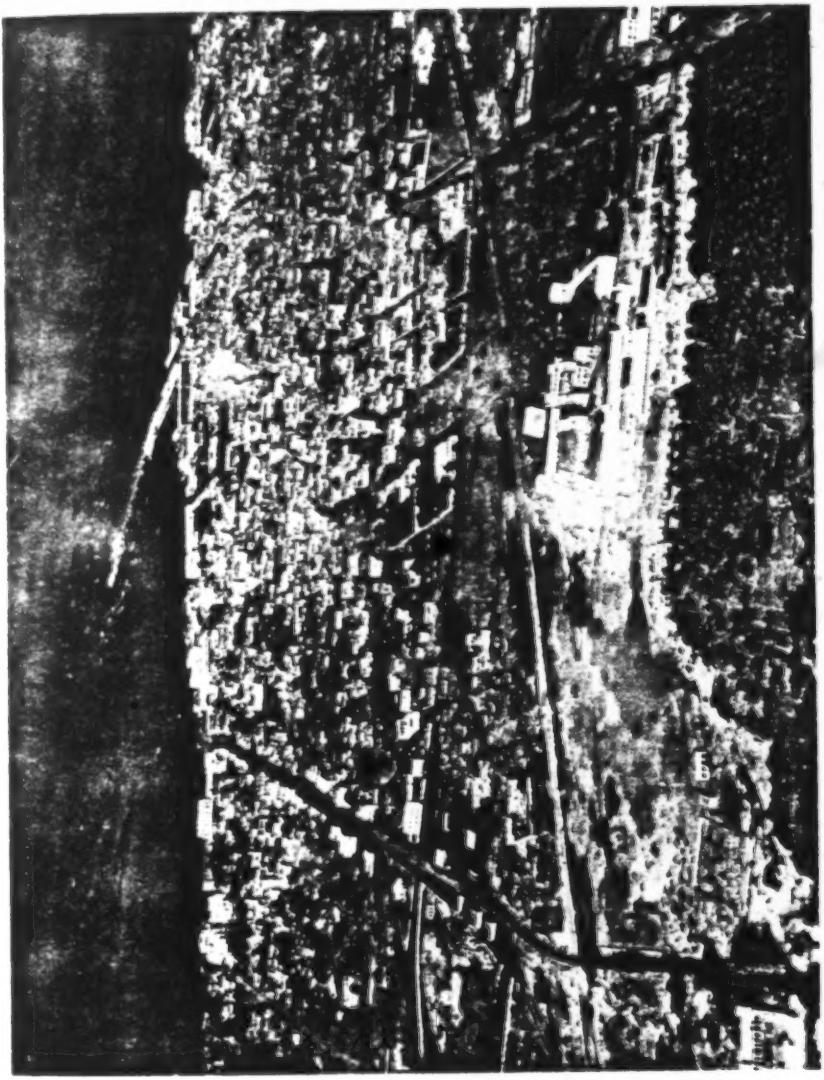

Manama Town from the South. In the foreground, the Fort.

[facing page 30]

[Manama Municipality]

368 The Municipal fire service was called out to deal with 34 fires, some of them occurring in Muharraq and in the villages. The incidence of serious fires was higher than it has ever been before.

633 Among the routine activities carried out by the Municipality was the inspection of 28,462 sheep and goats, 3446 head of cattle and 47 camels, which comprised the meat supply during the year. Pauper burials were provided for 48 persons; this in the past was a rare event, the increase in the number of cases is partly due to there being so many foreigners in Bahrain. Two pieces of low-lying land on the south of the town were raised by a filling of stone and sand, at the owner's expense. A stone wall 1,750 feet long and 5 feet high was built, in the sea, at Government expense, to surround an area of sea which is being reclaimed by filling with town rubbish covered with sand.

The Municipality issued 1,550 permits for building, 884 notices were sent out to people requiring them to repair drains and sewers and 23 cases were filed in the various courts. The temporary council met 21 times and there were 41 meetings of sub-committees.

633 651

## STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE, 1372 *

| Revenue | Rs. | | | Expenditure | Rs. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Shop Tax | 284,817 | 10 | 6 | Staff Salaries P. Fund, etc. | 138,183 | 12 | 6 |
| House Tax | 244,964 | 15 | 0 | Office Expenses | 7,358 | 11 | 0 |
| Government Grant | 100,000 | 0 | 0 | Town Cleaning | 239,742 | 2 | 0 |
| Local Cart Tax | 5,991 | 8 | 0 | Town Lighting | 43,009 | 6 | 0 |
| Slaughterhouse Fees | 27,015 | 0 | 0 | Road Metalling and Repairing | 176,895 | 13 | 3 |
| Rent of Municipal Property | 32,591 | 12 | 0 | Widening Roads | 10,543 | 4 | 0 |
| Miscellaneous taxes and fees | 116,652 | 2 | 6 | Pauper Burials | 3,380 | 0 | 0 |
| Licences of professional trades | 8,082 | 4 | 0 | Upkeep of Municipal property | 9,642 | 8 | 0 |
| | 820,115 | 4 | 0 | Muharraq shares in certain taxes | 25,540 | 3 | 0 |
| | | | | Upkeep of Public W.C's and rubbish bins | 4,259 | 12 | 0 |
| | | | | Miscellaneous | 7,950 | 7 | 6 |
| | | | | Fire Service, Road Spraying and Trees Watering | 72,969 | 1 | 8 |
| | | | | Planting street trees and square gardens | 22,106 | 4 | 0 |
| | | | | Slaughterhouse expenses | 3,565 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | 765,146 | 4 | 11 |
| | | | | Surplus of Revenue | 54,968 | 15 | 1 |
| Total Rs. | 820,115 | 4 | 0 | Total Rs. | 820,115 | 4 | 0 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cash in Bank at the end of 1371 | Rs. | 255,997 | 5 | 0 |
| Cash in Bank at the end of 1372 | | 283,387 | 8 | 10 |

## MUHARRAQ MUNICIPALITY

(From the report of Mr. Ibrahim Khalfan, Municipal Secretary)

633 652 **Finance.** When the 1372 budget was made a deficit of Rs. 1,59,000 was anticipated. As usual the Finance Committee of the Council planned to spend very much more than they could possibly hope to receive. This year, however, the reckless financial methods of the Council met with more success than they deserved as His Highness Shaikh Sulman made a special grant of 1 lakh from the Privy Purse to the Muharraq Municipal funds. Owing to this unexpected windfall instead of ending the year with a deficit of almost a lakh the revenue exceeded the expenditure by over Rs. 3,000/-.

* [A.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst]

[Muharraq Municipality]

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There was a small increase in house tax collections but the sum of Rs. 3,370/-, owing to the Municipality, was written off as most of the 853 persons who were indebted had left Bahrain, which suggests some laxity on the part of tax collectors. Shop taxes, including market tax, produced less than in 1371. Shops are divided into two categories and pay Rs. 2/- and Rs. 1/8 per month, which is a very low rate, they should be assessed according to the rentals.

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The total expenditure was Rs. 3,23,600, it was Rs. 66,000 less than the estimated expenditure but exceeded the previous year's expenditure by Rs. 83,000. The largest item of expenditure was on widening roads and most of this amount was spent on compensating house owners for cutting part of their property.

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**Municipal Activities.** Two roads were surfaced with cold patch and another road was metalled and surfaced by the P.W.D., 58 new street lights were installed. The usual town cleaning services were effectively carried out and Municipal Officials were active in supervising the sale of fresh fruit and in inspecting animals in the slaughterhouse.

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During the year 16 new stone houses were built and 1,500 permits were issued for repairing stone houses and shops. Only 53 permits were issued for building or repairing barastis, as against 200 in the previous year. There were 285 unoccupied houses and compounds.

There was some building activity on the northern edge of the town where building plots have been bought from the Government and from the Municipality by persons wishing to build stone houses.

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On his return from England His Highness decided that a public garden should be made on the north side of Muharraq on a large triangular piece of land which was reclaimed from the sea shore by being filled with town rubbish.

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The Finance Committee at the end of the year again submitted a budget showing an anticipated deficit of Rs. 86,000.

## STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE. 1372

| Revenue | | | | Expenditure | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| House Tax | Rs. 41,169 | 3 | 9 | Staff Salaries | Rs. 72,698 | 3 | 6 |
| Shop Tax | 23,860 | 9 | 0 | Office Expenditure | 3,450 | 0 | 0 |
| Government Grant | 1,00,000 | 0 | 0 | Transport | 41,010 | 0 | 6 |
| H.H. Grant* | 1,00,000 | 0 | 0 | Upkeep of Roads | 55,874 | 7 | 0 |
| Wood, Ghee and Sheep Tax | 26,673 | 3 | 6 | Widening of Roads | 91,834 | 4 | 0 |
| Rent of Municipal property | 20,731 | 5 | 0 | Town Cleaning | 43,050 | 8 | 6 |
| Building and Mason fees | 3,928 | 8 | 0 | Town Lighting | 4,531 | 1 | 0 |
| Miscellaneous Taxes and Fees | 9,248 | 7 | 0 | Upkeep of Public Wells | 2,180 | 6 | 0 |
| Water Rent | 1,699 | 0 | 0 | Pauper Burials | 5,104 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | Miscellaneous Fees | 3,190 | 3 | 0 |
| | | | | Upkeep of Municipal Property | 373 | 12 | 0 |
| | | | | Poor Relief | 381 | 2 | 0 |
| | | | | | Rs. 3,23,678 | 0 | 6 |
| | | | | Surplus of Revenue | 3,632 | 3 | 9 |
| | Rs. 3,27,310 | 4 | 3 | | Rs. 3,27,310 | 4 | 3 |

*Rs. 70,859/- was paid direct to the Government to settle its outstanding account.

4: Bahrain G-S (no date) 1953 M22 Bahrain MZ2

361

Muharraq Town and the Causeway.
In centre foreground, a fish trap.

[facing page 32]

## HIDD MUNICIPALITY

651 683 Finance. The total revenue was Rs. 28,739, slightly higher than in 1372. At the end of the year there was a surplus of Rs. 6,102. The amount expended was almost the same as in the previous year. At the end of the year His Highness granted Rs. 25,000 to the Municipal funds for building property to increase the Municipal revenue.

The town was clean and well kept and some progress was made in widening the one main street which passes through the length of the town.

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## RAFAA MUNICIPALITY

### which includes East, West and North Rafaa

(From the report of Shaikh Abdulla bin Khalid, President of the Municipal Council)

651 683 363 This Municipality, the last one to be formed in Bahrain, having been established in 1371, carried out its duties successfully during the year. Its revenue was Rs. 37,000 of which Rs. 20,000 was a grant from the Government.

Houses were registered and numbered for the purpose of charging house tax and a piece of land below East Rafaa was laid out as a building area, in conjunction with the Land Department. The Municipality began work on widening the road which passes through East Rafaa and removed part of some houses in order to widen this road.

365 Repairs were carried out to Ain Hinaimyah, the old well on the plain below East Rafaa which provides fresh drinking water, which used to be sold in Manama at a high price, being of superior quality to the artesian well water.

364 Ancient rubbish heaps, which disfigured the edge of the town, were removed and the material was used to fill in deep pits, inside the town, where mud had been dug for building houses.

The Municipality began to establish a regular town cleaning service.

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## MINORS' ESTATES DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Mr. Mohammed Dowaiger, Superintendent of the Department)

471 657 The Department took over the administration of 15 new estates and dealt with 28 compensation cases relating to persons in the employment of the Bahrain Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The value of the estates was Rs. 131,000. Compensation paid by the Bahrain Petroleum Company in cases of death or disablement of employees is passed by the Government to the Minors' Estates Department which pays the persons who are entitled to receive compensation.

657 427 Rents of property administered by the Department produced almost 2 lakhs, the number of properties, including shops, houses, gardens, etc., was 530. The Department sold nine lots of property during the year, for approximately half a lakh and made purchases amounting to Rs. 0,000. The sum of Rs [illegible]000 was recovered from divers who were in debt to various estates.

657 736 Disbursements for maintenance amounted to Rs. 108,800, almost exactly the same sum as was paid out in the previous year. At the beginning of the year the number of orphans and widows who were drawing allowances was 442, of these 36 attained majority and took over their property, cash payments to them totalled Rs. 182,500.

657 682 The Department built four houses in Manama and Muharraq and carried out repairs to a number of other buildings, the expenditure under this heading was Rs. 78,000.

As usual the funds held by the Department together with funds placed at its disposal by the Government were given out on loan to the public, at interest, secured by title deeds of immovable property or gold. The rates of interest charged by the Department are low in comparison to those prevailing in the market.

During the year the Government placed with the Department a further 2½ lakhs, making its total deposit Rs. 10,80,000.

Interest on loans collected during the year was Rs. 1,46,000, there is a scale of interest depending upon the amount of the loan, the average rate of interest during the year was 6 per cent.

Loans repaid to the Department during the year amounted to Rs. 19,29,000, about 3 lakhs more than in 1371, new loans, made to the public, were approximately 24½ lakhs. At the end of the year 24½ lakhs were on loan to the public.

## DEPARTMENTAL ACCOUNT

| Receipts | | | Expenditure | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Balance from 1371 .. | Rs. | 16, 585 6 10 | Maintenance allowances, etc. | Rs. | 1,08,876 9 0 |
| From estates and compensation cases | | 1,31,249 1 8 | Purchase of properties .. .. | | 9,330 0 0 |
| Rents .. .. | | 1,96,394 13 4 | Upkeep of buildings and additions .. | | 78,325 15 11 |
| Refund of Loans .. | | 19,29,600 0 0 | Payments to the beneficiaries | | 1,82,511 10 0 |
| Interest on Loans .. | | 1,46,040 0 0 | Loans advanced .. | | 24,40,250 0 0 |
| Deposits .. .. | | 2,09,051 12 5 | Balance in the Eastern Bank | | 1,25,205 9 1 |
| Loan from Government | | 2,50,000 0 0 | | | |
| By sale of properties .. | | 50,451 4 3 | | | |
| Debts recovered .. | | 15,127 5 6 | | | |
| Total | Rs. | 29,44,499 12 0 | Total | Rs. | 29,44,499 12 0 |

## LAND REGISTRATION DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Mr. Abdul-Aziz Al Saleh, acting Superintendent of the Department)

423 651 495 **Land Registration.** There were 1,072 transactions during the year which included 628 sales, 262 registration of titles and 182 gifts; the properties which were dealt with consisted of 273 plots of ground, most of them being building sites, 82 gardens, 47 shops and 26 miscellaneous lots. Fees amounting to Rs. 1,27,975 were collected of which Rs. 1,20,781 was derived from sales and Rs. 7,194 from registration of titles, etc

**Sales and Land Values.** The aggregate value of the property which was sold was approximately 40 lakhs, £300,000. In the previous year prices reached a somewhat higher figure but they included several sales of large areas of land on the edge of Manama. There has been no fall in land prices and there are no indications of a change in the situation. High prices are still being paid for building sites in Manama on which European style houses, flats and bungalows, are being built, which are let at excessively high rents. When the demand for houses of this type begins to lessen then rents will decrease and there are some signs that this event is not far off, several recently built houses have "To Let" notices on their doors. At present as much as Rs. 1,000/- per month is being charged for a three-bedroom, dining-sitting-room bungalow on the Jufair Road.

A recent satisfactory development has been the demand by working class men to buy small building plots in Manama, Muharraq, Hidd and Rafaa. The building loan schemes of the Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company have stimulated this development. At one time people were satisfied to live in hired houses or barastis for which they paid rent but now, partly owing to the rapaciousness of landlords and partly because it has become everyone's ambition to own the house in which he lives, there is an active demand for plots of ground on which small houses can be built. Unfortunately the Government owns very little land in and around Manama and nobody wishes to live even at a short distance from the bazaar, the schools and the cinemas.

The most important sales were an Arab style house in the southern district of Manama, on Shaikh Isa Road, which was sold for Rs. 200,000 and a plot of land in the Qudhabia district which was bought by the Government as a site for workmen's dwellings for Rs. 2,57,000, at Rs. 2/5 per square foot. The Government sold 87 plots of land, in various places, for Rs. 3.50,000. Land on the edge of the towns of Manama and Muharraq was sold at prices ranging from Rs. 1/4 to Rs. 3/- per square foot. Thirty building plots were sold at East Rafaa, on the plain below the town, to residents of Rafaa, at 2 Annas per square foot. Land on this site was marked out as a residential area with rows of plots of uniform depth along future roads. At the end of the year a few purchasers had begun to build stone houses on the ground which they bought.

**Legislation.** In Safar (October 1952) an important Ordinance was issued which prohibited all persons subject to Bahrain jurisdiction from disposing of any property except to Bahrain subjects. An extension of this order was issued later providing for the contingency of heirs in an estate of a Bahrain subject being themselves foreign subjects. The result of these Ordinances was that not only were Bahrain subjects restricted from selling their property to foreigners but all persons subject to Bahrain jurisdiction, Persians, subjects of Saudi Arabia and of other Gulf States, were restricted from selling their property to each other or to nationals of other countries. Only foreigners not under the jurisdiction of the Bahrain Courts were free to sell their property to other foreigners. The object of the Government is to prevent land in Bahrain from being alienated and it is hoped that in future this legislation will be further extended to preclude all foreigners in Bahrain from disposing of their property to any persons who are not Bahrain subjects.

The imposition of this ordinance caused some resentment among foreigners especially among Saudi Arabians and Persians who in the past have acquired extensive property in Bahrain. This ordinance was probably the cause of some reduction in the number of large land sales during 1372.

One of the reasons why the Government now has so little land at its disposal in Manama and on the outskirts of the town is because in the past large pieces of land were either sold or given to Persians and Saudi Arabians. In the former category is one of the principal landowners in the town. The only area of any size, suitable for development as a housing area, is the land on the south-west of Manama which is now occupied by the installations of Cable and Wireless Ltd. Arrangements are being made for the Company to move out into the country to a site on the Aali plain, but this move will take some time to be carried out.

**Rents of Government Shops.** The Department collected rents amounting to Rs. 51,000/- from the shops in Barrett Road and from the flat above the Post Office and Rs. 20,000/- from rents of 26 plots of land which were let on leases. Temporary leases of land produced Rs. 3,800.

659 133 **Aerial Survey.** One of the most important items in general use is a map, and throughout history it has been found that the mapping of new areas has been among the first of man's activities.

114 The first reliable maps of Bahrain was produced in 1905, following a survey of the island which was carried out under the direction of Lieut. Colonel F. B. Longe, R.E., Surveyor-General of India. This map, copies of which can still be obtained in the Land Department, is a very good map and shows towns, villages, tracks, mounds and contours, but as it was produced many years ago, since when there have been many changes in the towns and villages and in the area under cultivation, it was thought desirable to carry out a new survey. Messrs. Hunting Aerosurveys Ltd., were commissioned to make an aerial survey of Muharraq Island, Manama town and the area south of Manama as far as the coast. This work was carried out in December 1951. In May 1952 the survey was extended by arrangement with the Bahrain Petroleum Company to cover the whole of Bahrain Island and the neighbouring islands.

During the first survey both vertical and oblique photographs were taken and by the end of 1952 a considerable amount of interesting material had arrived in Bahrain. It consisted of 51 oblique photographs produced in two sizes, 10-in. × 12-in. and 5-in. × 5 in. The series of vertical photographs covered the whole of the area which had been included in the survey.

From the vertical photographs maps were produced, one covering the whole of Muharraq Island, Muharraq town in seven sections at a scale of 200 feet to an inch, the area south east of Manama as far as Jufair, also in seven sections, on a scale of 200 feet to an inch and the town of Manama in thirteen sections, one for each district, a scale of 100 feet to an inch. In addition, mosaics of Manama and Muharraq were produced. All these photographs and mosaics are on sale to the public and can be obtained from the Land Department.

Following the first survey, the Bahrain Petroleum Company made available to the Government all the material which they had obtained from the aerial survey which had been carried out on their behalf and they also provided valuable information from their land surveys which included an initial survey of the town of Manama which was done some months before the aerial work. Last year all the available information was collected and a map was hand-drawn on the basis of this information. Hunting Aerosurveys was instructed to produce a map of Bahrain, in four colours, on the scale of 1 inch to the mile. The map is now in the hands of the printers. It will cover the whole of Bahrain and Muharraq islands as well as the nearby smaller islands, but not the Hawar group. It will contain inserts showing the town areas of Manama, Muharraq and Awali. This map will be on sale in London and New York, as well as in Bahrain, on plain paper or mounted on linen or folded on linen. To produce this map information has been obtained from the Survey of India Office, the Royal Geographical Society and the Bahrain Petroleum Company and from the War Office map of 1939 and with the information now available it will be a reasonable task to revise the map, in future, should it require again bringing up to date after some years have passed.

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## SUNNI WAQF DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Shaikh Atiyyatallah bin Abdurrehman AlKhalifah, Superintendent of the Department)

647 871 795 The Department is controlled by a committee of Sunni merchants and by a Superintendent and clerical staff, the latter are paid by the Government. All Waqf property is administered by the Department which pays out of the revenue collected from the property the salaries and emoluments of mosque officials, it also contributes towards the cost of the religious school in Manama and towards the expenses of some young men who are studying religion abroad.

During the year the Department sent a deputation consisting of one of the members of the committee and the Superintendent to Kuwait to make a claim for the Waqf funds from the large and very valuable building on the Sea Road west of the Customs pier. This building was acquired by one Hilal Al Materi a Kuwaiti pearl merchant. He dedicated it as a Waqf for charitable purposes, not specifying whether the funds should be spent in Bahrain or in Kuwait. The Sunni Waqf Department obtained an opinion on the case from Al Azhar in Cairo supporting their claim that the Waqf should be spent in the country where the property was situated. The Deputation was not received with any enthusiasm in Kuwait, some sort of compromise was arrived at but at the end of the year the Department had not received any contribution from the Waqf towards charitable objects in Bahrain.

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## PASSPORT DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Mr. Kadhim Al Asfoor, Passport Officer)

**Revenue.** The total revenue was Rs. 53,789/-, about Rs. 19,000 less than was collected in 1371. This decrease was due to a shortage of book passports which were being printed in England. Some changes were made in the new passports which now contain the name of the holder on the outside of the cover as well as inside it. A further change in the wording is "date of birth" instead of "age," though at present very few of the people who use the passports know either the date of their birth or their age. Revenue from Travel Passes was Rs. 22,339, from entry forms, Rs. 8,236 and from miscellaneous forms Rs. 5,041.

**Pilgrims.** Only 280 persons did the Pilgrimage to Mecca, this number included 19 Persians, long resident in Bahrain who were granted passport facilities to perform the pilgrimage. Over 3,500 Shia pilgrims visited the Holy Cities of Iraq, an increase of about 500 over the previous year's number. These pilgrims included many people from the villages. Some of them crossed from Iraq to Persia and visited the Shia shrines of Persia. Such journeys are lengthy and expensive and the increase in the number of Shia pilgrims every year is an indication of prosperity among the working classes.

About 200 Arabs from Bahrain went to the Lebanon, mostly during the summer, this was about half the number who travelled there last year. In spite of inducements by the Government of the Lebanon to encourage tourists from the Gulf the people of Bahrain are beginning to find that they cannot afford to pay the excessively high prices which prevail in Beirut and in mountain resorts. The much advertised wealth of certain Gulf states seems to have caused the people of the Lebanon to regard any Arab from the Gulf as a rich traveller and a potential spender.

| | | *Arrivals.* | *Departures.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Passengers.** | By Air .. .. .. | 22,542 .. | 23,758 |
| | By steamers .. .. | 13,206 .. | 13,136 |
| | By Country Craft .. .. | 34,220 .. | 35,228 |

Number of dhows and launches visiting Bahrain : 4,958.

During the year 1,077 gratis passes were issued to Shaikhs, their followers, teachers and students. Numerous members of the Ruling Family with their followers went on hunting trips to Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Kuwait.

During the diving season 496 Persian divers were allowed to land in Bahrain and to return to Persia after the diving season.

† [Sunni Waqf Department -- Ed.]

486 167 186 **Abolition of visas.** An order was issued at the beginning of the year allowing nationals of Oman, the Trucial Coast, Muscat, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the Yemen to enter Bahrain without being in possession of visas for Bahrain, issued by the British Consular or other authorities, provided that they had valid national passports or travel documents endorsed for Bahrain. Unfortunately this arrangement enabled a large number of Persians to enter Bahrain carrying travel papers describing them as being subjects of Trucial Shaikhdoms. The Government has no wish to restrict Arabs from other parts of the Gulf from coming to work in Bahrain, where there is still a demand for unskilled labour, but it views with distaste any increase in the Persian minority which exists in Bahrain. When it became evident that a number of Persians were entering Bahrain under the guise of being permanent residents of Oman or the Trucial Coast the passport authorities were ordered to allow such persons to remain in Bahrain not longer than 15 days. It is estimated that during the year about 9,075 immigrants from Oman and the Trucial Coast entered Bahrain in order to find work, they were issued with permits to remain in Bahrain for one year, subject to renewal. In almost every case the immigrants were men.

486 687 696 167 **Illegal Entries.** The number of persons who were arrested and repatriated to their countries, having attempted to enter the country without travel documents, was 124, consisting of 68 Pakistanis, 23 Omanis and 33 Persians. The number of persons who succeeded in entering Bahrain without being caught is undoubtedly large. The Pakistanis crossed the Gulf to Muscat by dhows and continued their journey by foot up the coast to Doha, there they chartered a dhow to take them to the nearest port in Saudi Arabia, on their way to Mecca. The Nakhuda, however, landed them on the Bahrain coast, somewhere near Jaw, probably telling them that it was the coast of Arabia. These unfortunate pilgrims were eventually sent back by steamer to Karachi.

During the year the Bahrain courts heard four cases against Bahrain Nakhudas who had landed passengers in Bahrain knowing that they were illegal entrants. They were severely dealt with. Most of the passenger smuggling is done by Qatar Nakhudas who land the people on unfrequented stretches of coast or on shoals on the Eastern side of Bahrain. Two Persian Nakhudas were prosecuted in the Agency Courts and sentenced to imprisonment and fines for the same offence.

In January 1953 information was received that a certain Persian Nakhuda, Ghulam Reza, a naturalised Bahrain subject, had arranged to ship a number of Persians to Bahrain. His launch arrived with 63 Persians on board who were refused permission to land, not being in possession of papers. They were transferred to another launch bound for Kuwait. Later some of the same passengers were found in Manama and it was discovered that the Nakhuda had, after leaving Bahrain, transferred the passengers to another vessel and landed them on the coast where they were met by motor buses which conveyed them to Manama. Ghulam Reza was subsequently arrested, prosecuted, imprisoned for one year and fined Rs. 4,000. His charge was Rs. 150 a head for landing Persians in Bahrain.

641 **Bahrain Nationality.** During the year 31 applications were received from people of various nationalities applying for Bahrain nationality. Of these 19 were accepted, being from persons long resident in Bahrain and possessing immovable property ; three of these were Indian subjects and three were Pakistanis. The courts investigated 44 applications by Persians who claimed to have been born in Bahrain. Proof of birth, especially in the case of older people, cannot easily be produced. Only 9 of these applicants were able to prove that they were born in the country. At the beginning of the year an order was issued to the effect that no Persian whose application for Bahrain nationality was accepted would be issued with a passport until two years had elapsed from the date on which he was granted nationality. As a result of this order only a small number of Persians submitted applications. The main object of the Persians who applied for Bahrain nationality was to obtain passports with which to enter Saudi Arabia where their presence was not appreciated.

874 **Passport Offjcial's Course.** Ali bin Abdulla, a clerk in the Passport Department, did a course in England studying and learning passport and immigration methods and procedure. The course was arranged by the British Government, the results appear to be satisfactory.

## JUDICIAL

(From the report of Mr. Salim Al Arayedh, Superintendent, Judicial Department)

The number of cases of all kinds which were filed in the Senior Court, consisting of Shaikh Daij bin Hamed and Shaikh Ali bin Ahmed, sitting separately except on one day of the week when both sit together with the Adviser, was 1158. This was 258 more than in the previous year. The cases consisted of 451 civil suits of which 15 related to administration of estates, 430 criminal charges, including a number of trivial matters which would not usually be dealt with by a senior court, and 227 land registration cases. The increase over the previous year was mainly due to the court having acquired jurisdiction over nationals of other Gulf States. Of these cases 167 were civil suits. 691

In all the courts civil suits predominate and a high proportion of them are concerned with immovable property. The high value of land, especially in the towns, has made the public more conscious of the importance of boundaries and the worth of property. There has been much litigation over inheritance and shares in houses and gardens. Heirs in estates who in the past were content to live together in one building now apply to the courts for an order to divide the property so that they may sell their shares in it. Because such high prices can be obtained for land anybody who can claim even a small share in a building or a garden takes his case to the courts. 691 423 428

It has been noticed in the Appeal Court too that questions of land ownership and boundaries have predominated.

There were no important civil cases and, apart from traffic offences, no serious crimes. A man stabbed his brother during a quarrel, inflicting "grievous hurt" for which he was sentenced to four years rigorous imprisonment and in two fatal traffic accidents drivers of vehicles were sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment and to pay fines of Rs. 5,000/-. In certain traffic offences the occupants of cars ran away which suggests that they were probably under the influence of liquor when the accidents occurred. 681 697

Fines amounting to Rs. 7,623/- were paid into court and the sum collected in court fees was Rs. 43,599.

In the small courts 1,964 new cases were filed, 1,668 cases were disposed of and at the end of the year 692 cases were pending. The courts issued 506 execution orders leaving 155 to be dealt with at the end of the year. 691

The Sunni and Shia Courts heard 269 and 172 cases respectively leaving 119 and 51 cases pending. Out of 129 cases which were referred to the Majlis Tajara for an opinion 94 cases were returned to the courts and 35 cases were pending.

The Sunni Shera Court did not work smoothly during the year owing to differences of opinion among the three Kadis, two of them being of the Maliki and one of the Shafi Sect. At one time all cases were judged according to the Maliki tenets, this being the sect of the Ruling Family, but some years ago the Government issued a direction to the court according to which if the plaintiff, or both parties, followed the Shafi doctrine then their case should be tried according to Shafi law. 692 693

There has also been criticism of the Maglis Tajara which consists of a group of leading merchants appointed by the Government who give opinions on commercial matters and local custom. They are busy men and they receive no pay and when it is inconvenient for them to attend the court, and it is frequently inconvenient, they do not appear. Often less than half of the number are present. In addition, they are closely connected either as competitors or partners and it is sometimes difficult for them to give impartial opinion.

The Shia Appeal Kadi gave judgment in 18 cases, the Senior Appeal Court heard 27 cases and the Junior Appeal Court dealt with 28 cases.

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671

Among a small but vociferous section of the public there is a demand for a Code. This would be of great help to the Magistrates in the Court but as most of the cases which they hear are civil cases some sort of civil code is required even more than a criminal code. There is also criticism of the lack of legal qualifications of the magistrates, who are members of the Ruling Family. None of them have had legal training though some of them have had long experience of local court work. This is a relic of the days when the chief men of a tribe used to dispense justice to the members of the tribe. In the past the arrangement worked well enough but times have changed and the type of people who now appear in court are better educated, more sophisticated and more critical than they used to be.

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## POLICE AND PUBLIC SECURITY

(From the report of Shaikh Khalifah bin Mohamed AlKhalifah, Director of Police and Public Security)

625

**Strength.** At the end of the year the strength of the Police and Natur forces was as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Superintendents .. .. .. .. | 3 |
| Inspectors .. .. .. .. | Nil |
| Sub-Inspectors .. .. .. .. | 3 |
| N.C.O's and Men .. .. .. .. | 299 |
| Followers, Clerks, Boatmen, etc. .. .. | 46 |
| Armed Naturs .. .. .. .. | 261 |

Three Police Inspectors were promoted to Superintendents and the post of the State Superintendent of Police was changed to Director of Police and Public Security.

During the year 53 recruits were enlisted, 30 men were granted their discharge, 2 were dismissed, 4 deserted and one died. The Naturs were increased by 7 men.

**Duties.** There was no change in the regular police duties which, as before, absorbed about half of the force. These duties included police posts, standing guards, police station personnel, traffic and jail duties and land and sea patrols. Musketry courses were fired by 271 N.C.O's and Men and by 4 Officers.

The camel section, which eventually became a picturesque but expensive survival, was done away with ; 11 camels were sold and one died and the men were posted to other sections. Patrol work previously done by the camel section can be carried out more economically and more efficiently by car patrols.

The health of the Police was good, the sick parade average was 5.7 per cent. against 6.2 per cent. in the previous year ; 44 men were in-patients at the Government Hospital as against 52 in 1371.

An N.C.O. with many years service in the force, Naik Juma Ali Taimoor, was run over by a car, when he was sitting outside a shop, and killed.

Earned leave was taken by 80 men of the State Police, most of them spent their leave in Bahrain ; 71 Naturs took earned leave.

Pay, rations and allowances were the same as in 1371.

**Stores.** Among the stores which were purchased during the year were blankets, boots, saddlery and spares for guns and rifles. Brass numerals to be worn by every N.C.O. and policeman were imported from the United Kingdom. In the past no numbers were worn.

At the end of the year the amount in the Police Provident Fund was Rs. 2,11,507. The balance of the Police Fund was Rs. 11,563/-, the sum of Rs. 5,744/- was paid out in loans to Police and Naturs, most of the payments being for building or repairing houses.

**Crimes and Accidents.** There was a slight increase in the number of serious crimes which is thought to be partly due to the large influx of foreigners, especially Omanis, during recent years.

On 25th January, 1953, some Omanis who were living in the brothel area, missed one of their party, Abdulla bin Salim. They went to his house which was found to be locked. One of them climbed over the wall and on entering the house he found Abdulla with his throat cut. The victim was a bad character, a procurer in the brothel area. Police investigations produced no evidence to justify a prosecution.

On 13th December, 1952, a youth named Abdul Husain bin Isa, who worked as a car cleaner and who habitually slept in a garage in Manama, was found by the owner of the garage, when he came to take out his car, lying dead on his bed with a wound in his back and signs of having been throttled. The garage doors were locked, one key was in the possession of the youth and the owner of the garage had another key. The garage, however, could have been entered by an inner door. There appeared to be no motive for the murder as the victim was not of the type to be associated with an affair of sex. The Police arrested the owner of the garage and his brother and laid a charge of murder against them in the Bahrain Court. The family of the murdered man were insistent that he had been murdered by the owners of the garage. The case was heard and the accused were acquitted owing to lack of evidence.

On 17th May, 1953, one Abdul Husain bin Haji Sulman bin Khalaf, a local Bahraini, was walking in a lane near his house, at night. His brother, Ibrahim, came on him from behind and stabbed him twice with a knife. He was seriously injured but after hospital treatment he recovered. The reason for the attack was a family quarrel. The attacker was sentenced to four years imprisonment with hard labour.

On 7th November, 1952, two men were cleaning their hands with petrol at one of the garages in Manama. Another man lit a match which ignited the petrol causing serious burns to both of the men one of whom subsequently died in hospital.

An Omani came from Dubai and reported to the Police that two years before his son, aged 18, who was working in a garage in Bahrain, died from burns. It was established that the boy had died in hospital as a result of burns but no evidence was forthcoming about the cause of the burns.

A man who was arrested for pickpocketing attempted to commit suicide by cutting his throat with a razor blade, in the Police Station.

There were two deaths from electrocution. A boy of 12 years caught hold of an electric wire in a shop and was killed, and a man climbed an electric standard, in order to catch birds, touched a live wire and was killed immediately.

Five cases of accidental drowning occurred, two men were lost when their small fishing craft capsized, an old man, reputed to be nearly 100 years old, fell into the sea from a fishing boat during stormy weather off Barbar and two children were drowned on the shore west of Manama town. In none of these cases was there any suggestion of foul play.

On 23rd August, 1953, some boys were out shooting on the shore near Jasrah. A shot from the gun of Mohamed Ahmed Al Ghatam entered the neck of one Ibrahim bin Mohamed Al Khalifah and killed him. The owner of the gun immediately left Bahrain. His father was ordered to pay Rs. 5000 to the relatives of the victim and to remove himself from Jasrah and an order was passed against the son forbidding him to return to Bahrain for an indefinite period. The families were related and were branches of the Ruling Family.

There were 280 cases of theft reported to the Police against 303 cases in 1371. Of these cases 55 were presented in Court, 133 cases were undetected and 92 cases were not proceeded with for lack of evidence. Most of the cases were pickpocketing and thefts of clothes.

674 The following were some of the more serious cases of theft ; clothing and money were stolen from people staying in a local hotel in the bazaar, money was stolen from a house in Rafaa and a radio and carpet was stolen from the house of a member of the American Mission. In all these cases the thieves were caught and the stolen property was recovered. In 11 other cases thefts of money, jewellery, wearing apparel, etc., were reported to the Police. In some instances persons were prosecuted for theft, but acquitted and in other cases no evidence was obtained.

Five Pakistanis were prosecuted for "bilking" shop keepers.

674 273 Fewer persons than in the previous year were convicted for contravention of liquor and drug regulations, this does not, however, indicate any decrease in the habit of drinking which among certain classes is becoming almost universal. Altogether 24 persons were prosecuted for distilling, selling and being in possession of liquor and for dealing in hashish and opium.

548 276 In one case a Palestinian was found to be in possession of 15 lbs. of opium. There is every reason to believe that an active trade in opium is carried on through Bahrain to the West. It is brought to Bahrain from Persia and India via the Trucial Coast and then conveyed on to ships in the harbour which carry it to Europe or the United States.

731 **Fires.** There were a number of serious fires during the year in which many people lost their barasti houses and their possessions. Most of the fires were caused by pressure stoves or lamps which ignited Saaf (palm branch) houses. There were no cases of arson.

The most serious fire was in the Telegraph area where 75 houses were completely destroyed together with their contents. A very strong wind fanned the fire which was only prevented from spreading over another area of barasti houses by wide roads on three sides of the site. This was one of the worst fires known in Bahrain. It appears to have been caused by an old blind man who knocked over a fire or a lamp in his house which lit the palm branch walls of the building. No lives were lost. In the village of Mahooz 55 houses were destroyed in one fire a few of these houses had mud and-stone walls and matting roofs. In other fires, some of them in Manama and some in the villages, 17, 12, 15 and 14 houses were destroyed. In none of these fires was there any loss of life. In a fire in a launch, anchored off Manama, one man lost his life. More supplies of fire fighting equipment, hose pipe, etc., etc., which had been ordered in England were part of the cargo of a Strick Line ship which caught fire near Sitra and which burned for several days.

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AGENCY COURT

RESULT OF PROSECUTIONS IN 1372

674

| No. | Nature of Offences. | No. of Cases. | No. of persons accused. | No. of persons convicted. | No. of persons acquitted. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Causing Death by Rash or Negligent Act | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 2 | Theft | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 3 | Cheating | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 4 | Criminal breach of trust | 2 | 2 | 2 | — | |
| 5 | Use of criminal force and assault | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | |
| 6 | Liquor drinking and possession of | 6 | 7 | 6 | 1 | |
| 7 | Charas and Opium | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | |
| 8 | Affray | 1 | 3 | 3 | — | |
| | | 14 | 18 | 15 | 3 | |

NATIONALITIES :

| | |
|---|---|
| British | 1 person |
| Indian | 3 persons |
| Pakistan | 2 ,, |
| Palestine | 1 ,, |
| Transjordan | 1 person |
| Iraq | 10 persons |
| | 18 |

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674

## THE BAHRAIN COURT

### RESULTS OF PROSECUTIONS IN 1372

| No. | Nature of Offence. | No. of Cases. | No. of accused. | No. of convictions. | No. of persons acquitted. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Murder | 1 | 2 | — | 2 | |
| 2 | Attempted Murder | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 3 | Attempted Suicide | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 4 | Culpable Homicide | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 5 | Causing death by rash or negligent act | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | |
| 6 | Theft | 50 | 76 | 53 | 23 | |
| 7 | Attempted Theft | 8 | 8 | 6 | 2 | |
| 8 | Forgery | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | |
| 9 | Receiving Stolen Property | 3 | 4 | 2 | 2 | |
| 10 | Cheating | 6 | 7 | 6 | 1 | |
| 11 | Criminal Breach of Trust | 11 | 16 | 6 | 10 | |
| 12 | Use of Criminal Force and Assault | 104 | 170 | 124 | 46 | |
| 13 | Misappropriation | 11 | 15 | 9 | 6 | |
| 14 | Un-natural Offence | 11 | 11 | 9 | 2 | |
| 15 | Adultery | 13 | 15 | 7 | 8 | |
| 16 | Public Nuisance | 38 | 62 | 52 | 10 | |
| 17 | Distilling Liquor | 2 | 3 | 3 | — | |
| 18 | Liquor Drinking and Possession of | 6 | 6 | 5 | 1 | |
| 19 | Charas and Opium | 4 | 4 | 4 | — | |
| 20 | Gambling | 7 | 24 | 22 | 2 | |
| 21 | Profiteering | 4 | 5 | 2 | 3 | |
| 22 | Affray | 9 | 17 | 11 | 6 | |
| 23 | Obstructing Public Servant | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 24 | Assault of Police | 5 | 5 | 5 | — | |
| 25 | Mischief by fire | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| 26 | Mischief by cattle | 2 | 2 | 2 | — | |
| 27 | Offences affecting decency and morals | 3 | 13 | 7 | 6 | |
| 28 | Entering Bahrain without passport | 8 | 43 | 32 | 11 | |
| 29 | Begging | 2 | 2 | 2 | — | |
| | | 317 | 521 | 376 | 145 | |

### NATIONALITIES :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bahrain | 354 | persons |
| Iran | 7 | ,, |
| Trucial Coast | 108 | ,, |
| Muscat | 22 | ,, |
| Saudi Arabia | 19 | ,, |
| Kuwait | 4 | ,, |
| Qatar | 6 | ,, |
| Yemen | 1 | ,, |
| | 521 | |

## TRAFFIC BRANCH

(Report by Superintendent J. Hyde, Officer-in-charge of the Traffic Section)

363 164 **Vehicles.** During the year 1372 there was a 32.8 per cent. increase over the previous year in the registration of motor vehicles, bringing the total to 2,822, at the end of the year.

682 672 **Accidents.** There was an increase in road accidents. The total for the year was 142, 27.9 per cent. more than in 1371. Unfortunately, there were ten fatalities as compared with four for the previous year, the highest since 1364. The number of persons seriously injured was 29, an increase of 20.

Thirty-nine pedestrians were involved, three more than in the previous year. Of these, 12 were children of 15 years or under. There were three fatalities with children, including a girl aged 3 years. The only other female casualty was a child aged 6 years, who was injured.

One hundred and fifteen of the total accidents occurred during the day, the remainder, 27, were during the hours of darkness.

Of the fatal accidents, three occurred on the Awal Road, one at night. One near Manama Bus Station, one behind the West Primary School, Manama, one near Ahmedi's Ice Factory, Manama, one near Muharraq Petrol Station (during darkness), one inside the R.A.F. Camp and one on the Sitra Causeway.

Eight cases were taken to Court. In three cases, the drivers were found not to blame.

One cases is still pending.

Five motor-cycles, 11 pedal cycles and six donkey carts were involved in accidents during the year.

Fifty-five cases were prosecuted in the Courts as a result of accidents. In ten cases the persons were acquitted.

363 681 **Traffic Offences.** One hundred and twenty-eight traffic offences were taken to the Courts. The total fines amounted to Rs. 19,896/-. In four cases the offenders were sentenced to terms of imprisonment.

Thirty-two driving licences were suspended for various traffic offences.

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## PUBLIC SERVICE VEHICLES

494 **Taxi Cabs and Buses.** There was a considerable increase in the number of these vehicles, especially taxi cabs.

It becomes more difficult each year to provide stands for taxi cabs, and it will soon be necessary to restrict their number.

Arrangements are in hand to fit all taxi cabs with fare meters.

**Driving Tests.** One thousand three hundred and fifty-four driving tests were carried out during the year. Five hundred and twenty-three passed the required standard.

1 [A.D. 1952-1953 — Analyst]

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The number of applications for driving licences increase each year. At present no less than fifty tests are taken each week. 494

**Non-Traffic Offences.** Sixteen persons were prosecuted in both Courts for non-traffic offences. These included four liquor offences, one of being in possession of hashish, and two cases of criminal Breach of Trust, etc. 674

Prison sentences and fines amounting to Rs. 2,525/- were imposed. The total fines in both Courts for all types of offences amounted to Rs. 22,421/-.

**Traffic Section Strength.** The Traffic Section Strength is one British Superintendent, three Arab Sub-Inspectors (the one temporarily attached), three N.C.O's and 41 men. 494

Superintendent Hyde was absent on U.K. leave from 10th June, 1953, till 2nd September, 1953.

Six traffic posts are maintained during daylight at Manama and Muharraq.

**Transport.** One Land Rover, seven motor cycles and two pedal cycles are allotted to the Traffic Department.

**Traffic Department Revenue.** Cash receipts for the year amounted to Rs. 125,928/1/-.

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**REGISTRATION RETURN—1372** 493

| | 1371 | 1372 |
|---|---|---|
| TOTAL NUMBER OF VEHICLES IN BAHRAIN | 2,124 | 2,822 |
| New vehicles registered during year | 421 | 778 |
| Private motor cars | 941 | 1231 |
| Taxi Cars | 145 | 212 |
| Private Buses | 77 | 78 |
| Taxi Buses | 82 | 100 |
| Private Lorries | 293 | 390 |
| Taxi Lorries | 120 | 205 |
| Pick-ups | 204 | 274 |
| Other Vehicles (Cranes, Tractors, Road Rollers, etc.) | 103 | 144 |
| Motor Cycles | 159 | 188 |
| Vehicles notified as "EXPORTED" | 106 | 63 |
| Vehicles notified as "IMPORTED" | 119 | 292 |
| Vehicles scrapped (by Police or by owners) | 112 | 17 |
| Pedal Cycles in Bahrain ((Registered) | 4,690 | 5,278 |

**DRIVING LICENCES AND TESTS** 494

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of Driving Licences issued during year | 738 |
| Number of Driving Tests during year | 1,354 |
| Number of Successful Applicants | 523 |
| Number of Failures | 831 |
| Number of Driving Licences issued on Production of Foreign Licence | 215 |

519
189
151

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## ACCIDENTS RETURN 1372

Total Number of Accidents .. 142

| ACCIDENTS Involving Death or Injury to Persons | | | ACCIDENTS Involving Damage to Vehicles. | | ACCIDENTS Involving Damage to Property. | | ACCIDENTS Involving Injury to Animals. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 55 | | | 95 | | 8 | | 3 | |
| Number of Persons Injured. | | | Number of Vehicles Damaged | | Property Damaged. | | Number of Animals Injured. | |
| 79 | | | 143 | | 8 | | 3 | |
| Slightly. | Seriously. | Fatally. | Slightly. | Seriously. | Slightly. | Seriously. | Killed. | Injured. |
| 40 | 29 | 10 | 107 | 36 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 2 |

COURT PROCEEDINGS AS RESULT OF ACCIDENTS .. .. .. 55

| BAHRAIN COURT | | | | AGENCY COURT | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number Cases. | Number of Persons Accused. | Convictions. | Acquittals. | Number Cases. | Number of Persons Accused. | Convictions. | Acquittals. |
| 45 | 45 | 40 | 5 | 10 | 10 | 10 | Nil. |

The two animals shown above as "Injured" are : Two Donkeys.

165

## ROAD ACCIDENTS DURING EACH MONTH—1372

| (*Month*) | *No. of Accidents.* | *Injuries.* | *Fatals.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Muharram | 11 | 8 | — |
| Safer | 11 | 5 | 2 |
| R/Awal | 10 | 5 | — |
| R/Thani | 9 | 2 | 1 |
| J/Awal | 13 | 9 | — |
| J/Thani | 11 | 6 | — |
| Rajab | 15 | 4 | 1 |
| Shaban | 12 | 3 | — |
| Ramadan | 12 | 4 | 1 |
| Shawal | 11 | 2 | 2 |
| D/Qadah | 17 | 4 | 2 |
| D/Haj | 10 | 7 | 1 |

## PEDESTRIANS INJURED OR KILLED

| *No.* | *Sex.* | *Age.* | *Injured.* | *Fatal.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Male | 45 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 50 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 35 | — | 1 |
| 1 | ,, | 6 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 45 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 30 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 15 | — | 1 |
| 1 | ,, | 10 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 35 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 10 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 11 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 50 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 6 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 45 | — | 1 |
| 1 | ,, | 12 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 4 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 30 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 30 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 30 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 40 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 8 | — | 1 |
| 1 | ,, | 65 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 15 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 47 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 50 | — | 1 |
| 1 | ,, | 30 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 53 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 48 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 50 | — | 1 |
| 1 | ,, | 35 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 50 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 12 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 35 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 30 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 45 | — | 1 |
| 1 | ,, | 8 | 1 | — |
| 1 | Female | 10 | 1 | — |
| 1 | ,, | 3 | — | 1 |
| 1 | ,, | 6 | 1 | — |
| — | | | — | — |
| 39 | | | 31 | 8 |

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## TRAFFIC OFFENCES

| | *Number of Offenders.* | *Number of Charges.* | *Amount of Fines.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BAHRAIN COURT | 86 | 106 | Rs. 18,927 |
| AGENCY COURT | 18 | 22 | Rs. 969 |

## TERMS OF IMPRISONMENT

BAHRAIN COURT : In 11 Cases, 15 persons received terms of imprisonment.

| *Traffic Offences.* | *Non-Traffic Offences.* |
|---|---|
| 4 | 7 |

AGENCY COURT : In 4 Cases, 4 persons received terms of imprisonment.

| *Traffic Offences.* | *Non-Traffic Offences.* |
|---|---|
| Nil | 4 |

## CASH RETURNS OF FINES—1372

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BAHRAIN COURT : | Traffic Offences | Rs. 18,927 |
| | Non-Traffic Offences | Rs. 425 |
| AGENCY COURT : | Traffic Offences | Rs. 969 |
| | Non-Traffic Offences | Rs. 2,100 |
| | Total Fines | Rs. 22,421 |

## LICENCES REVOKED OR SUSPENDED

| | *Bahrain Subjects.* | *Foreign Subjects.* |
|---|---|---|
| DRIVING LICENCES : | | |
| Revoked | Nil | Nil |
| Suspended | 25 | 7 |
| TAXI DRIVING LICENCES : | | |
| Revoked | Nil | Nil |
| Suspended | Nil | Nil |

## NON-TRAFFIC OFFENCES PROSECUTED 1372

### AGENCY COURT

| Number of Offenders | Nationality | Offences | Result |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | (1) Palistinian<br>(2) Transjordanian | Being in possession of Hashish | (1) Fined Rs. 600/- and 3 months R.I.<br>(2) Acquitted |
| 1 | Irani | Being under the influence of alcohol | Fined Rs. 500/- |
| 1 | Pakistani | Supplying Bahrain Subject with liquor | Rined Rs. 1000/- and 2 months R.I. |
| 1 | Indian | Criminal Breach of Trust | Fined Rs. 1000/- and 4 months S.I. |
| 1 | British | Criminal Breach of Trust | 3 months S.I. |

681

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 M22 Bahrain M22
681
50

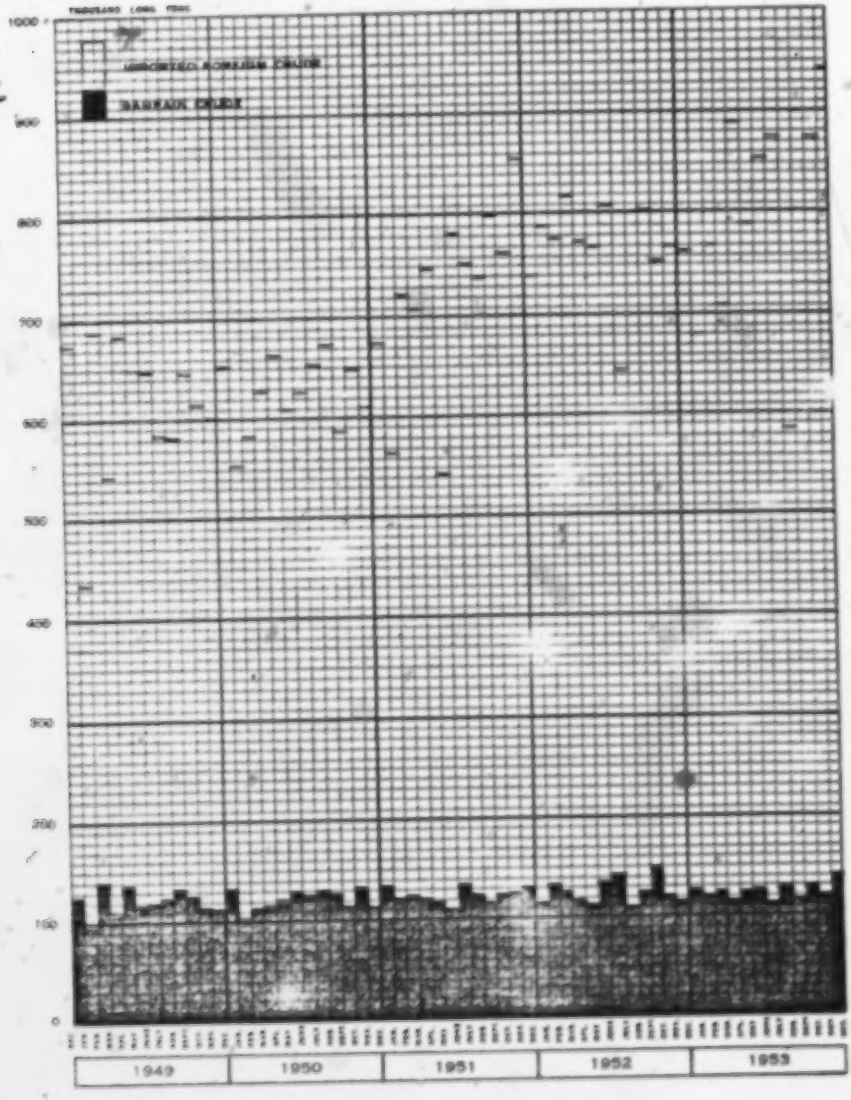
## NON-TRAFFIC OFFENCES PROSECUTED DURING 1372

### BAHRAIN COURT

| Number of Offencers | Nationality | Offences | Result |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Bahraini | Insulting Public Servant | Not to do any work on Manama Jetty for six months. |
| 1 | Bahraini | Being in possession of liquor | Six months R.I. |
| 2 | Bahrainis | Insulting Public Servant | Eight hours Detention each |
| 1 | Bahraini | Insulting Public Servant | Fined Rs. 25/- and 8 hours detention. |
| 1 | Bahraini | Insulting Public Servant | 15 days R.I. |
| 1 | Bahraini | Obstructing Public Servant | 24 hours detention |
| 1 | Bahraini | Being under the influence of alcohol | Four months R.I. |
| 2 | Bahrainis | (1) Causing grevious hurt<br>(2) Disobeying Curfew order | One month R.I. and fined Rs. 200/- each. |

439
382

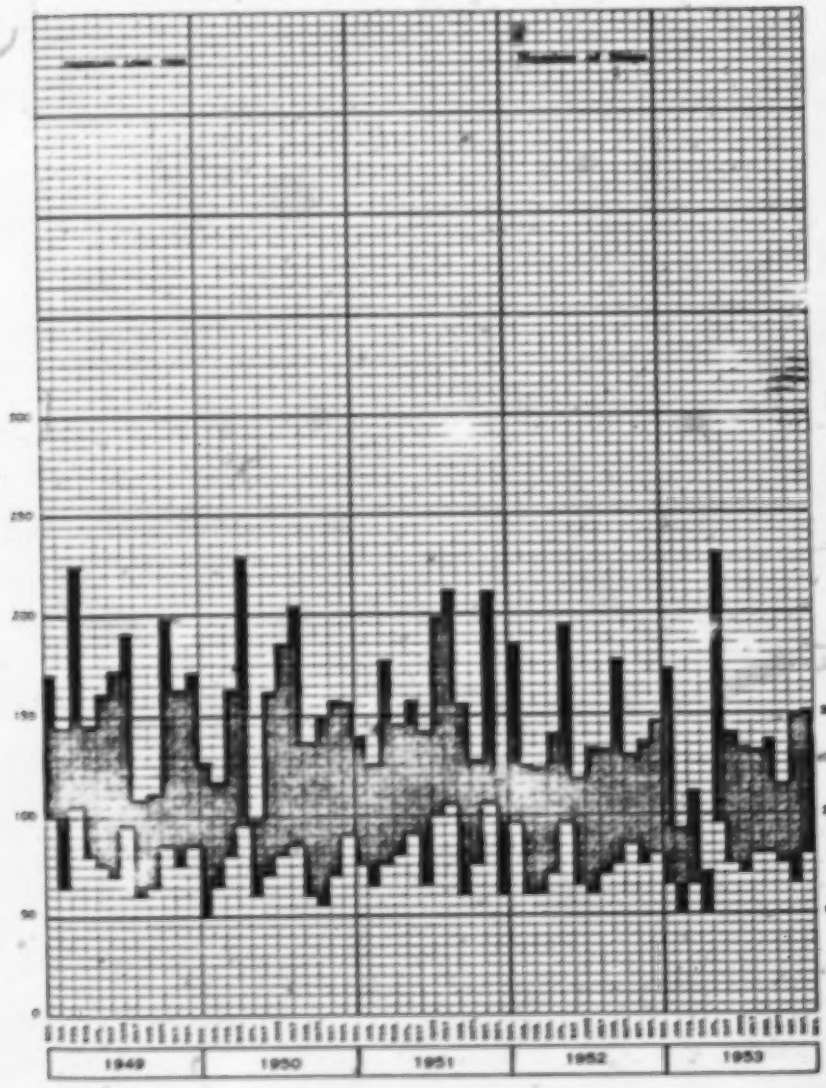
## REFINERY THROUGHPUT, BAHRAIN 1949-1953




[facing page 50 a]

505

## GOVERNMENT GAUGED CARGOES, 1949-53




[facing page 50.b]

CASH RECEIPTS RETURN—1372 1

| | | Rs. | As. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 494 | TRANSFER FEES .. .. .. .. .. | 686 | — |
| 651 | TAXATION FEES .. .. .. .. .. | 89,606 | 1 |
| / | NUMBER PLATES .. .. .. .. .. | 2,397 | — |
| | LICENCE HOLDERS .. .. .. .. .. | 663 | 8 |
| | DRIVING LICENCES .. .. .. .. .. | 14,525 | — |
| | LICENCE BOOKS .. .. .. .. .. | 1,922 | — |
| | TAXI BADGES .. .. .. .. .. | 75 | — |
| | DRIVING TESTS—Fees .. .. .. .. .. | 6,630 | — |
| | LICENCE LATE FEES .. .. .. .. .. | 355 | 8 |
| | PEDAL CYCLE TAX .. .. .. .. .. | 1,697 | — |
| | HIRE OF "L" PLATES .. .. .. .. .. | 99 | — |
| | LEARNERS LICENCE PERMITS .. .. .. | 1,063 | 8 |
| | REGISTRATION LATE FEES .. .. .. .. | 2,312 | — |
| | REGISTRATION INFORMATIO .. .. .. | 3 | — |
| | PUBLIC CONVEYANCE LICENCE .. .. .. | 865 | — |
| | TAXI DRIVERS LICENCES .. .. .. .. | 853 | 8 |
| | TRADERS LICENCES .. .. .. .. .. | 2,175 | — |
| | Total Rs. | 1,25,929 | 1 |

## OIL INSPECTION DEPARTMENT

(Report by Mr. G. B. Thompson, Government Oil Inspector)

382 439 505 The Refinery throughput of Bahrain Crude Oil remained about the same as the previous year, but the total Refinery throughput, including both Bahrain Crude Oil and Imported Foreign Crude Oil, increased from 9,254,140 Long Tons in 1952, to a figure of 9,654,390 Long Tons in 1953. The actual figures being :

| | |
|---|---|
| Bahrain Crude Oil .. .. | 1,480,638 Long Tons |
| Imported Foreign Crude Oil .. | 8,173,751 Long Tons |

There was a slight drop in the number of ship cargo inspections carried out :

| | |
|---|---|
| 1952 .. | 178 Ships, 476 Parcels, 1,741,861 Long Tons |
| 1953 .. | 170 Ships, 463 Parcels, 1,628,045 Long Tons |

The term "Imported Foreign Crude Oil" has been used in place of the term "Arabian Crude Oil," used in previous years, the change having been made to allow inclusion of two shipments of Sumatran Crude made late in 1953, which were successfully processed through the Refinery.

Graphs showing the Refinery throughput and the Ship Inspection figures for the last five years are included. *

1 [A.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst] 2 [Graphs facing page 50a + b -- Analyst]

## PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT

(Report by Mr. S. Hills, Director of Works)

653 464 For the first time for many years the Department failed to show any increase over the preceding year in its expenditure, or—more important—the volume of work carried out. This was due entirely to the failure to increase the size of the supervising staff commensurate with the obligations of the Department. Despite the lack of any expansion, however, the year's figures indicate the P.W.D. had another very busy and productive year. An average number of 1,350 men were employed daily which shows that the Department was still second only to Bahrain Petroleum Company in being the biggest economic factor in the lives of ordinary people of Bahrain. As previously, P.W.D. carried out far more work than any of the local contractors, and continued to set a standard for local development.

000 Weather conditions were exceptionally favourable for the Department's activities. The winter months were unusually mild and there was no severe storm at any time during the year. The summer was good, although there were one or two unpleasantly hot and humid spells in July and August.

653 466 Costs continued to rise, but the increase was not so marked as in the two previous years. Indeed, there was a welcome drop in the prices of various imported stores, but locally produced stores—which form so big an item (about 26 per cent.) in the Department's total costs—became considerably dearer. As the cost of these is almost entirely one of labour and transport, it would not have been surprising if this increase had occurred a year or so ago. There was some small rise in labour costs, caused by increased rates being paid to better-grade tradesmen—the basic rate for coolies and second-grade tradesmen remaining the same. This is really a good thing, as the standardisation of wage rates is surely one of the most lamentable features of the modern trend of development ; and a man should be encouraged to expect to be paid according to his ability. As before, the increase in cost was most marked in the smaller works and in maintenance. A feature out of the Department's control, which added to the rise in costs was the quite deplorable shipping situation which developed towards the end of the year. Many ships, carrying stores for Bahrain, failed to discharge their cargos, but overcarried them to Basra where they were transhipped and taken all over the Gulf (and at times as far as Aden) before they were eventually off loaded at Bahrain. Many works were delayed in consequence, with an inevitable rise in costs.

464 653 This question of costs is closely linked with labour and supervision. Labour troubles were rather less than in the last year or two. In the early months of the year, the strength of carpenters, which had fallen so low at the end of 1371, was again built up ; and maintained throughout the year. The most serious shortage, in the year under review, was in good decorators. The standard of painting throughout Bahrain is very poor indeed. The local idea is to apply paint as thickly as possible, but never to worry about first preparing the work, and still less if much of the paint goes on the floor, window glass, or nearby furniture or fitments. P.W.D's annual commitment for decorating is now so large that the poor standard of performance is becoming a serious matter ; and as far as new work is concerned, the better standard of construction now being achieved is all too often spoilt by the indifferent standard of finish. There can only be one answer—constant and exacting supervising, and the Department was not, this year, in a position to give this.

Although the labour strength was just maintained at a level adequate to meet committments, yet the position was always delicate, because of the greatly increased amount of work being done by local contractors, who were only too ready to lure away good P.W.D. men by paying higher wage rates.

During the year, one man, Mohamed Bussager, foreman fitter, went to England for six months, under the auspices of the British Council. He greatly benefitted by his visit. It is hoped that more men may be sent on similar courses during the next few years.

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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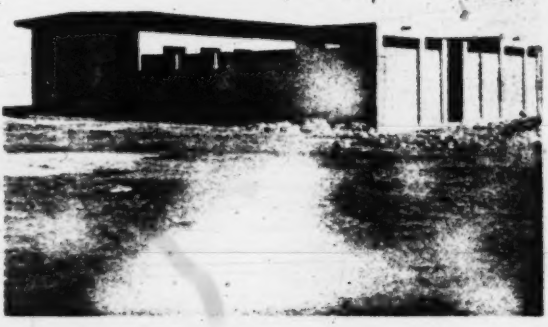

A workman's house built by Government.

"Barasti" dwellings.

facing page 52

653 As usual, the activities of the Department[1] were diverse and far-reaching. The chief "new" construction works consisted of the completion of flats for investment at Muharraq and Rafaa Road ; offices in Barrett Road ; quarters for masters over the Technical School Workshop ; new private wards at the Hospital, the carrying on of work to the new Palace and additional quarters for masters over the Technical School itself, and the starting of a block of Staff Quarters at Quarantine site, Quadabiya. Very extensive works were also carried out for Customs ; four more stores sheds being erected, a large area of sea reclaimed, and a new jetty for local craft being started. For this Department, several other smaller, but important, works were also done. A larger amount than usual of simple construction work was let to contractors, including 36 workmen's houses, 43 houses for the Police, and various village dispensaries. It is argueable if the results are really satisfactory, and although money may be saved, it is possible only at the expense of a good standard of work. As usual, much work was done for the Electricity Department ; and agricultural development was greatly assisted. The amount of maintenance and decorating was, needless to say, higher than ever before ; and it has to be admitted that over this the Department failed, to some extent, to give a really good service. Fair service was given, but often the quality of work was indifferent. The construction of new roads and pavements, and the maintenance of those existing was energetically carried on. The main water supply was operated very successfully. A much larger amount of water was supplied—both to paying and non-paying consumers—and the accounts of the Water Supply Department (given later) are really encouraging.

653 Every year the Department tackles a few jobs of unusual character. Of chief interest this year may be mentioned the two large roofs of the new Palace. These are of Mansard design, 177 each 90 feet long, and with a clear span of 32 feet. Sixteen timber trusses were made, hoisted, and placed in position, 26 feet above ground, thanks to the invaluable assistance of the Bahrain 342 Petroleum Company who kindly loaned a mobile crane with a 70 feet jib. The actual time spent on hoisting and fixing was just over twelve hours. Purlins and common rafters were fixed, and the roofs were then close-boarded, felted, counter-battened and battened. Later, green glazed pantiles were fixed. This was the first roofing job of its kind ever done in Bahrain; and it was gratifying to note how quickly the local tradesmen learned to tackle the work. The trusses were well and accurately made ; and the tiling—although done during Ramadhan and in very hot weather—took rather less than three weeks, and the result compares well with tiled roofs constructed anywhere.

000 In conclusion, 1372 has been a year of fair progress, but with some disappointing features. Much was satisfactorily accomplished ; but some results fell short of what is desirable. The very rapid expansion of the Department in the preceding five years is beginning to put a big and increasing strain on its organisation. Such success as there has been this year is largely due to excellent work done by Mr. L. Harris, Assistant to Officer-in-Charge, P.W.D. (who not only ran the Water Supply Department so well but also took charge of P.W.D. for three months at the end of the year) ; Mr. Ahmed Darwish, Office Superintendent (deservedly upgraded from Head Clerk during the year) ; a small number of hard working overseers, foremen, storekeepers and clerks and a nucleus of well proved tradesmen of long service.

Further commitments for P.W.D. are obviously bigger than ever before. To assist in meeting these, some addition to British personnel has been arranged. Extensions to the offices were built late in the year, to provide accommodation and to relieve the congestion in the old office. It is hoped that with the new staff and as a result of more local men taking courses in England, the Department will still prove capable of meeting its obligations and maintaining its tradition for good work and efficient service; and that it will continue to set an example of good workmanship and decent and appropriate design.

[1] [The Public Works Department -- Analyst]

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## ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE—PUBLIC WORKS

1373 1*

### NON-RECURRENT

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **WORKS IN PROGRESS (COMPLETION OF CONSTRUCTION):** | | |
| Staff Quarters | 1,50,000 | |
| School Teachers' Quarters | 1,00,000 | |
| Police Houses (Contract) | 1,50,000 | |
| Palace | 9,00,000 | |
| Customs Shed | 50,000 | |
| Customs, New Jetty, etc. | 1,50,000 | |
| Workmen's Houses | 75,000 | |
| Miscellaneous | 50,000 | |
| | | 16,25,000 |
| **NEW CONSTRUCTION WORKS:** | | |
| Police Station, etc., Budaiya | 75,000 | |
| Muharraq Primary School Extension | 1,50,000 | |
| Secondary School Extension | 1,00,000 | |
| Girls' School (Part Cost) | 4,50,000 | |
| Primary School, Quadabiya | 4,00,000 | |
| Village Schools (Contract) | 75,000 | |
| Police Houses (Contract) | 1,50,000 | |
| Medical Quarters, Awal Road | 6,00,000 | |
| Women's Hospital | 10,00,000 | |
| Broadcasting Station | 75,000 | |
| Customs Shed | 1,50,000 | |
| Workmen's Houses (Contract) | 4,00,000 | |
| | | 36,25,000 |
| **MISCELLANEOUS APPROVED WORKS** | | 8,00,000 |
| **NEW ROADS** | | 3,50,000 |
| | Rs. | 64,00,000 |

1*[for the year 1953-1954 -- Analyst]

## MAIN WATER SUPPLY

Y... 1370 — OPERATING ACCOUNT

652
312

| Expenditure | Rs. | Rs. | Revenue | Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| To Establishment Costs | 31,496 4 7 | | By Sales of Water and Rental of Metres | 2,03,761 3 0 |
| To Electric Power at Pump House | 15,622 0 0 | | By Miscellaneous Receipts | 5,460 0 0 |
| To Upkeep and Repairs to Mains | 22,745 0 0 | | | |
| | | 69,863 4 7 | | |
| To Reserves for Bad Debts | 2,105 0 0 | | | |
| To Depreciation on Capital fixures | 1,13,630 0 0 | | | |
| | | 1,15,735 0 0 | | |
| *Balance being Profit* carried to Profit and Loss Account | | 23,622 14 5 | | |
| | Rs. | 2,09,221 3 0 | | Rs. 2,09,221 3 0 |

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT

| | Rs. | | Rs |
|---|---|---|---|
| To loss at end of 1369 | 1,45,788 14 2 | By Profit for 1370 brought forward | 23,622 14 5 |
| | | By Loss carried forward to 1371 account | 1,22,165 15 9 |
| | Rs. 1,45,788 14 2 | | Rs. 1,45,788 14 2 |

YEAR 1371 — OPERATING ACCOUNT

| Expenditure | Rs. | Revenue | Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Establishment Costs | 51,415 12 4 | By Sales of Water and Rental of Meters | 2,50,4[illegible] 0 0 |
| To Electric Power at Pump House | 17,435 14 0 | By Miscellaneous Receipts | 3,780 12 0 |
| To Upkeep and Repairs of Mains | 13,585 0 0 | | |
| To Depreciation | 1,29,284 0 0 | | |
| | 2,11,720 10 4 | | |
| *Balance being profit* carried to Profit and Loss Account | 42,482 1 8 | | |
| | Rs. 2,54,202 12 0 | | Rs. 2,54,202 [illegible] 0 |

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT

| | Rs. | | Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Loss at end of 1370 | 1,22,165 15 9 | By profit for 1371 account | 42,482 11 8 |
| | | By Loss carried forward to 1372 A/c. | 79,683 14 1 |
| | Rs. 1,22,165 15 9 | | Rs. 1,22,165 15 9 |

YEAR 1372 — OPERATING ACCOUNT

| Expenditure | Rs. | Revenue | Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Establishment Costs | 59,876 6 0 | By Sales of Water and Rental of Meters | 2,71,411 1 0 |
| To Electric Power at Pump House | 15,500 10 0 | By Miscellaneous Receipts | 6,322 12 0 |
| To Upkeep and Repairs of Mains | 15,224 11 3 | | |
| To Depreciation (see note below) | 1,67,583 0 0 | | |
| | 2,58,184 11 3 | | |
| *Balance being Profit* carried to Profit and Loss Account | 19,549 11 9 | | |
| | Rs. 2,77,734 7 0 | | Rs. 2,77,734 7 0 |

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT

| | Rs. | | Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Loss at end of 1371 | 79,683 14 1 | By Profit for 1372 account | 19,549 11 9 |
| | | By Loss carried forward to 1373 A/c | 60,134 2 4 |
| | Rs. 79,683 14 1 | | Rs. 79,683 14 1 |

NOTE : The rate of depreciation on Water Meters has been doubled this year ; and an extra sum of Rs. 27,000 charged against expenditure, to cover this increase.

## CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT

(Report by Mr. G. W. R. Smith, M.B.E., Director of Customs and Port Office).

651 The revenue collected by the Customs Department from all sources, including Boat Licences, exceeded last year's revenue by Rs. 8,26,600/-, and exceeded the amount which was anticipated in the budget by Rs. 21,49,632/-. This substantial increase in Customs Revenue was due to larger imports of rice with higher prices being obtained at source, increased cost of coffee at source, and heavy imports of flour and tea. A decrease in the amount of income from Direct Transhipment cargo may be attributed to the more frequent use of the port of Um Said by the Qatar Petroleum Co. There was a decrease in the price at source of woollen and cotton piece goods, compared to last year: in the case of woollens the decrease was 5 per cent., but in the case of cotton piece goods it was as high as 20 per cent. There was again an increase over the previous year in the number of ocean going vessels and native craft calling at the port of Bahrain. Japanese vessels were more frequent callers, but in the main the increase in ocean going vessels was due to a second call at the port for the purpose of taking bunkers. It will be noted that the number of Bills of Entry and Export Shipping Bills dealt with in 1372, were again more than in 1371, further emphasising Bahrain's growing importance as an entreport in the Persian Gulf.

439 During the year under review the period allowed for Intransit Cargo was increased from 90 days to six months, and for cargo in transit to Saudi Arabia Ports—from 20 days to 40 days. This has proved of great benefit to importers.

Two new storage sheds were erected and completed during the year with a capacity of 9,000 tons dead-weight. At the end of the year Customs cranage was increased by the arrival of a new 10-ton capacity Coles Mobine Crane. Work was commenced on the erection of a new Native Craft pier 1,200 feet long, to relieve congestion on the main Customs Pier.

000 **Accidents—within Port Limits.** On the 4th of May, 1953, a launch belonging to Messrs. Gray, Mackenzie and Co., Ltd., which was alongside near the Sea Front Road, caught fire by the bursting of a stove, and was partly destroyed. The craft was later repaired and returned to service. The Light Tender vessel *Reliume* carried out her usual visits of inspection to the lights and buoys.

651 **General.** The estimated revenue for 1373, Rs. 90,00,000, is less than last year's revenue. This figure has been determined by the fact that there are indications of a definite downward trend in prices and there is overstocking of certain commodities, such as piece goods, tea, flour and cars, in the local markets.

### YEAR 1372

### ACTUAL RECEIPTS COMPARED WITH BUDGET ESTIMATES

| Budget Head | Estimated Collections | Actual Collections | Increase | Decrease. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| Customs and Import Yard | 83,47,500/- | 104,22,120/- | 20,74,620/- | — |
| Diving Licences | 2,500/- | 1,835/- | — | 665 |
| Miscellaneous | 50,000/- | 1,25,677/- | 75,677/- | — |
| Total | 84,00,000/- | 105,49,632/- | 21,50,297/- | 665 |

Increase over Estimates : Rs. 21,49,632/-

### COMPARISON OF DIFFERENCES

| | Customs (Increase) | Pearling and Craft Licences. (Decrease) |
|---|---|---|
| Year 1371 | Rs. 27,24,030/- | Rs. 998/- |
| Year 1372 | Rs. 21,50,297/- | Rs. 665/- |

651

## COMPARISON OF ACTUAL RECEIPTS

| | Year 1371 | Year 1372 | Increase. | Decrease. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| Customs, Import, Yard and Miscellaneous | 97,21,530 | 105,47,797/- | 8,26,267/- | — |
| Diving and Craft Licences | 1,502/- | 1,835/- | 333/- | — |
| Net Increase | Rs. 8,26,600/- | | | |

## COMPARISONS OF CUSTOMS CLASSIFIED RECEIPTS

| | Year 1371 | Year 1372 | Increase. | Decrease. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| A. Steamers | 69,09,644/- | 74,97,479/- | 5,87,835/- | — |
| B. Craft | 4,77,975/- | 4,86,620/- | 8,645/- | — |
| C. Passengers' Baggage | 86,130/- | 96,878/- | 10,748/- | — |
| D. Parcels | 6,88,343/- | 7,73,922/- | 85,579/- | — |
| E. D.T. Cargoes | 4,06,319/- | 3,10,788/- | — | 95,531/- |
| F. Export Duties | 5,404/- | 20,560/- | 15,156/- | — |
| G. Miscellaneous | 93,508/- | 1,25,677/- | 32,169/- | — |
| H. I.Y. Collections | 10,54,207/- | 12,35,873/- | 1,81,666/- | — |
| Rs. | 97,21,530/- | 105,47,797/- | 9,21,798/- | 95,531/- |
| | Increase | Rs. 8,26,267/- | | |

## COMPARISON OF PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES

439

| Commodity. | Year 1371 | | Year 1372 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Quantity. | Value. | Quantity. | Value. |
| Rice, cwts. | 2,14,878 | 100,93,800/- | 3,39,805 | 191,23,735/- |
| Wheat, cwts. | 30,472 | 9,81,065/- | 26,200 | 8,93,665/- |
| Flour, cwts. | 1,35,453 | 50,20,735/- | 2,03,693 | 64,23,665/- |
| Tea, cases | 53,237 | 53,35,200/- | 92,357 | 73,4,265/- |
| Coffee, bags | 9,607 | 37,40,600/- | 11,777 | 40,70,265/- |
| Sugar (soft), cwts. | 1,89,545 | 87,43,735/- | 1,76,816 | 61,23,400/- |
| *Piece-goods* : | | | | |
| Cottons | | Rs. 127,82,935/- | | Rs. 104,46,265/- |
| Woollens | | 31,32,335/- | | 23,46,400/- |
| Silks | | 41,29,400/- | | 41,87,665/- |

## COMPARISON OF AVERAGE UNIT VALUES

(Foodstuffs)

439

| Commodity | Unit | Year 1371 | Year 1372 |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Rs. | Rs. |
| Rice | bags of 160 lbs. | 82/- | 97/- |
| Coffee | | | |
| African | maund of 56 lbs. | 114-141 | 149/- |
| Harari | maund of 56 lbs. | 157/- | 177/- |
| Habashi | maund of 56 lbs. | 141-176 | 165/- |
| Singapore | maund of 56 lbs. | 133-151 | 158/- |
| Sugar (soft) | bag of 2 cwts. | 115/- | 80/- |
| Tea (Indian) | chests of 112 lbs. | 280/- | 280/- |

## COMPARISON OF AVERAGE UNIT VALUES

(Piece-goods)

| Commodity | | ENGLISH | | INDIAN | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1371 | 1372 | 1371 | 1372 |
| | | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| [illegible] | piece of 20 yards | — | — | 23/- | 17/- |
| Prints, inferior | piece of [illegible] yards | 70/- | 50/- | 30/- | 25/- |

## COMPARATIVE VISITS OF NATIVE CRAFT

| Origin | Year 1371 | Year 1372 |
|---|---|---|
| Arabian Mainland Ports | 114 | 79 |
| Kuwait | 51 | 51 |
| Oman Coast | 272 | 239 |
| [illegible] Coast | 828 | 902 |
| [illegible] | 47 | 54 |
| India | 31 | 51 |
| Africa | 50 | 41 |
| Qatar | 58 | 53 |
| Muscalla | — | 3 |
| Pakistan | 5 | 1 |
| Total | 1456 | 1474 |

## BAHRAIN CRAFT REGISTRATIONS

| | Wooden Barges. | Steel Barges. | Motor Launches. | Sailing Craft. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEAR 1370 | | | | | |
| Registered Craft | 12 | [illegible] | [illegible] | 838 | 1185 |
| YEAR 1372 | | | | | |
| New Built in Bahrain for hire | — | — | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Brought from Holland | — | 8 | 1 | — | 9 |
| Brought from U.S.A. | — | — | 1 | — | 1 |
| New Built in Bahrain for private use | — | — | 1 | — | 1 |
| Old, purchased from R.A.F. by Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Co., Ltd. | — | — | 4 | — | 4 |
| Old, brought from foreign ports | — | — | — | 6 | 13 |
| | 12 | 90 | 268 | 845 | 1215 |
| Old craft fitted with engines | — | — | — | 3 | — |
| Total | 12 | 90 | 271 | 842 | 1215 |
| LESS IN 1372 | | | | | |
| Sold and removed | — | — | — | 1 | 1 |
| Lost at Sea | — | — | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Useless—broken-up | 1 | — | 2 | 21 | 24 |
| | 1 | — | 3 | 25 | 29 |
| Actual number of craft registered up to the end of 1372 | 11 | 90 | 268 | 817 | 1186 |
| Total | 12 | 90 | 271 | 842 | 1215 |

## EXPORT OF BAHRAIN OIL PRODUCTS WERE

| | Year 1371 Drums. | Year 1371 Tons. | Year 1372 Drums. | Year 1372 Tons. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gasoline and Aviation Gasoline | 34,47[illegible] | [illegible]925 | 13,990 | 14,39,471 |
| Fuel Oil | — | 35,72,963 | — | 41,09,845 |
| Diesel Oil | 1,600 | 2,26,033 | 1,41,000 | 2,48,435 |
| Diesel Fuel | — | — | — | 95,197 |
| Kerosene | 8,249 | 7,46,084 | 14,550 | 5,74,433 |
| Gas Oil | 7[illegible] | 62,566 | — | 1,03,95[illegible] |
| Gas Oil (Diesel) | 11,423 | 3,91,171 | 2,397 | 2,79,201 |
| Crude and Synthetic Cr[illegible] | [illegible]09,200 | 9[illegible] | — | 72,346 |
| Motor Spirit | 27,607 | 1,4[illegible] | — | 61,115 |
| Petroleum Products | 1,18,700 | | 44,308 | — |
| Vaporizing Oil | 3[illegible] | — | — | 1,793 |
| Total | [illegible] | 66,96,072 | 16,245 | 69,85,788 |

## VISITS OF FOREIGN STEAMERS

| Nationality | Year 1371 | Year 1372 |
|---|---|---|
| British B.I.S.N. Company's Steamers | 95 | 98 |
| Strick Line & other British Steamers | 149 | 142 |
| U.S.A. Liberian and other U.S.A. Steamers | 34 | 25 |
| Norwegian | 11 | 42 |
| Panamanian | 6 | 16 |
| Dutch | 49 | 49 |
| Greek | 6 | 7 |
| Italian | 6 | 13 |
| Danish | 15 | 12 |
| Swedish | 13 | 13 |
| Japanese | 12 | 18 |
| German | 12 | 18 |
| Pakistani | 1 | — |
| Turkish | 1 | 2 |
| Belgian | — | 1 |
| Liberian | — | 1 |
| Honduras | — | 1 |
| Ethiopian | — | 1 |
| Finnish | — | 1 |
| Indian | — | 4 |
| | 400 | |
| Tankers | 593 | 640 |
| Totals | 993 | 1133 |

## NATIONALITY OF TANKERS

| | Year 1371 | Year 1372 |
|---|---|---|
| British | 177 | 226 |
| U.S.A. | 103 | 130 |
| Dutch | 15 | 13 |
| Swedish | 12 | 22 |
| Danish | 4 | 6 |
| Italian | 3 | 8 |
| Norwegian | 71 | 66 |
| Panamanian | 157 | 146 |
| Spanish | 18 | — |
| German | 4 | 6 |
| Japanese | 2 | — |
| Turkish | 4 | 4 |
| Brazilian | — | 3 |
| Liberian | 14 | 7 |
| Cypriot | 1 | — |
| Pakistani | 2 | — |
| French | 1 | 4 |
| Greek | 1 | 1 |
| Indian | 3 | — |
| Polish | — | 1 |
| Total | 593 | 640 |

505

**Staff**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Number of Clerks (Customs) | 106 | |
| Number of Clerks (Food Control) | 10 | |
| | | 116 |

**Menials**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Customs, including Guards and Crane Crew | 83 | |
| Food Control | 4 | |
| | | 87 |

**Salaries Paid**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Customs Department | Rs. 3,49,193/- | |
| Food Control | 28,998/- | |
| | | Rs. 3,78,191/- |

**Menials Wages Paid**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Customs Department | Rs. 1,25,899/- | |
| Food Control | 7,897/- | |
| | | Rs. 1,33,796/- |

**Bills of Entry.** The total number of Bills of Entry dealt with was 34,728, an increase of 6,080 over 1371

Particulars are :

| | |
|---|---|
| Steamers | 24,013 |
| Craft | 3,157 |
| Baggage and Aircraft | 7,558 |
| Total | 34,728 |

**Shipping Bills.** The total number of Shipping Bills dealt with during the year amounted to 54,441, an increase of 6,218 over 1371

## FOOD CONTROL DEPARTMENT

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Holding ample stocks of rice at the beginning of the year under review, and having in mind the possibility of being able to discontinue rationing, the Government made no large scale purchases of rice and sugar in 1372. In all, only Rs. 6 lakhs were spent in the purchase of a small quantity of Persian rice.

During the year it became more and more obvious that there was plenty of rice available for export from Burma and Siam, so the Government called a meeting of leading importers, and informed them that if they were prepared to import sufficient rice for internal needs (about 85,000 bags, each of 160 lbs. per annum), the Government would cease to purchase and ration this important commodity. The Government would, however, continue to exercise a price control for at least a year. The importers agreed to do this and it was possible to cease rationing by the end of Ramadhan 1372. Since that date supplies have continued to arrive regularly to importers, who have retailed same to the public at prices below the controlled rate.

The Government issued to the public 8 lbs. of rice per adult for the first nine months of the year at prices ranging from Rs. 1.12.0 to Rs. 2.4.0 per ruba, since rationing ceased the price has not exceeded Rs. 2.6.0 per ruba, and is presently being retailed at Rs. 2.4.0 per ruba of 4 lbs.

Sugar was also de-rationed at the beginning of the year, plentiful supplies being available in the local market, and retailed to the public at prices ranging from Rs. 1.10.0 to Rs. 2/- per ruba of 4 lbs. The Government stock of sugar was reserved for *barter* for livestock from Iran and dates from Basrah.

262 439 656 Over the past three years the Government has subsidised the price of meat and dates to the extent of approximately £70,000/-, sugar costing from £6 to £7 10s. has been sold to importers of livestock and dates at £3 15s. per bag.

That this policy has been wise is shown in the figures of imports of livestock during Ramadhan and Shawal 1372, as under :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Ramadhan* 1372 : | Cattle .. .. | 1019 | head |
| | Sheep and Goats .. | 13327 | ,, |
| *Shawal*, 1372 | Cattle .. .. | 526 | ,, |
| | Sheep and Goats .. | 10914 | ,, |

The retail prices to the public of beef, mutton, and goat meat in Bahrain are very much cheaper, by half at least, than in the neighbouring countries of Saudi Arabia and Kuweit.

Fish supplies were more plentiful than in the previous year, with prices again well below neighbouring states :

Imports of consumer goods increased during the year, and there are signs of over-stocking of certain commodities, particularly piece goods, flour, tea and motor cars.

During the year it was noticed there was a downward trend in the price of certain commodities such as timber, iron bars, windows, joists and muraba wood.

Large supplies of fresh fruits arrived in Bahrain from Lebanon. Persia, Australia, America and India, during the year with prices considerably lower than in the previous year.

Although the Government ended rationing during the year, it still maintains a price control on such essential commodities as meat, fish, rice, sugar, flour, wheat, tea and coffee.

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## STATE ENGINEER'S DEPARTMENT

(Report by Mr. D. Brammer, Assoc.I.E.E., M.A.S.E.E., State Engineer)

### The Electricity Undertaking

377 655 471 **The Power Station.** A new 750 K.W. Generating Set was completed and put into commission on 10th Ramadhan, increasing the total installed capacity of the station to 3,750 K.W.

Units generated amounted to 10,58,560, an increase of 28 per cent. on the previous year and the electricity supply to the public was maintained without any major interruption.

A notable achievement was the reduction in transmission losses from 13.25 per cent. to 6.26 per cent., a saving of some 360,000 units.

**Mains Department.** The four skilled linesmen who were recruited in India last year were discharged in Dhul Haj, 1372. Their work had become most unsatisfactory. The work of renewal and maintenance proceeded satisfactorily but the rate of connection of new consumers is still far too low and further efforts are now being made to recruit skilled staff in order to speed up this work.

A new underground H.T. cable was laid from the Power Station to "C" Sub-station and the H.T. overhead line between Muharraq Town and the Royal Air Force Station was re-erected and its capacity doubled.

[365] The H.T. underground cable around Muharraq Town was completed giving an extra supply of 320 k.w. to districts which had never before had an electricity supply, and some two miles of L.T. distribution were erected in the town, together with street lights.

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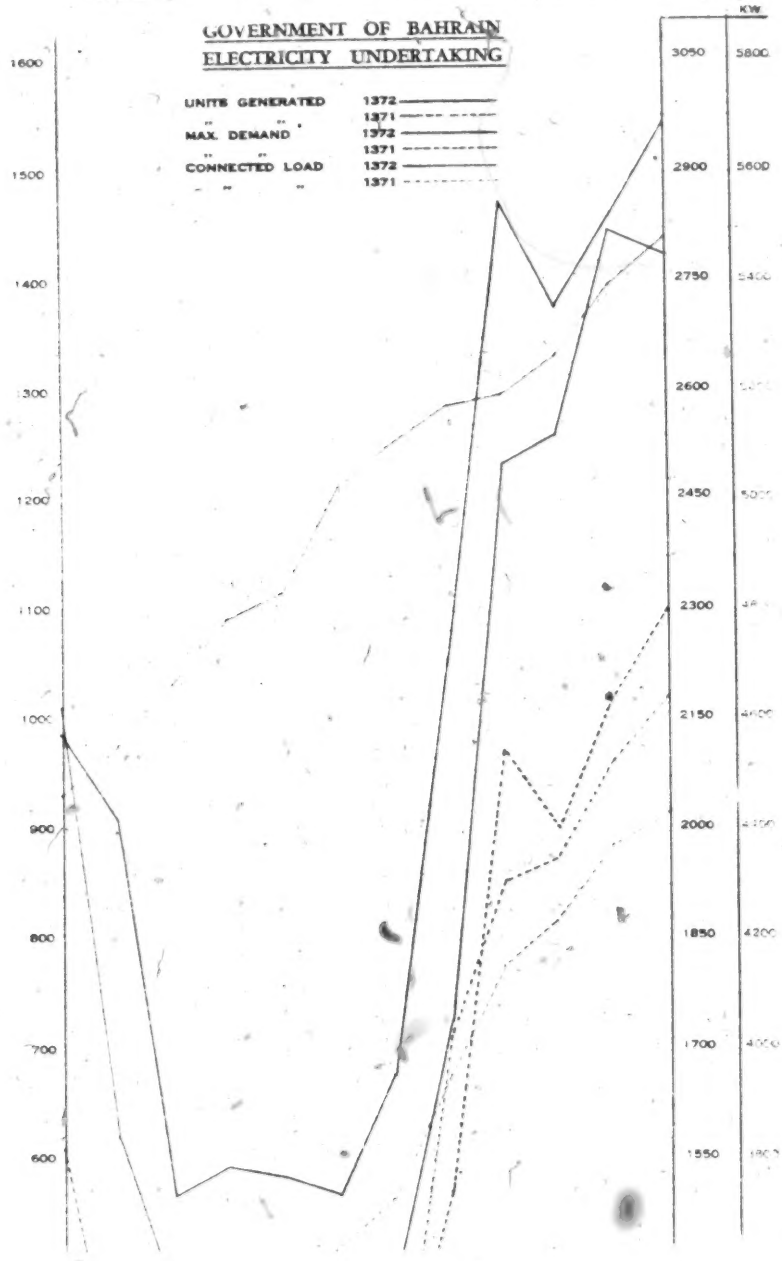


[facing page 62 Top]

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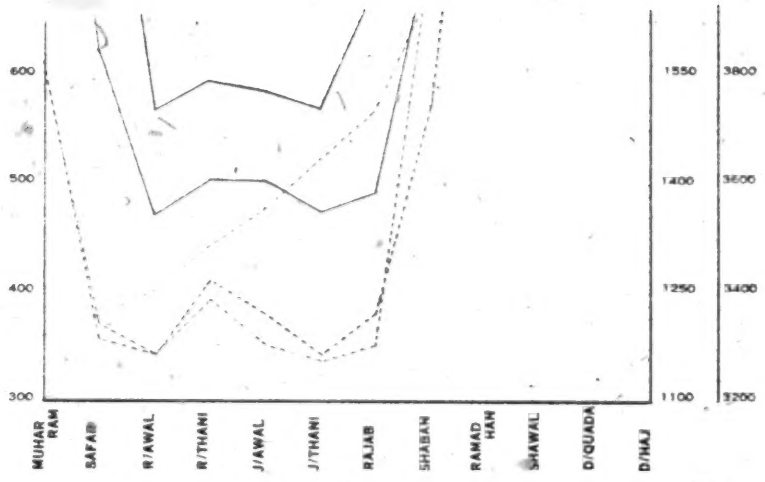


[facing page 62 Bottom]

377 In Manama, Feeder Pillars were erected in various positions about the town and larger transformers installed in many sub-stations to deal with growing loads while larger sized overhead lines were erected in the Al Hadrami Section, Palace Road, Shaikh Daij Road and Shaikh Road. New L.T. Distribution lines were erected in the Quarantine Area and underground cables were laid along Prior Road, Sea Road and Jufair Road. The total capacity of the sub-stations is now 4225 k.v.a. ; 170 new street lamps were erected in various districts and 889 new consumers were connected bringing the total number of consumers to 4514.

The total additional load connected was 1051 k.w.

377 655 **Meter and Consumers Department.** The growth and importance of this Department necessitated an extension to the present premises. The new premises were occupied in Shawal and they consist of two floors with the following accommodation.

(1) Meter Testing and Repairing Room ; (2) Stores for Meters and Meter spares. (3) Office for Installations Staff ; (4) Office for Meter Readers.

In Shawal the meter readers were transferred from the Accounts Department and their supervision and the checking of their work is now the responsibility of the Meter Department. This move should ultimately improve the efficiency of meter reading and accounting.

During the year 1,318 meters were repaired and tested, 1,035 were issued and 57 removed from various premises due to reconstruction, etc. ; 51 consumers complained of excessive electricity consumption and their meters were tested—only ten were found to be inaccurate. Two cases of theft of electrical energy were reported to the Police. 1,385 applications for new electricity supplies were received and at the year-end some 2,266 were still outstanding.

**Wiring, Sales and Services Department.** Electrical Installation work for the following premises was carried out during the year :—

Government Flats, No. 2 Block, Awal Road, Manama.
Government Flats, Sea Road, Muharraq.
Technical School, Manama (additional).
Workers' Houses, Manama.
Tifa Station, Manama.
Dispensary, Muharraq.
Flats over Technical School, Manama.
Government Hospital, Manama (Residence), (additional).
Kindergarten School, Muharraq.
Offices over Government Shops, Barret Road, Manama.
Police Family Quarters, Manama.
Government Transport Petrol Filling Station.
Adviserate, Manama (additional).
Public Works Department, Manama (additional).
Power House, Manama (additional).
H.H. Palace, Quadabiya (additional).
Food Office, Customs, Manama (additional).
New Clerks' Office, Customs, Manama (additional).
Private Male Wards (First Floor) Government Hospital, Manama.
State Engineer's Office and Workshop, Extension, Manama (additional).
Pathological Laboratory, Government Hospital, Manama (additional).
Landing Clerk's Office, Customs, Manama (additional).
Government Hospital, Manama (additional).
Tifa Station, Manama (additional).
A. Kasam's Residence, Government Hospital, Manama (additional).
Dilmun House, Sea Road, Manama (additional).
Government Coffee Shop, Awal Road, Manama (additional).
Shaikh Ebrahim's House, Quadabiya (additional).
Assistant Electrical Engineer's Residence, Belgrave Road, Manama (additional).
Adviserate Office, Manama (additional).
Government Workshop, Manama (additional).
Police Fort Office, Manama (additional).
Police Station, Manama (additional).
H.H. New Palace, Quadabiya.
Government Flats, Quadabiya.
Customs Sheds, Manama.

[AD 1952-53 -- Analyst]

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655 Six Wiring Contractors' Licences were issued to local merchants bringing the total to 31. Licences were also issued to 12 additional wiremen who had been successful in passing the Department's tests.

**Future Prospects.** When the 750 k.w. Generating Set, now being installed, is put into commission the present Power Station will have reached its full capacity and no further machines will be installed there.

The new scheme, whereby natural gas will be used to generate electric power, is scheduled to commence operating from a new Power Station, situated near the R.N. Wireless Station, Jufair, during the summer of 1373. Initially this station will contain four 1,000 k.w. Gas Engine Generating Sets. The first two of these will operate as Diesel Generating Sets for some twelve months until the natural gas is available from the oil-field.

The Contracting Engineers for this scheme are Messrs. D. and C. and William Press who, at the end of the year had commenced preparing the site for the new Power Station. The project includes for the distribution of ample supplies of electricity to all parts of Bahrain and it is expected that the initial stages will be completed in some two and a half years time.

The distribution of domestic gas is also being considered as a long-term policy.

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651 **Workshop Department.** This Department continued to carry out new work and repairs for all Departments of the Government and many private jobs were undertaken for local firms.

Work for the Government produced a revenue of Rs. 22,310, while private jobs produced Rs. 15,822, showing an overall loss of Rs. 2,218.

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489 **Transport Department.** There was an increase of 25 per cent. over the previous year of the total number of vehicles, mechanical plant, etc., operated by Government Departments and to cope with this increase the Transport Department continued to expand.

495 A Petrol Filling Station was constructed by Public Works Department and opened on the 8th Shawal, 1372, for the issue of Petrol, Oil, Air and Water. All Government vehicles now draw from this point.

Eight lock-up garages for the storage of spare vehicles were constructed and a heavy duty vehicle lift, capable of lifting vehicles weighing up to eight tons, was installed in the main shed.

The total number of vehicles on charge at the end of the year is :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (*a*) | Load-carrying vehicles (Trucks) | 31 |
| (*b*) | Buses, Station Wagons, etc. | 13 |
| (*c*) | Pick-ups | 15 |
| (*d*) | Saloon Cars | 25 |
| (*e*) | Land Rovers | 19 |
| (*f*) | Motor Cycles | 23 |
| | | 126 |

| | |
|---|---|
| The total number of Launches, Mechanical Plant, Machinery, etc., on charge at end of the year | 41 |
| Vehicles written off as being beyond economical repair | 10 |
| The total number of new vehicles ordered was | 33 |
| The total number of new vehicles received was | 38 |
| The total number of service operations carried out on vehicles during the year was | 3024 |
| The total number of repair jobs, both major and minor, carried out on vehicles, machinery, etc., was | 5887 |

## GOVERNMENT OF BAHRAIN—ELECTRICITY SUPPLY DEPARTMENT

### Statement of Energy Sold, etc., for the Year Ending 30th Dilhaja, 1372

| Total Units Generated | UNITS SOLD | | | Units used at Power Station | Units accounted for | Units lost in Transmission and Transformation | Kilowatts for Public Lighting | Total Kilowatts connected | Total Kilowatts Power Station capacity | Total Kilowatts Maximum Demand on Power Station | Total No. of Street Lamps | Total No. of Consumers |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | By Meter for all purposes | For Public Lighting | Total | | | | | | | | | |
| 10,585,560 | 9,503,927 | 146,411 | 9,650,338 | 298,408 | 9,948,746 | 636,814 | 55 | 5,497 | 3,750 | 2,965 | 530 | 4,514 |

MAINS AND TRANSFORMER LOSSES — 6.26 PER CENT.

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## BAHRAIN ELECTRICAL DEPARTMENT

### BALANCE SHEET AS ON 1st JANUARY, 1954

| Liabilities | | | | Assets | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **CAPITAL ACCOUNT :** | | | | **PLANT AND MACHINERY :** | | | |
| Bahrain Government | | 60,50,000 | 0 0 | *Generation Section :* | | | |
| | | | | Power House and Buildings | 7,96,609 0 1 | | |
| **SUNDRY CREDITORS :** | | | | Power House Equipment | 75,472 1 7 | | |
| Bahrain Government | 32,077 0 9 | | | Oil Tank | 3,180 14 0 | | |
| Bahrain Petroleum Co. | 47,437 8 0 | | | Oil Filter | 7,683 2 2 | | |
| | | 79,514 | 8 9 | Water Distillation Plant | 94,854 13 8 | | |
| **RESERVES :** | | | | Cooling Tower Equipment | 60,709 9 1 | | |
| Depreciation Reserve | 7,61,090 7 6 | | | Engine Set No. 4 | 93,082 2 1 | | |
| Operating Reserve | 4,89,748 11 11 | | | Engine Set No. 5 | 1,47,167 4 3 | | |
| Reserve for Bad Debts | 12,774 0 0 | | | Engine Set No. 6 | 1,46,307 0 1 | | |
| | | 12,63,613 | 3 5 | Engine Sets Nos. 7 and 8 | 3,61,569 6 9 | | |
| Consumers Dep. | | 1,01,432 | 10 0 | Engine Set No. 9 | 3,17,731 4 2 | | |
| | | | | Engine Set No. 10 | 2,49,770 13 9 | | |
| | | | | Engine Sets Nos. 11 and 12 | 6,60,086 1 0 | | |
| | | | | | | 30,14,223 8 8 | |
| | | | | *Distribution Section :* | | | |
| | | | | Feeders, Sub-Stations, Switchgear and Distribution Lines | 21,05,326 3 6 | | |
| | | | | Meters | 2,73,723 13 3 | | |
| | | | | | | 23,79,050 0 9 | |
| | | | | MOTOR VEHICLES | | 66,250 0 0 | |
| | | | | | | | 54,59,523 9 5 |
| | | | | **GENERAL STOCK :** | | | |
| | | | | Stock on hand | 14,17,720 6 8 | | |
| | | | | Stock in transit | 1,24,199 5 6 | | |
| | | | | | | | 15,41,919 12 2 |
| | | | | **SUNDRY DEBTORS :** | | | |
| | | | | Energy Debtors | 1,99,111 4 0 | | |
| | | | | Service Debtors | 6,243 0 0 | | |
| | | | | Wiring Debtors | 50,129 6 0 | | |
| | | | | | | | 2,55,483 10 0 |
| | | | | **CASH IN HAND :** | | | |
| | | | | Imprest Account | 8,000 0 0 | | |
| | | | | Eastern Bank (Current Account) | 1,28,200 12 7 | | |
| | | | | Eastern Bank (Con. Dep.) | 1,01,432 10 0 | | |
| | | | | | | | 2,37,633 6 7 |
| | | Rs. 74,94,560 | 6 2 | | | Rs. | 74,94,560 6 2 |

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## BAHRAIN ELECTRICAL DEPARTMENT

### SUB DIVIDED RECAPITULATED PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT FOR 1372 AND PERIOD ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1953

| ELECTRICAL SECTION — Expenditure | | | | Receipts | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Generation :* | | | | *Revenue :* | | | |
| Materials, Maintenance and Repairs | | 5,37,173 8 11 | | Sales of energy and rental of Meters | | 17,44,322 6 0 | |
| Establishment Costs | | 2,26,764 14 2 | | | | | |
| Insurance | | 23,095 12 0 | | | | | |
| Depreciation—Power House and Buildings | | 19,513 0 0 | | | | | |
| Power House Equipment | | 3,774 0 0 | | | | | |
| Oil Tank | | 80 0 0 | | | | | |
| Oil Filters | | 480 0 0 | | | | | |
| Water Distillation Plant | | 5,928 0 0 | | | | | |
| Cooling Tower and Equipment | | 6,070 0 0 | | | | | |
| Engine Set No. 4 | | 7,757 0 0 | | | | | |
| Engine Set No. 5 | | 12,264 0 0 | | | | | |
| Engine Set No. 6 | | 9,144 0 0 | | | | | |
| Engine Sets Nos. 7 and 8 | | 22,598 0 0 | | | | | |
| Engine Set No. 9 | | 19,858 0 0 | | | | | |
| Engine Set No. 10 | | 23,415 0 0 | | | | | |
| Engine Sets Nos. 11 and 12 | | 10,314 0 0 | | | | | |
| | | | 9,28,229 3 1 | | | | |
| *Distribution* | | | | | | | |
| Materials, Maintenance and Repairs | | 1,08,832 6 10 | | | | | |
| Establishment Costs | | 2,08,683 11 1 | | | | | |
| Depreciation—Feeders, Sub-Stations, Switchgears and Lines | | 1,05,266 0 0 | | | | | |
| | | | 4,22,782 1 11 | | | | |
| *Meters* | | | | | | | |
| Maintenance and Repairs | | 6,032 2 0 | | | | | |
| Establishment Costs | | 43,332 9 0 | | | | | |
| Depreciation | | 13,686 0 0 | | | | | |
| | | | 63,050 11 0 | | | | |
| NET PROFIT | | | 3,30,260 6 0 | | | | |
| | | Rs. | 17,44,322 6 0 | | | Rs. | 17,44,322 6 0 |
| WIRING AND MISCELLANEOUS JOBS : | | | | *Revenue :* | | | |
| Materials | | 3,37,215 0 6 | | Wiring, Sundry Sales and Sundry Jobs | | 3,38,225 8 0 | |
| Establishment Costs | | 60,839 5 9 | | Service | | 73,065 12 0 | |
| | | | 3,98,054 6 3 | | | | |
| NETT PROFIT | | | 13,236 13 9 | | | | |
| | | Rs. | 4,11,291 4 0 | | | Rs. | 4,11,291 4 0 |
| RECAPITULATION | | | | | | | |
| NETT PROFIT—Added to Operating Reserve | | | 3,43,497 3 9 | NETT PROFIT—Electrical Section | | | 3,30,260 6 0 |
| | | | | NETT PROFIT—Wiring Section | | | 13,236 13 9 |
| | | Rs. | 3,43,497 3 9 | | | Rs. | 3,43,497 3 9 |

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## GENERAL

**Distinguished Visitors.** Among the many notable persons who visited Bahrain during the year were H.R.H. The Duchess of Kent and H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, who were on their way to the Far East. H.H. Shaikh Abdulla As Salim, Ruler of Kuwait paid his usual visit to the country; H.E. Ghulam Mohammed, Governor General of Pakistan, stayed for a night on his way to Saudi Arabia. Other visitors were H.E. Dr. Mohammed Fadhel Al Jamali, Prime Minister of Iraq; Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck; His Eminence Jirgis Daoud Kandila, Metropolitan of the Syrian Catholic Church; a group of British Members of Parliament; numerous rulers of the Shaikhdoms of the Trucial Coast; foreign diplomats; journalists of many nationalities and senior British and American Army, Navy and Air Force Officers.

**Coronation of King Faisal.** H.E. Shaikh Isa, the eldestson of His Highness, represented his father at the coronation in Baghdad in June of H.M. King Faisal II. He was accompanied by several of his relations. The Bahrain delegation travelled to and from Baghdad by air.

**Postage Stamps.** A Bahrain 1½ Anna stamp, for internal postage, bearing a portrait of His Highness Shaikh Sulman, was brought into circulation during the year. Some progress was made in the process of the Government gradually taking over the administration of the postal services.

**"Caltex Bahrain."** The new oil tanker, *Caltex Bahrain*, was launched in December, in England. The launching ceremony was performed by Lady Belgrave.

**Pepsi Cola Factory.** Mr. Husain Ahmedi, a local merchant, built a factory on the south-west of Manama for making Pepsi Cola. This is the first enterprise of this type which has been undertaken in Bahrain.

**Stamped Paper and Title Deeds.** The Government adopted a new design of stamped paper, which is used for agreements, receipts, powers of attorney, etc. New forms were also introduced for title deeds.

**Anglican Church.** The building of an Anglican Church was completed on a site east of the Fort which was presented to the Anglican Community by His Highness Shaikh Sulman.

**Agriculture.** No report on agriculture has been included this year as Mr. J. Edmond, the Agricultural Officer, completed his period of contract with the Government and proceeded on leave, pending retirement, on 15th September, 1952.

Mr. Van Ollenbach was appointed Agricultural Officer and began his duties on 5th January, 1953.

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## HIS HIGHNESS SHAIKH SULMAN'S VISIT TO ENGLAND

His Highness Shaikh Sulman left Bahrain, by air, on 13th May and arrived back in his country on June 26th. His party consisted of his youngest son, Shaikh Mohammed bin Sulman, Sir Charles and Lady Belgrave, Mr. Husain Yateem and two secretaries.

He travelled by air to Beirut where he stayed for one night; by sea, in S.S. *Esperia*, to Venice where he stayed for three days; by train to Montreux, on the Lake of Geneva, where he spent four days, and on by train to Paris where he stayed for two nights. He reached London on May 28th.

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# VISIT OF H.H. SHAIKH SULMAN TO ENGLAND FOR THE CORONATION OF H.M. QUEEN ELIZABETH II.

(1) H.H. at Lincoln College, Oxford, with Dr. Keith Murray.

(3) H.H. at the De Boussac stables at Chantilly.

(2) H.H. leaving London at the end of his visit.

[facing page 68 a]

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CORONATION VISIT.

H.H. Shaikh Sulman with H.M. The Queen Mother at Hatfield House.

[facing page 18 B]

648 In Beirut the President of the Lebanese Republic gave a luncheon party for His Highness ; in Venice he was entertained by representatives of the Italian Government ; in Switzerland the local authorities gave a party for him in the castle of Chillon and in Paris he was the guest at a reception at the Quay d'Orsay. In addition to official occasions he was entertained by friends in all the countries through which he travelled and by the Bahrain Petroleum Company in Paris who arranged for him a visit to the stables of M. de Boussac at Chantilly. While in Switzerland he visited Geneva and heard a debate on Human Rights in the Palace of Nations.

His Highness was met on his arrival in London by H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh. During his stay he and his party occupied rooms at the Mayfair Hotel ; until June 6th he was the guest of H.M. Government ; from June 6th until he left London on June 18th, he was the guest of the Bahrain Petroleum Company.

During the first part of his visit in addition to being present in Westminster Abbey at the Coronation he attended many official functions, banquets and receptions. During the latter part of his stay he was the guest at many official and unofficial occasions. Although most of his time was spent in London he was able to see something of the country. He visited Oxford and had luncheon at Lincoln College, he went to Brighton, to Three Bridges in Sussex to see Lady Wentworth's Arab Stud ; to garden parties at Blenheim Palace and Hatfield House, and to Epsom for the Derby. He was present at a garden party given by the Archbishop of Canterbury, he attended the Naval Review at Portsmouth and the Trooping of the Colour ; he was entertained by the Bahrain students in England and visited Richmond Horse Show. He spent most of one day on the River Thames as the guest of the Port of London Authority and visited the Bank of England and the Mansion House. Shortly before the end of his visit he gave an evening party at Claridges Hotel which was attended by over 300 guests, including people who had showed hospitality to him during his stay, and many people who in the past had been connected with Bahrain and the Persian Gulf.

He travelled back to Venice by train and by sea in S.S. *Esperia* to Beirut and flew from there to Bahrain where he arrived on 26th June.

On his return he was given an outstanding reception, the festivities lasted for three days. Apart from one short visit to Kuwait this was the first time he had been away from Bahrain since his accession in 1942 and the first occasion on which he had visited Europe.

650 **Obituary.** In the Spring of 1953 Abdul Aziz Al Gozaibi died in Beirut from the results of an accident. It seems that he fell from the edge of the road on to some rocks and so lost his life. He was ill when he went to Beirut and it was known that he was liable to attacks of giddiness.

Abdul Aziz was the eldest of four brothers who came originally from Saudi Arabia. During and after the first war they were among the leading merchants of Bahrain, besides trading pearls they had an extensive business with Saudi Arabia and acted in Bahrain as unofficial agents of His Majesty King Ibn Saud. Abdul Aziz, who received the title of Khan Bahadur from the Government of India, took a leading part in local affairs. He was one of the pearl merchants who supported the Government in its original efforts to improve conditions among the pearl divers. He sat for many years on the Manama Municipal Council and was a member of many committees. His level-headedness and realistic outlook made him a valuable member of the community. He represented a man of the older generation whose views were not incompatible with modern conditions. His death is a loss to Bahrain.

4: Bahrain G 5 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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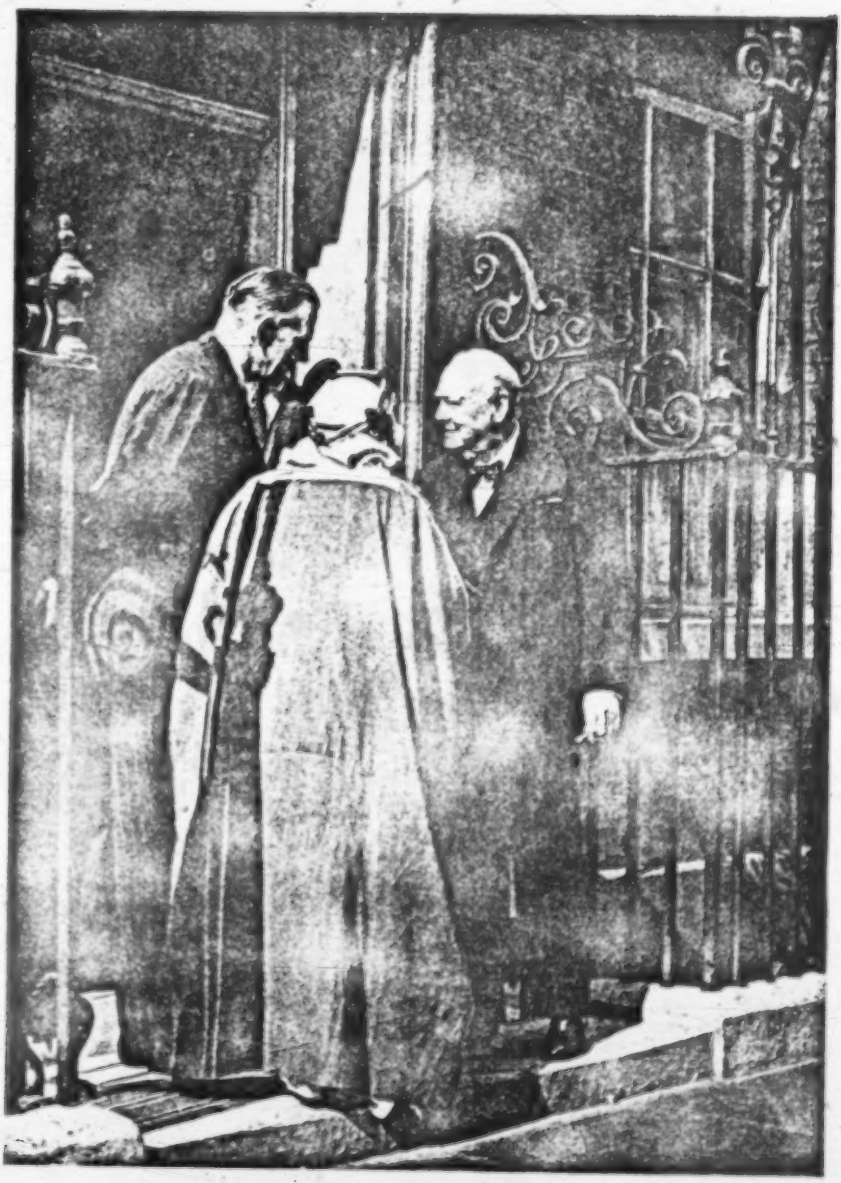

CORONATION VISIT.

H.H. Shaikh Sulman with Sir Winston Churchill, at 10, Downing Street.

[facing page 61a]

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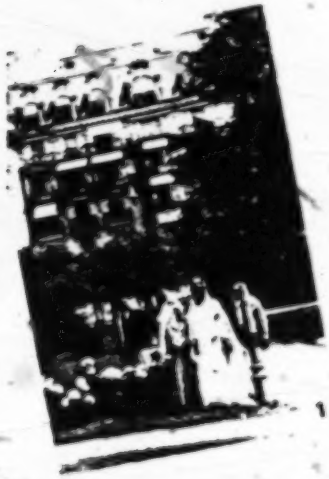
# CORONATION VISIT OF H.H. SHAIKH SULMAN TO EUROPE



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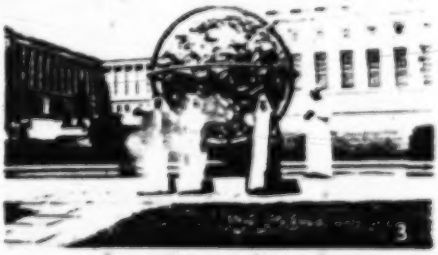
(1) H.H. in the garden of the Palace Hotel Montreux.



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(2) H.H. and his party at Chillon Castle.

(3) H.H. and some of his party at the Palace of Nations, Geneva.

(4) H.H. with H.E. the Prime Minister of the Lebanese Republic.

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[facing page 69b]

## FINANCE

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**Revenue and Expenditure 1372.** The total revenue in 1372 was 373¼ lakhs. There was an increase in revenue from almost all sources, the largest increase being the the oil revenue which was 39½ lakhs more than in 1371. Customs receipts were 8 lakhs higher ; the income from the Reserve Fund was 3 lakhs more than in the previous year and the all-round increase was 58 lakhs. The additional revenue from oil was due to the new arrangement under which certain payments were received during the year 1372.

Expenditure was considerably higher than in the previous year. Without the payment of one-third of the oil revenue to the Privy Purse, which amounted to over 80 lakhs, and excluding unforeseen expenditure and non-recurrent public works, the cost of maintaining the present administration, Government Departments, Education, Public Protection, Public Health, Maintenance of buildings and roads, etc., etc., was 20 lakhs more than in 1371.

More money was spent upon Education, Public Health and Public Protection which for many years have been the three largest recurrent items in the State's budget. It can, however, be claimed that educational facilities were enlarged and improved, law and order were well maintained and medical work was developed.

In addition to the usual grants to the Municipalities the Government presented a new fish, meat and vegetable market to the Manama Municipality, to cater for the people living in East Manama, and also paid for a new fire engine. Extra grants amounting to Rs. 60,000 per annum were made to the Muharraq and Rafaa Municipalities.

Unforeseen expenditure included 9 lakhs refunded to the Food Control Department to meet a loss on sugar which had been purchased by the Government during the last three years. This payment was in fact a subsidy to keep down the price of sugar ; sugar was also used as barter to encourage meat imports from Persia at a reasonable price. Few people realise that the prices of sugar and meat, and in the past, other essential foods, have since early in the war been subsidised by the Government.

Special legal expenses amounted to two lakhs. The cost of the aerial survey, carried out by Messrs. Hunting Aerosurvey, and the preparation of maps, etc., amounted to 1-1/5 lakhs, ; donations to fire victims and contributions by the Government to the T.B. Fund came to 1½ lakhs ; the expenses incurred by the visit of the Ruler of Kuwait amounted to Rs. 60,000 and the cost of His Highness's official visit to Europe was Rs. 1,18,000.

The total expenditure by the Public Works Department was 50 lakhs. Out of this sum almost 10 lakhs was spent on productive works such as blocks of flats, offices, etc. for letting ; 4 lakhs was spent on stores ; 4½ lakhs on roads and the remaining amount on a number of large and small building projects which included the new Palace, a block of staff quarters at Qudhabia, consisting of six European style flats ; quarters for teachers above the Technical School; extensions to the Qudhabia Palace ; new Customs Sheds ; a Jetty and sea reclamation in the customs area ; additional private wards in the Government Hospital ; married lines for the Police at the Fort, and many additions to schools, dispensaries, offices and other Government premises.

The summary of Revenue and Expenditure shows that by the end of the year the Reserve Fund was 464½ lakhs, invested in British and Indian stock and the Government held over 42½ lakhs in various current accounts. Other assets of the State were the Government's investment in the Electricity Supply Undertaking, over the last 25 years, amounting to 64½ lakhs ; a similar investment in the Manama Town Water Supply of 13 lakhs over the last five years, and an investment of 20 lakhs in the new gas-electric scheme.

**Budget 1373 (Revenue).** The estimated oil revenue is 386½ lakhs of which 310 lakhs is Income Tax, on the 50-50 basis, and 76½ lakhs is the payment on imported oil at the rate of 2 annas per barrel. It is assumed that the quantity of oil produced and imported will be the same as in 1372. The estimated oil revenue is 188½ lakhs more than was estimated in the 1372 budget which was made before the new 50-50 arrangement was finally agreed upon, and 146 lakhs more than last year's actual oil revenue.

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Customs receipts have continued to rise ; they are estimated at 90 lakhs, a figure which is based on the average of the actuals of the last three years. Last year the Customs produced 105¼ lakhs.

The income from investments of the Reserve Fund has risen from a little more than 12 lakhs, in 1372 to 17½ lakhs.

Land revenue, which includes registration fees on sales and titles, rents of land occupied by barasti dwellers and proceeds from sales of land has been assessed at 2 lakhs. Last year more than twice this sum was received, mostly from sales of land ; it is unlikely that there will be as many sales as in 1373 as little land remains which the Government is willing to dispose of.

Medical receipts are higher partly because X-Ray charges and sales of drugs are now under "Revenue" instead of being deducted from expenditure.

Under revenue from public works there is a decrease in income from bridge tolls. On his return from England His Highness aboished tolls on private cars, which was a popular move among car owners, who could in fact more easily afford to pay the small toll charge. Rents from buildings have increased. This item is the revenue from leases of blocks of flats and government owned shops ; it is one of the few forms of productive local investment in which the Government can participate.

The total estimated revenue for 1373 is 507½ lakhs as against an estimated revenue of 304½ lakhs in 1372. In 1372 however, the actual revenue exceeded the budgeted revenue by 69 lakhs owing to certain payments of oil revenue under the new oil agreement being received during the year.

**Expenditure.** Expenditure has increased considerably, the largest item being the one-third oil revenue which is paid to the Privy Purse of the Ruler ; from this he pays the Civil List which includes a large number of members of the Ruling Family. The oil payment to the Ruler increases according to the oil revenue and now amounts to 128¾ lakhs, slightly under one million pounds.

State Departments will cost about a lakh more than in the previous year ; the reason for this, and for increases in other departmental expenditure, is the automatic annual increment system, applicable to a large proportion of employees, and an adjustment in salaries which was made in 1372 when "cost of living" allowances were abolished and consolidated rates of pay were instituted. This also increased the Government's contributions to the Employees' Provident Fund which is now assessed on their consolidated pay.

Education will cost 35¾ lakhs, 9 lakhs more than in 1372 ; of this increase 6¼ lakhs is on account of boys schools, 1½ lakhs for girls schools and one-third lakh is for technical education. More boys are being given scholarships to complete their education abroad and more schools are being opened in Bahrain. There is always a demand for more schools from both towns and villages.

The cost of health services is also rising rapidly ; it now amounts to 34 lakhs and has increased by 10-1/3 lakhs since last year. This sum includes provision for considerable development of medical work, but against this figure can be set medical receipts totalling 3½ lakhs. Neither the Education or Public Health budgets include the cost of new buildings, new schools, hospitals and dispensaries. These works form part of the Public Works budget.

Provision has been made under Public Protection to raise the Police Force to 350 N.C.O's and men, though it is probable that the full complement will not be enlisted during the year.

Subsidies to Municipalities amount to 2½ lakhs ; they also receive half of the revenue from bridge tolls. Though Manama, and to a lesser extent, Muharraq, are wealthy cities yet their citizens, as represented by the Municipal Councils, expect to be financed almost entirely from Government grants.

651 The allocation to the Transport Department is less than in last year's budget, as in 1372 a quantity of new equipment was bought.

652 A very large programme of work is to be carried out by the Public Works Department during the year. This is described in a separate statement. To cope with it effectively the staff of the department has to be enlarged.

Specifications for the deep water pier near Jufair are being prepared by the Government's Consulting Engineers in London. Only the causeway leading to the pier will be constructed by the Public Works Department, the dredging and the construction of the pierhead will be carried out by outside firms.

It is unlikely that much progress will be made on this project during the year, apart from the causeway, so 20 lakhs has been provided for the scheme.

The sum of 40 lakhs has been set aside for the Electric-Gas scheme which embodies an extension of electric power to all the towns and villages in Bahrain. At present only Manama and Muharraq are supplied with electricity.

During the year it is hoped that 135¼ lakhs may be added to the Reserve Fund.

A fact of interest which emerges from the budget is that if all new works and schemes were excluded from the budget the revenue from sources other than oil would be sufficient to pay for the administration and running of the state on the present scale. The total revenue, without oil, is 121 lakhs, the total expenditure, excluding the one-third of the oil revenue which is paid to the Ruler, new projects and works, and without a contribution to the Reserve Fund, is 119¼ lakhs.

The following figures show, roughly, how the oil and other revenue has been used since the State first received royalties from oil :

**OIL RECEIPTS**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Oil Royalty, less one-third, paid to the Privy Purse, from 1354 until 1368 (15 years) | | Rs. 299,95,000 |
| 1369 Royalty at Rs. 3/8 per ton and Rs. 10/- | | 62,55,000 |
| 1370 Royalty at Rs. 10/- per ton | | 92,26,000 |
| 1371 Royalty at Rs. 10/- per ton | | 94,01,000 |
| 1372 Income Tax | | 103,92,000 |
| 1373 Income Tax received during period ending on 31st December, 1953 (relating to 1952) and payment at the rate of Rs. 10/- per ton on exported oil for the first half of 1953 | | 103,70,000 |
| | | Rs. 756,39,000 |
| Duty on imported oil, less one-third paid to the Privy Purse : | | |
| 1370 | Rs. 10,00,000 | |
| 1371 | 40,00,000 | |
| 1372 | 56,39,000 | |
| Until 31st December, 1953 | 12,56,000 | |
| | | 118,95,000 |
| Total | | Rs. 875,34,000 |
| **Reserve Fund** | | |
| Capital Accounts | | Rs. 562,40,000 |
| Electric Supply, Water Supply and Electric-Gas Scheme | | 96,98,000 |
| **Loans Advanced** | | |
| Foodstuffs Account | 3,46,000 | |
| Gulf Aviation Company | 8,00,000 | |
| Deposit Account | 12,53,000 | |
| | | 23,99,000 |
| Cash in hand | | 47,88,000 |
| Closing Balance, 31st December, 1953 | | Rs. 731,25,000 |

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In addition, during the period between 1935 and 1953 the Public Works Department incurred the following expenditure :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Revenue producing projects (shops, flats and buildings for rent) .. | Rs. | 46,80,000 |
| Unproductive projects (Public buildings, staff quarters, offices, hospitals, schools, etc.) .. .. .. .. | | 149,84,000 |

The principal works which were carried out by the P.W.D. during the period between 1935 and 1953 are shown below. This list does not include projects which were carried out before the State possessed any oil revenue, such as the Manama-Muharraq causeway, which in those days cost only 7½ lakhs.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Shops and Flats on Lease** | | |
| House at Quadabiya .. .. .. .. .. | Rs. 50,000 | |
| Shops and Offices on Barrett Road .. .. .. .. .. | 7,04,000 | |
| Post Office and Flat .. .. .. .. .. | 1,57,000 | |
| Flat over Manama Police Station .. .. .. .. .. | 72,000 | |
| Dilmun House (Flats) .. .. .. .. .. | 8,05,000 | |
| Shops and Flats south of Dilmun House .. .. .. .. | 1,94,000 | |
| Tylos House (Flats) .. .. .. .. .. | 5,61,000 | |
| Awal House (Flats) .. .. .. .. .. | 7,01,000 | |
| Arradus House (Flats) .. .. .. .. .. | 9,25,000 | |
| Workmen's Houses .. .. .. .. .. | 5,11,000 | |
| | | 46,80,000 |
| Government Offices, Bab al Bahrain .. .. .. .. .. .. | | 5,56,000 |
| Customs Buildings, Sheds, Pier Extension, Jetty, Crane and Railroad .. .. | | 27,50,000 |
| Law Court and Flats .. .. .. .. .. .. | | 1,24,000 |
| P.W.D. Building, Flat and Stores .. .. .. .. .. .. | | 4,86,000 |
| Transport, Shed, Stores, Officer's flat and Filling Station .. .. .. | | 4,14,000 |
| British Staff Quarters (Old Quarantine) .. .. .. .. .. | | 7,11,000 |
| Quadabiya Palace Extension .. .. .. .. .. .. | | 3,11,000 |
| **Public Security** | | |
| Fort Extension, Police Houses (Fort) and Police and Natur Stations in Bahrain .. | | 11,56,000 |
| **Public Health** | | |
| Hospitals and Dispensaries .. .. .. .. .. | 16,25,000 | |
| Nursing Sisters' House .. .. .. .. .. .. | 2,20,000 | |
| Indian Staff Quarters .. .. .. .. .. .. | 3,83,000 | |
| T.B. Sanatorium and Lunatic Asylum .. .. .. .. | 3,20,000 | |
| Health Office and Flat .. .. .. .. .. | 4,78,000 | |
| Staff Quarters on Rafaa Road (in progress) .. .. .. .. | 1,68,000 | |
| | | 31,94,000 |
| **Education** | | |
| Muharraq and Manama West School Extensions, Teachers' Quarters, West School, Budaiya, Rafaa and Village Schools, Muharraq Girls' School .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 5,40,000 | |
| Hostel .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 11,66,000 | |
| Secondary School .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 5,71,000 | |
| Al Zahra School (Girls) .. .. .. .. .. .. | 6,48,000 | |
| Muharraq Boys' School .. .. .. .. .. .. | 5,23,000 | |
| Quarters over Technical School Building .. .. .. .. | 5,24,000 | |
| Staff Quarters, Girls' Education .. .. .. .. .. | 1,10,000 | |
| | | 40,82,000 |
| New Quadabiya Palace (in progress .. .. .. .. .. .. | | 12,00,000 |
| | | Rs. 196,64,000 |

Towards the end of the year His Highness agreed that in future the budget of the State and the annual accounts should be done according to the Gregorian Calendar provided that for the time being, monthly salaries should continue to be paid according to the Hejira Calendar. This somewhat complicated transition is being achieved by a supplementary budget being made to cover the period from 1st January, 1954 till 31st December, 1954.

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## SUMMARY OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE FOR YEAR 1372

| Revenue | | | Expenditure | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Balance from year 1371 : | | | Expenditure 1372 | | 248,67,846 10 11 |
| Reserve Fund | 335,87,929 15 2 | | Balance at end of Dhulhaj, 1372 : | | |
| Capital Accounts and Advances | 132,06,458 11 5 | | Reserve Fund | 464,25,675 12 6 | |
| Cash on hand | 38,21,911 5 7 | | Capital Accounts and Advances | 124,06,233 3 10 | |
| | 506,16,300 0 2 | | Cash on hand | 42,82,558 6 2 | |
| Revenue 1372 | 373,66,014 1 3 | | | | 631,14,467 6 6 |
| | Rs. 879,82,314 1 5 | | | Rs. | 879,82,314 1 5 |

Balance explained :—

| | | *Face Value* | *Purchase Value* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Reserve Fund* | | | |
| 3 per cent. Indian Government Loan, 1963/65 | | 413,28,200 | 108,57,058 10 11 |
| 2½ per cent. Indian Government Loan, 1960 | | 10,00,000 | 10,05,315 15 6 |
| 3 per cent. British Saving Bonds, 1955/65 | £6,00,000 | 80,00,000 | 80,33,615 9 5 |
| 3 per cent. British Saving Bonds, 1960/70 | 14,50,000 | 193,33,333 | 169,73,712 7 8 |
| 3 per cent. British Transport Stock, 1978/88 | 2,25,000 | 30,00,000 | 27,69,113 1 0 |
| 4 per cent. Funding Loan, 1960/90 | 5,00,000 | 66,66,667 | 67,86,860 0 0 |
| | | 493,28,200 | 464,25,675 12 6 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Capital Accounts and Advances* | | | |
| Electric Supply Department | | 64,42,879 6 5 | |
| Water Supply Department | | 12,92,242 7 8 | |
| Gas Scheme | | 20,52,000 0 0 | |
| Foodstuffs Account | | 8,95,332 13 2 | |
| Deposit Account | | 9,23,778 8 7 | |
| Loan Advanced to Gulf Aviation Co., Ltd. | | 8,00,000 0 0 | |
| | | | 124,06,233 3 10 |
| *Cash in hand* : | | | |
| Imprest Accounts | | 19,400 0 0 | |
| Eastern Bank Ltd., London | | 31,393 4 6 | |
| Eastern Bank Ltd., Baghdad | | 341 14 6 | |
| Eastern Bank Ltd., Bombay | | 10,362 8 10 | |
| Reserve Bank of India, Bombay | | 5,29,880 14 6 | |
| Eastern Bank Ltd., Bahrain : | | | |
| Consolidated Fund | 4,67,518 10 9 | | |
| Police Account | 53,490 0 11 | | |
| Education Account | 10,171 [redacted] | | |
| | | 5,31,179 11 10 | |
| | | | 42,82,558 6 2 |
| | | Rs. | 631,14,467 6 6 |

4: Bahrain G-S (no date) 1953 M22 confirm M23

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## STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE—1372

| Revenue | | | | Expenditure | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **OIL RECEIPTS :** | | | | **PAYMENTS TO THE PRIVY PURSE :** | | | |
| Income Tax | 155,84,326 3 7 | | | One-third Oil Income Tax | 51,92,426 15 8 | | |
| Duty on Imported Oil | 84,58,415 11 1 | | | One-third Duty on Imported Oil | 28,19,122 4 10 | | |
| | | 240,42,741 14 8 | | | | 80,11,549 4 4 | |
| Customs Receipts including Import Yard Charges, etc. | | 105,44,435 8 0 | | Advocate | | 1,84,091 1 6 | |
| Interest on Reserve | | 11,76,952 4 4 | | Accounts and Audit | | 1,72,907 12 9 | |
| Interest on Loan | | 40,000 0 0 | | Customs Department | | 7,01,332 4 6 | |
| Land Revenue | | 5,40,270 13 0 | | Land Registration Department | | 1,18,924 13 3 | |
| Education Receipts | | 25,881 14 0 | | Passport Department | | 1,28,263 15 0 | |
| Medical Receipts | | 2,33,756 5 0 | | Food Control Department | | 63,732 10 0 | |
| Car Taxes and Driving Licences | | 1,34,118 15 0 | | Awkaf Departments | | 47,653 12 0 | |
| Passport Receipts | | 53,989 8 0 | | Minors Estates Department | | 30,148 12 0 | |
| Judicial Receipts | | 53,562 2 0 | | Law Courts | | 1,37,687 11 0 | |
| Public Works : | | | | Sheraa Courts | | 49,203 5 0 | |
| Bridge Tolls | 1,33,145 13 4 | | | Education | | 26,87,906 8 9 | |
| Rent of Government Buildings | 1,82,656 8 0 | | | Public Health | | 23,53,249 13 4 | |
| | | 3,15,802 5 4 | | Public Protection | | 16,54,893 10 1 | |
| Oil Inspection Fees | | 1,43,466 2 0 | | Municipalities | | 4,93,193 15 8 | |
| Miscellaneous Receipts | | 61,036 5 11 | | Oil Inspection Department | | 79,674 14 9 | |
| | | 373,66,014 1 3 | | Agriculture | | 1,45,137 15 9 | |
| Balance from year 1371 | | 506,16,300 0 2 | | Transport Department | | 4,51,979 3 3 | |
| | | | | Unforeseen | | 17,32,056 5 0 | |
| | | | | Public Works : | | | |
| | | | | *Recurrent :* | | | |
| | | | | Public Works Department | 1,68,711 6 7 | | |
| | | | | Shaikh Hamad Bridge | 30,815 15 0 | | |
| | | | | Maintenance Roads | 2,34,997 12 2 | | |
| | | | | Annual Repairs Government Buildings | 1,69,733 9 9 | | |
| | | | | *Non-recurrent :* | | | |
| | | | | New Works and Stores | 50,12,663 6 0 | | |
| | | | | | | 56,16,922 1 6 | |
| | | | | Deep Water Pier | | 7,336 13 6 | |
| | | | | | | 248,67,846 10 11 | |
| | | | | **Balance at end of Dhulhaj, 1372** | | 631,14,467 6 6 | |
| | Rs. | 879,82,314 1 5 | | | Rs. | 879,82,314 1 5 | |

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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| PRINCIPAL HEADS OF REVENUE | Estimates 1372 | Total Estimates 1372 | Accuals 1372 |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| 1. *Oil Receipts* : | | | |
| (a) Income Tax | 138,00,000 | | 155,84,300 |
| (b) Duty on Imported Crude Oil | 60,00,000 | | 84,56,600 |
| | | 198,00,000 | |
| 2. *Customs Receipts* : | | | |
| (a) Customs and Import Yards | 83,47,500 | | 104,22,100 |
| (b) Miscellaneous | 52,500 | | 1,22,300 |
| | | 84,00,000 | |
| 3. *Interest* : | | | |
| (a) Interest on Reserve | 10,75,000 | | 11,77,000 |
| (b) Interest on Loan Advanced | 40,000 | | 40,000 |
| | | 11,15,000 | |
| 4. *Land Revenue* : | | | |
| (a) Fees from Sales Registration | 1,25,000 | | 1,28,200 |
| (b) Sales of Government Lands | 60,000 | | 3,51,100 |
| (c) Rents of Government Lands and Aerodromes | 48,000 | | 61,000 |
| | | 2,33,000 | |
| 5. *Education* : | | | |
| (a) Boys' Schools | 10,000 | | 9,100 |
| (b) Girls' Schools | 10,000 | | 12,400 |
| (c) Technical School | 5,000 | | 4,400 |
| | | 25,000 | |
| 6. *Medical Receipts* : | | | |
| (a) Nursing Home Fees | 65,000 | | 92,000 |
| (b) General Fees | 52,000 | | 63,900 |
| (c) Quarantine Fees | 53,000 | | 53,000 |
| (d) Miscellaneous | — | | 24,900 |
| | | 1,70,000 | |
| 7. *Car Taxes and Driving Licences* | | 95,000 | |
| 8. *Passport Receipts* | | 72,000 | |
| 9. *Judicial Receipts* : | | | |
| (a) Court Fees | 35,000 | | 45,900 |
| (b) Fines | 10,000 | | 7,700 |
| | | 45,000 | |
| 10. *Public Works* : | | | |
| (a) Bridge Tolls | 1,45,000 | | 1,33,100 |
| (b) Rent of Government Shops and Buildings | 1,90,000 | | 1,82,600 |
| | | 3,35,000 | |
| 11. *Oil Inspection Fees* | | 1,60,000 | |
| 12. *Miscellaneous Receipts* | | 10,000 | |

[Page 16 a]

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1954 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



# BUDGET—1373

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| Total Actuals 1372 Rs. | Estimates 1372 Rs. | Total Estimates 1373 Rs. | PRINCIPAL HEADS OF EXPENDITURE |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 310,00,000 | | 1. *Payments to the Privy Purse* : |
| | 76,50,000 | | (a) One-third of Income Tax |
| 240,42,700 | | 386,50,000 | (b) One-third of Duty |
| | 89,50,000 | | 2. *State Departments* : |
| | 50,000 | | (a) Advocate |
| 105,44,400 | | 90,00,000 | (b) Accounts and Audit |
| | | | (c) Customs Department |
| | | | (d) Land and Registration Department |
| | | | (e) Passport Department |
| | | | (f) Food Control Department |
| | 17,70,000 | | |
| | 40,000 | | |
| 12,17,000 | | 18,10,000 | 3. *Judicial Departments* : |
| | | | (a) Awkaf Departments |
| | | | (b) Minors Estates Department |
| | 1,00,000 | | (c) Law Courts |
| | 40,000 | | (e) Sheraa Courts |
| | 60,000 | | |
| 5,40,300 | | 2,00,000 | |
| | 10,000 | | 4. *Education* : |
| | 10,000 | | (a) Boys' School |
| | 5,000 | | (b) Foreign Education |
| 25,900 | | 25,000 | (c) Religious Schools |
| | | | (d) Girls' Schools |
| | | | (e) Technical School |
| | 1,00,000 | | |
| | 80,000 | | 5. *Public Health* : |
| | 1,00,000 | | (a) Hospitals and Dispensaries |
| | 70,000 | | (b) Anti-Malaria Works |
| 2,33,800 | | 3,50,000 | (c) Quarantine |
| | | | (d) Miscellaneous |
| 1,34,100 | | 1,25,000 | |
| | | | 6. *Public Protection* : |
| 54,000 | | 75,000 | (a) State Police |
| | | | (b) Naturs |
| | | | (c) Jails |
| | 50,000 | | |
| | 10,000 | | 7. *Municipalities* : |
| 53,600 | | 60,000 | (a) Manama |
| | | | (b) Muharraq and Hedd |
| | | | (c) Rafaa |
| | 91,000 | | |
| | 2,09,000 | | 8. *Oil Inspection Department* |
| 3,15,700 | | 3,00,000 | |
| | | | 9. *Agriculture* |
| 1,43,500 | | 1,45,000 | |
| | | | 10. *Transport Department* |
| 61,000 | | 10,000 | |
| | | | 11. *Unforeseen* |
| | | | 12. *Public Works* : |
| | | | (a) Public Works Department |
| | | | (b) Shaikh Hamad Bridge |
| | | | (c) Maintenance Roads |
| | | | (d) Annual Repairs Government Buildings |
| | | | (e) New Works |
| | | | 13. *Deep Water Pier* |
| | | | 14. *Gas Scheme* |
| | | | 15. *Electric Supply Department* |
| | | | *Surplus for Investment* |
| 373,86,000 | | 507,50,000 | |

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| Estimates 1372 Rs. | Total Estimates 1372 Rs. | Actuals 1372 Rs. | Total Actuals 1372 Rs. | Estimates 1373 Rs. | Total Estimates 1373 Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 46,000,000 | | 58, 92,400 | | 103,33,000 | |
| 20,00,000 | | 28,19,100 | | 25,50,000 | |
| | 66,00,000 | | 80,11,500 | | 128,83,000 |
| 2,10,000 | | 1,84,100 | | 2,10,000 | |
| 1,50,000 | | 1,72,900 | | 1,74,000 | |
| 7,60,000 | | 7,91,500 | | 5,87,000 | |
| 1,17,000 | | 2,18,900 | | 1,80,000 | |
| 85,000 | | 1,28,500 | | 1,11,000 | |
| 75,000 | | 63,700 | | 90,000 | |
| | 14,00,000 | | 13,69,200 | | 14,72,000 |
| 44,000 | | 47,700 | | 54,000 | |
| 80,000 | | 91,200 | | 90,000 | |
| 1,50,000 | | 1,37,700 | | 1,52,000 | |
| 16,000 | | 49,200 | | 60,000 | |
| | 2,60,000 | | 2,64,800 | | 2,96,000 |
| 19,60,000 | | 18,79,500 | | 24,70,000 | |
| 2,00,000 | | 2,00,200 | | 2,75,000 | |
| 61,000 | | 27,400 | | 50,000 | |
| 5,25,000 | | 5,48,000 | | 6,70,000 | |
| 99,000 | | 82,900 | | 1,11,000 | |
| | 28,21,000 | | 26,87,900 | | 35,76,000 |
| 20,28,000 | | 20,30,800 | | 28,15,000 | |
| 2,50,000 | | 1,92,500 | | 2,50,000 | |
| 1,00,000 | | 1,30,100 | | 2,50,000 | |
| | | | | 75,000 | |
| | 23,78,000 | | 23,53,200 | | 33,90,000 |
| 14,19,000 | | 12,64,000 | | 15,41,000 | |
| 3,94,000 | | 5,77,600 | | 3,82,000 | |
| 34,000 | | 19,100 | | 34,000 | |
| | 18,47,000 | | 18,54,900 | | 19,75,000 |
| 1,00,000 | | 3,09,100 | | 1,00,000 | |
| 1,20,000 | | 1,49,100 | | 1,20,000 | |
| 20,000 | | 35,000 | | 20,000 | |
| | 2,40,000 | | 4,93,200 | | 2,40,000 |
| | 65,000 | | 79,500 | | 70,000 |
| | 60,000 | | 1,43,100 | | 1,00,000 |
| | 79,000 | | 4,52,000 | | 1,20,000 |
| | 1,00,000 | | 17,32,000 | | 1,25,000 |
| 1,95,000 | | 1,64,700 | | 2,20,000 | |
| 11,000 | | 90,800 | | 15,000 | |
| 1,50,000 | | 2,35,000 | | 1,50,000 | |
| 1,00,000 | | 1,69,700 | | 1,45,000 | |
| 58,50,000 | | 50,12,700 | | 64,00,000 | |
| | 61,10,000 | | 56,16,000 | | 69,50,000 |
| | 40,00,000 | | 7,500 | | 20,00,000 |
| | — | | 20,52,000 | | 40,00,000 |
| | 11,40,000 | | 14,77,000 | | — |
| | 52,00,000 | | 128,35,700 | | 139,50,000 |
| | 504,60,000 | | 616,35,100 | | 507,50,000 |

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# GOVERNMENT OF BAHRAIN

## ADMINISTRATIVE REPORT FOR THE YEARS 1926-1937

5: Bahrain G-5 (1924-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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# GENERAL REVIEW

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This is a condensed report on the administration of the Bahrain Government during the last eleven years, though in some subjects the report goes further back than 1926. The report is based upon the annual reports on financial and government departments which are made every year. It is an administration report dealing mainly with the activities of the Bahrain Government and it does not describe in detail the various political and commercial changes which have taken place and which have affected Bahrain during the period under review, such as the transfer of the Naval Base from Henjam to Bahrain, the inclusion of Bahrain as a port of call on the Empire air route, and the long negotiations which finally resulted in the development of the Bahrain oil field by the Bahrain Petroleum Company Limited, who have now succeeded in making Bahrain the twelfth largest oil-producing country in the world. This last decade has been an important period in the history of Bahrain: it has been a time of change and transition. During the last ten or eleven years the changes and reforms which were made by the Ruler, His Highness Shaikh Sir Hamad, when he took over control from his father have become firmly established, and the administration of the country has been developed through its people on sufficiently Western lines to keep apace with the needs of the local inhabitants and the ever-increasing important foreign population. In other Gulf States, Bahrain is considered very progressive; the wish to be progressive comes from the people themselves, it is not forced upon them by the Government.

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During the period under review the State has suffered violent financial fluctuations; first comfortable prosperity based on the pearl trade, then severe financial depression resulting in drastic curtailment of all activity and expansion, then recovery and a sudden tremendous increase in revenue which, in my opinion, would have been more advantageous if it had come gradually. This sudden change from poverty to affluence creates problems and conditions which are almost more difficult to deal with than those resulting from the need for economy. A period of great financial prosperity, provided that oil does not run dry, appears to be starting now for Bahrain, and I think it is a suitable time to make some record of the developments which the Bahrain Government carried out in the past years and which were financed from revenue produced from other sources than oil royalties. While fully appreciating the fact that if oil had not been found the financial position of Bahrain would be deplorable, it should be remembered that most of the existing improvements in Bahrain, such as electric power, sea roads, causeways, schools, and municipalities, came into being before the oil era.

C. DALRYMPLE BELGRAVE.

*December*, 1937



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## FINANCE

651 **Revenue.** Until two years ago almost the whole revenue of the State was derived from the customs dues upon imports whose quantity depended mainly
652 upon the success of the pearl trade. Pearls themselves have never been taxed, although it has frequently been stated in the European press that Bahrain derived its revenue from direct taxation of pearls. It has been the consistent policy of the Government to encourage the diving industry by charging no dues on the import and export of pearls. The pearl trade was formerly the only local industry of any importance in Bahrain.

During the first four or five years of the period under review, for which I give the financial figures for twelve years in this report, Bahrain was in a prosperous condition and dependent for its revenue upon local resources. Probably few countries in the world which can boast of any form of administration have been subject to such slight taxation as Bahrain. Apart from the 5% customs tax on imports, no form of taxation existed in Bahrain except a small municipal house tax in Manamah and in Muharraq. Land tax, date-tree tax, Ashur and Zikat have never been levied, and the country people pay no taxes except the duty on imports. This condition is very different from that existing in neighbouring States such as Persia and Saoudi Arabia.

During the first few years of the period mentioned in this report the average revenue was about eleven lakhs per annum, and this sum in those days was sufficient for the administration of the country as well as for carrying out various important public improvements, including sinking artesian wells, installing electric light and power, and constructing some important works such as roads and buildings.

In 1348 (June 1929—May 1930) there was an alarming fall in the revenue due to the slump in the pearl trade which was owing to general financial depression in Europe, and especially the increasing competition of cultured pearls which were produced in Japan. From then, until money began to pour in from oil, the income of the State decreased rapidly, and the financial future of the State caused the gravest anxiety to those who controlled its finances. In spite of drastic economies, reductions in staff and cuts in the Civil List and in the pay of all Government servants, it became necessary to draw upon the very small reserve fund during two years, in order to provide for the much-reduced annual expenditure which was required for the maintenance of the administration and the protection of the country.

It was fortunate that at that time the State had no heavy financial obligations to meet, such as repayment of loans or outstanding debts on account of public works. By reducing expenditure by cuts in pay and by increasing the 5% *ad valorem* customs duty to 10% on certain luxury articles, and to 15% on tobacco and liquor in 1352 (April 1933—April 1934), and by appropriation from the Reserve Fund, it was possible to weather the storm. This could not have been done without the co-operation of the general public, the Ruling Family, and all Government employees, who appreciated the position and accepted the changes without opposition.

The most acute years of the crisis in Bahrain were 1351 and 1352 (May 1932—April 1933 and April 1933—April 1934). In these years the revenue shrunk to Rs 6,84,000/- and Rs 7,26,000/-. In 1353 (April 1934—April 1935), the Bahrain Government sold to the British Government three large areas on Muharraq island and Manamah, from which the net profit to this Government was just over one lac. Although this sum was not normal revenue, it was included in the revenue of the year and it enabled me to balance the Budget.

During 1354 over five lakhs were received from the oil royalty, the total revenue was Rs 13,40,000/-, which was one lakh more than any previous year. At the end of the year the Reserve Fund was increased from two lakhs to four lakhs, cuts in pay were restored, and increased expenditure was authorised for State Protection and Public Services, including medical and educational services and the monthly grants to the municipalities, which had been reduced by 50%, were restored to the previous amount. The oil payment was made at the very end of the year and it was very much greater than that shown in the Budget for 1354.

The revenue for 1355 (March 1936—March 1937) was Rs 16,47,000/-, of which Rs 6,92,000/- was oil royalty.



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The financial progress of Bahrain during these years has been briefly as follows: five years of prosperity during which the Sheikh depended upon the diving industry, two lean years when the pearl market began to droop, two years of crisis during which the revenue did not cover the expenditure, one year of slight recovery followed by a sudden large increase of revenue from oil. It is likely that during the present year the revenue from oil alone will amount to more than double the total revenue of any previous year.

A detailed report on the revenue of these years is not necessary as it has been dealt with minutely in annual reports, but the accompanying figures show the annual income with explanations of any unusual rise or fall. The subject of this report is the last ten years, and it is not proposed in this report to deal with the future, but it may be stated that, in my opinion, the most urgent need for the State is to provide itself with a solid Reserve Fund which will assure it a regular income which can be depended upon even when oil begins to run dry. Unfortunately it is the nature of Arabs to be over-optimistic and to pay small heed to the future, so the need for building up this reserve will not be generally appreciated.

| Year. | Customs Revenue. | Other Revenue. | Oil Royalty. | Total. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs | Rs | Rs | Rs | |
| 1344 ... | 8,82,000 ... | 1,80,000 ... | — ... | 10,62,000 ... | |
| 1345 ... | 10,68,000 ... | 3,37,000 ... | — ... | 14,05,000 ... | |
| 1346 ... | 11,43,000 ... | 97,000 ... | — ... | 12,40,000 ... | |
| 1347 ... | 11,24,000 ... | 91,000 ... | — ... | 12,15,000 ... | |
| 1348 ... | 9,98,000 ... | 1,36,000 ... | — ... | 11,34,000 ... | |
| 1349 ... | 6,89,000 ... | 1,28,000 ... | — ... | 8,17,000 ... | |
| 1350 ... | 6,85,000 ... | 1,19,000 ... | — ... | 8,04,000 ... | |
| 1351 ... | 6,00,000 ... | 84,000 ... | — ... | 6,84,000 ... | |
| 1352 ... | 6,08,000 ... | 89,000 ... | 29,000 ... | 7,26,000 ... | |
| 1353 ... | 6,57,000 ... | 1,63,000 ... | 67,000 ... | 8,87,000 ... | |
| 1354 ... | 6,91,000 ... | 83,000 ... | 5,68,000 ... | 13,42,000 ... | |
| 1355 ... | 8,74,000 ... | 81,000 ... | 6,92,000 ... | 16,47,000 ... | |

## THE STATE POLICE AND PUBLIC SECURITY

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**The Levy Corps.**

In 1926 the armed forces of Bahrain consisted of a Levy Corps, a few Persian police who were originally enlisted by the Municipality, and a body of 'Naiurn,' armed watchmen who patrolled the town at night. The Levy Corps provided a guard at the Political Agency and posts at Rafia and Sitra. The Levy Corps, which consisted of so-called Baluchis recruited in Muscat, was commanded by a British Officer seconded from the Indian Army, assisted by an Indian Officer and several Indian N.C.O.'s from Punjabi regiments. In 1926 the Levy Corps was commanded by Captain Geake, who had succeeded Captain Campbell. The Levy Corps was intended mainly as a defence force in case of any serious disturbance or an attack on Bahrain by the Dawasir Arabs, who once lived at Bedeya but left Bahrain in anger soon after Shaikh Hamad assumed control.

[L19]

In the spring of 1926 it was decided that the Indian Army officer should be replaced by a British official, who would act as assistant Adviser and Commandant of the Levy Corps. Captain L. S. Parke was appointed in this capacity in place of Captain Geake, who returned to his regiment.

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**Political Disturbances.**

There was a general feeling of nervousness and unrest in Bahrain in 1926. Many people were afraid that the Dawasir would make a descent on the coast and a series of armed attacks on Shia villages, organised by disaffected members of the Ruling Family, were still fresh in the public mind. The present Ruler was not yet firmly established, many people were opposed to him, and in certain communities there was a feeling of bitter resentment against the new regime and the various reforms which had been introduced. Conditions were very different to what they are to-day: in the country few people would venture out unarmed at night, and in the towns there were frequent scares of armed attacks.

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On 3rd August, Haji Sulman, the Chief of the police, was shot at in Manamah; this caused great excitement; on the next day the 'shooting' occurred. Major, now Colonel, Daly, who was then Political Agent, was in the office at the Fort, seated at a table, talking to the Indian officer who stood in front of him. One of the Levy Corps men, who thought he had been badly treated by the Subedar, came outside the window and shot the Subedar from behind. The shot went through the Subedar, who died later in the day, and carried off a piece of Major Daly's ear. The man shot and killed one of the Indian Havildars and, when pursued by Major Daly, attacked him with a bayonet and wounded him in several places. Finally he surrendered himself. 579 701

There was an immediate panic in the town, crowds of people hurried into boats and set off for Muharraq, and shopkeepers closed their shops, thinking that the Dawasir were coming. Finally calm was restored. The affair was the action of a single individual who 'ran amok,' and it had no political significance; this opinion was not, however, shared by everybody. For about two months after the incident Bahrain was virtually under martial law. One, or sometimes two, of the sloops of the Persian Gulf Division were anchored in the harbour, and British naval guards were stationed at the Fort and at the Agency. The Levy Corps was disbanded and the men were sent back to Muscat, from whence many of them gradually returned to Bahrain as at that time there was no passport system and no check was kept on persons arriving in the country.

In the middle of October a detachment from one of the Punjabi regiments, commanded by a British officer, arrived in Bahrain and was stationed at the Fort. Shortly after their arrival the Baluchi Levy Corps man who had been the cause of all the trouble was tried, sentenced, and shot.

Attempt to assassinate the Shaikh.

About a month later Shaikh Hamad narrowly escaped assassination. He was driving out to one of his country houses after dinner, as was his custom, when he was shot at by four men at close range from behind a hedge at a bend in the road. The sudden glare of the car's powerful headlights evidently dazzled the men and their shots went low, hitting the car and missing the Shaikh, who at that time used always to sit in front next to the driver. Though the place of the ambush was only a mile or two from Manamah, no news of the attempt was received until that morning, and consequently the criminals escaped. 579 643

In 1930, through the combined efforts of Haji Sulman, the local police officer and Shaikh Mohomed bin Jabr, who is now the Amir of Muharraq, the men who attempted to assassinate Shaikh Hamad were arrested. It was proved that they were some of the same men who had taken part in attacks on Shia villages, where they murdered and robbed men, women, and children. Their final arrest was the result of long and complicated investigations extending over several years, and the result of this work reflected great credit on the police who dealt with the case. The men were a gang of Hassawis who were employed by certain members of the Ruling Family as 'gunmen.' For a price they would shoot anybody. The complicity of their masters was proved in the Bahrain courts and the Shaikhs who were concerned were heavily fined and deprived of their offices. One of them, when the murderers were convicted, was acting as the President of one of the Bahrain courts. Shaikh Ibrahim bin Khalid, who was one of the principal persons concerned, has since died. The Hassawis being foreigners were tried in the Agency court and sentenced not to death but to imprisonment.

On November 3rd, 1926, the village of Senobis, about three miles from Manamah, was attacked by armed robbers, several of the villagers were killed, and one of the attackers was shot while carrying away plunder.

Indian Levy Corps.

After these various events it was decided that a regular and efficient force was needed to preserve law and order. A force consisting of ex-Indian Army Punjabi Moslems was enlisted by me in India, with the help of the Indian Army recruiting authorities. Captain L. S. Parke arrived at the end of 1926 and took over command of the new Levy Corps; he held the post of Commandant of Police and assistant Adviser until 1932 when, owing to the need for economy, his agreement was not renewed. 701 625

The Indians, on the whole, were not a success, though they worked and behaved well, but they filled a gap at a time when a force of trained men was very necessary. The climate did not

701 625 suit them, they spoke no Arabic, and were regarded by the people of Bahrain as expensive foreign mercenaries; they were useless at ordinary police work, and the Indian Officers and N.C.O.'s caused constant trouble by incessant quarrels and intrigues. The Indians were enlisted for four years, but before this period had expired I began to enlist a force of local men as police, a project which I always strongly advocated. It was from this time that the present force was started, but the final transition was not completed until the end of 1932.

574 562 684 **Crime and Prostitution.** The number of serious crimes which are committed every year in Bahrain is small in comparison to the population, which is thought to be about 150,000. Usually about one or two cases of murder are dealt with by the police during the year, but it is possible that occasional murders take place which are not detected, especially murders of women and newly born children. Although in recent years Bahrain has progressed in many ways, there are still a number of Arabs living in Hedd and Muharraq who consider that they are justified in murdering their female relations if the women bring shame on the family. A few of the very old-fashioned Arabs even consider that because the Government does not ignore such murders it is encouraging immorality. The Kadis, however, although ultra conservative in their outlook, disapprove of men taking the law into their own hands and murdering women who misbehave. In some Arab countries the fear of punishment by death for immorality has a very salutary effect, but Bahrain, although described as an Arab state, has very little in common [162] with real Arab countries. The Baharna, who form about three quarters of the population, are not true Arabs, and the rest of the population includes all the nationalities who live around the Gulf. The only real Arabs in Bahrain are the Khalifah and a few families who came over with them from the mainland and a small number of members of mainland tribes who live almost entirely in Hedd, Muharraq, Budeya, and two or three small villages on the south coast.

[548] Immorality is undoubtedly increasing, but the increase in prostitution is not due to the Government but is a matter of supply and demand. During the last two years numbers of foreigners [164] earning good pay have come to Bahrain, usually without their families, from Persia, Iraq, and India, and this has undoubtedly caused an increase in prostitution. Venereal disease is rampant, and the proportion of persons suffering from it, especially in ophthalmic forms, is very high. The medical supervision of prostitutes would undoubtedly result in an improvement in the public health. This suggestion was discussed and approved by the Manamah Municipal Council some years ago, but it has not yet been possible to arrange the medical organisation to cope with this matter.

674 681 Most of the criminal cases which are dealt with by the police are cases of theft, assault, and immorality. Several important gangs of thieves have been rounded up during the last ten years. Some of these gangs were well provided with arms and had regular methods of disposing of stolen property in Bahrain or on the mainland. Foreigners, especially Hassawis, form the majority of the criminals. There are a number of inveterate thieves who spend the greater part of their lives in prison. Such persons, on the mainland, would be punished by cutting off of their hands and finally by decapitation. The punishments inflicted by the Bahrain courts are whippings, fines, and imprisonment, but imprisonment to many of these people is no hardship: the work is not hard, they are given better food than they would obtain themselves, and the only real punishment is being deprived of women.

273 276 **Drugs and Liquor.** Liquor and drugs, such as opium, are forbidden in Bahrain, but in spite of the severe penalties which are enforced by the Bahrain courts against persons contravening the liquor regulations, the habit of drinking liquor and smoking opium is, in my opinion, steadily increasing. Ten years ago very few people drank liquor, and the smoking of opium was entirely confined to foreigners, Persians, Indians, and Baluchis. To-day many of the younger Arabs have acquired a liking for spirits, partly because they have had opportunities for drinking while travelling abroad, and frequent cases have occurred in which Arabs have been found to be taking opium.

276 439 Opium is smuggled into Bahrain from Persia, usually in native crafts, but sometimes hidden in merchandise on the mail steamers. It varies in quality, most frequently it is in large lumps weighing four or five pounds, but sometimes it is in paper-covered sticks sealed up in bundles. It is very

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*Above*
A Policeman

*Below*
Police on Parade

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[facing p. 10]

276 439 expensive in Bahrain, and successful opium smugglers and retailers make large profits. Opium is easy to hide and lacks the strong smell which frequently leads to the detection of locally made liquor. In opium cases the police depend mainly on informers, who are usually men who are themselves concerned in the opium business but who consider that they have not had a fair share of the profits and so give their friends away. Opium has been discovered hidden in gramophones, clocks, flour-bins, and in the ceilings of rooms.

273 Illicit liquor used to consist entirely of locally distilled arak made from dates. Ten years ago it was manufactured only by two or three Iraqis and Jews, who were gradually rounded up, but in about 1930 there was a great increase in arak, and a number of Bahrain subjects took to making it, probably because it was such a profitable trade. The illicit liquor traffickers displayed great ingenuity in hiding their stills and their cellars: arak was made in ruined houses, in out-of-the-way date gardens and in subterranean rooms which still exist in a few old houses which were used in the past as places for hiding valuables in times of war. Distributors kept bottled supplies of arak in wells, in false walls, under rubbish heaps, and sometimes under the seats of motor cars. In one case the police discovered that the municipal lunatic asylum was a distributing centre, and the keeper and his wife were members of a liquor gang.

About two years ago, after numerous prosecutions, there appeared to be a decrease in the use of arak, but cases began to occur in which people used methylated spirits as a drink. During the last year this practice has increased very much, and a concoction consisting of methylated spirits mixed with eau-de-Cologne is rapidly taking the place of arak. It is probably more injurious to the health than arak, but it is very popular with women of the town, and apparently a small quantity causes drunkenness in a short time. Methylated-spirit is only sold to reliable dealers, and is mixed before being sold with a chemical to make it unpalatable; there are no restrictions, however, on the sale of scent.

The Ruler, the religious leaders, and the majority of the people in Bahrain disapprove very strongly of drink, but there is a small section of the community which would like the restrictions on liquor to be removed. The great influx of well-paid foreigners from countries where the sale of liquor is allowed is the chief reason for the increase of cases against the liquor laws. There is undoubtedly an occasional leakage of liquor from the Bahrain Petroleum Company, but this is not sufficiently frequent to have any effect on the liquor question in general. The most effective way of preventing the increase in drinking is to deal very drastically with any cases which are proved in the courts.

697 **The State Jail.** The jail is in the Fort and consists of a number of cells and a yard. Prisoners are well fed—they usually put on weight during their term of imprisonment—and are provided with clothes. Convicts wear leg-irons, which is a measure to prevent their escape, as they work outside the Fort most of the day. There are no regular warders, but each section of the police takes in turn jail duties; this was found more satisfactory than having a permanent jail staff. Usually there are between twenty and thirty convicts in the prison. Debtors receive the same food as prisoners, but wear their own clothes and are not obliged to do any work apart from cleaning the prison. As most of the convicts serve for short terms, it has not been possible to organise any prison industries. There is no women's prison, but there are two cells adjoining the house of the senior police N.C.O., whose wife acts as a wardress if any women are confined in the Fort. The question of a small building for women prisoners is under consideration, and the present jail is also to be repaired during the coming year.

625 **The Present Police Force.** Although the existing police force was enlisted locally, the men are not all Bahrain subjects. The present strength of the police is 204 N.C.O.'s and men, including Bahrain Arabs, Shia Baharna, local Persians, and one or two Persians who served in the South Persian Rifles, Kurds, Yemenis, Iraqis, mainland Arabs, Swahilis, Somalis, Sudanese, and a number of manumitted slaves; the last category make very good policemen. In the past, service in the police was regarded as somewhat derogatory, but in the last few years the public attitude towards the police has changed: there is now keen competition to enlist in the force, and when a few recruits are required, hundreds of men present themselves at the Fort for enlistment. It is now possible to take only picked men whose height, chest measure-

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ment, and physique passes a standard test. The competition to enlist is due partly to the lack of employment among divers and partly to the change in public feeling towards the police. A few years ago the Shaikhs and the local people took no interest in them; now they have developed a patriotic pride in them, and when the police give a display the whole town flocks to see them.

Many of the police are divers, but men who have very heavy debts are not taken on. While serving in the police, men who owe money to Nakhudas refund Rs 5/- every month to their Nakhudas, and in this way many of the police have entirely paid off their debts. Usually, when a diver enlists, his Nakhuda reduces the man's debt by 20% or 30%, provided that the diver remains in the police until he has paid off the balance by instalments.

Policemen are enlisted for a period of four years; their pay is Rs 25/- per month, and in addition they receive Rs 3/- per month clothing allowance and are issued with uniform, rations, and quarters. About fifty married men occupy houses in the married lines. There is great need for more married quarters, and their construction is under consideration. It is in every way more satisfactory for married men to keep their wives in the Fort than outside in the town.

Recruits do a six months' training course, which is a modified version of the Indian Army recruits' course. It includes drill, musketry, bayonet fighting, and lathi drill. On completion of training they are drafted into sections. They respond well to training and soon acquire smartness which makes them distinguishable when they are walking out in mufti in the town. The best type of recruits are men who are partly Arab and partly negro; these combine the physique of the African and the quicker mentality of the Arab.

**Administration and Routine.** The police force is divided into fourteen sections and the headquarters, which consists of the senior N.C.O.'s, Indian instructors, the band, and men employed on special duties such as court work, hospital orderly, etc., etc. Duties such as jail guards, outposts, bazaar beats, are carried out by each section in turn, so that every man becomes acquainted with all various duties. Owing to the number of men employed on duties, it is rarely possible to muster more than forty men on the daily parades, which are held every morning except Fridays, and on four afternoons of the week. On the other afternoons the men play games, hockey, and football. The normal duties include outposts at Hedd, Muharraq, the Bahrain Petroleum Company's Camp, and Sakhir, guards at the Political Agency, the Quarter guard and police station, steamer parties, bazaar patrol, traffic duties, and guards on prison parties working outside the Fort. In addition to their normal duties, the police frequently provide guards of honour and sometimes take part in ceremonial parades either by themselves or with contingents of the British Navy. Three times every year the police go out for a route march round the island and are in camp for five or six days. On these occasions they carry their tents, kit, and food and are a self-contained unit; the transport is either donkeys or the police lorry.

**Changing Nature of Duties.** Owing to the rapidly changing conditions in Bahrain, the duties of the police are becoming more difficult and more complicated. When the present force was started the police had to deal with a comparatively simple and ignorant people and a small number of more sophisticated and educated Arabs and Indians. They are now brought into contact with a large English-speaking community and an ever-increasing number of educated Asiatic foreigners, most of whom speak no Arabic. Many of these people are inclined to resent the authority of the police, and frequently individual policemen are called upon to deal with situations which require considerable tact. They are at a disadvantage, being entirely uneducated and usually unable to speak the language of the person they have to deal with. There are only two men in the police who can speak English, and about half a dozen who can read and write Arabic. In the summer of 1934, Haji Sulman bin Jasim, the superintendent of police, died suddenly. His death was a great loss to the State as, in addition to his administrative qualities, he was very good at criminal investigation. This branch of police work is now being done by Havildar Mahmood, and the other Havildar, Ali Mirza, is responsible for the discipline and interior organisation of the force. One of the developments which has caused most work for the police is the sudden increase in motor traffic. On the average there are about ten motor accidents every month which have to be investigated and reported, and the checking of driving and car licences, as well as traffic supervision, has become one of the most important duties.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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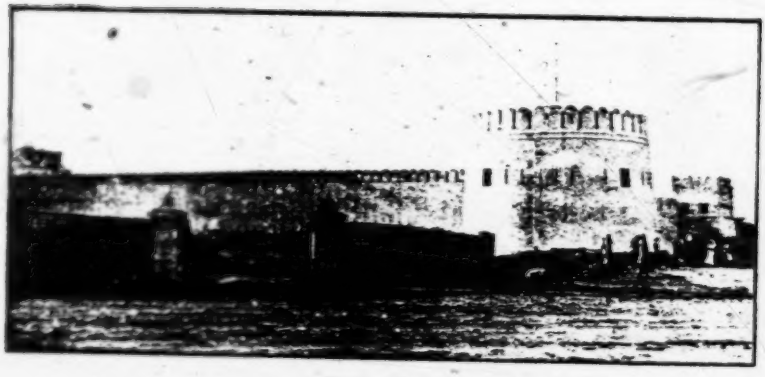

Tower of Fort

Prison Yard

[facing p. 12]

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

625 **Recent Innovations.** Three times during the last ten years the composition of the police force has entirely changed. First it was a Levy Corps of Muscat Baluchis, then ex-Indian Army Punjabis, and finally the present force, whose development and training dates from about 1930. During the last six years, though expansion and development has been restricted owing to the need for economy, various innovations and improvements have been carried out. Necessary alterations were made in the Fort, which is an ancient building of mud and stone, whose walls constantly crumble and subside. Two large, airy barrack rooms were built, and a large swimming tank was constructed in a corner of the barrack yard. A police station was built in the turbulent town of Hedd, much to the dissatisfaction of the inhabitants, who have a rooted objection to law and order, and a police post was built at Budeya where a section of Naturs are now stationed. A police post with a lock-up and a flagstaff has a salutary effect on both these places, which have always been resentful of control.

533 **Police Band.** The police band, consisting mostly of younger brothers of policemen, was started about two years ago. At first the band played entirely from ear, but in 1936 an Indian ex-army bandmaster was obtained as an instructor, and the band has now learned to play from music. A few years ago, during the visit of the Chief-in-Command, East India Squadron, the bandmaster of the marine band composed a national anthem for the Shaikh of Bahrain, which is now played on suitable occasions, and perhaps eventually the public will recognise it as a national anthem.

**Camel Section.** In 1935 a camel section was started, consisting of a dozen men mounted on camels which were provided by the Ruler. The N.C.O. in charge, a Sudanese, served in Egypt in the Frontier Districts Administration Camel Corps, and most of the men are manumitted slaves. The object of the mounted section is to patrol the coast and more inaccessible parts of the islands and to catch smugglers and persons landing without passports. The section has learned the regular camel drill; it presents a very smart appearance when on parade. Another section mounted on ponies is now being organised.

**Shooting.** The police, on the whole, are good at shooting, and during the last two years they have competed in a number of shooting matches with teams from the sloops of the Persian Gulf Division and teams from the Englishmen and Americans employed by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. In most cases the police have won the matches, sometimes beating their opponents by a large score. At the beginning of the present year a new system has been brought into force by which every man will fire a course during the year, and there will be a yearly inter-section competition. There are several unusually good shots among the police, and the men all show great keenness.

714 **Uniforms.** The uniform of the police has passed through many changes in the last ten years. The original town police wore round black Persian caps, second-hand, ill-fitting khaki tunics originally used by the English Army, and long trousers. They now wear khaki shirts and shorts, putties and sandals, and scarlet turbans as worn by certain Egyptian Army regiments, Somaliland Camel Corps, and Egyptian Camel Corps. In the winter they wear woollen jerseys and military overcoats.

**Police Training in India.** During the last two years two parties of six N.C.O.'s and men were sent to the 10th Baluch Regiment at Karachi for a course of nine months' military training. The experiment has been very successful, and the value of the men as policemen has greatly increased owing to their training with the Indian Army. Had the men been able to speak Urdu they would have learnt more, but in each batch only one or two had any knowledge of the language. Any future experiments of this kind would, I am sure, be more successful if they took place in an Arabic-speaking country such as Iraq or Egypt. The training with the Army, and seeing a foreign country, has given the men who went to India more confidence in themselves than they had before.

Two years ago, Naik Abdel Kerim, the son of the late superintendent of police, was sent to India for six months and attached for training to the Karachi police. The experiment was a success, but in this case the man could speak both English and Urdu, which enabled him to learn easily.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

## THE NATURS

625 The naturs consist of about 150 men who are employed in Manamah and Muharraq as town watchmen. Although they are armed with rifles, they do no drill and are not instructed in musketry or shooting. They are under the command of the Amirs of Manamah and Muharraq. Their chief duty is to patrol the bazaars and streets of the two towns during the night and to assist the police in any emergency. They are a cheap and useful force and an effective preventative against theft. They are paid Rs 25/- per month and they receive no rations or clothing except a white shirt and a headdress which they wear on official occasions. Men who are likely candidates for the police are frequently posted to the natur force until a vacancy occurs in the police; in this way they get some training before becoming policemen. The naturs are especially useful for investigation work and are frequently used in liquor and opium cases. In spite of occasional friction between the Amirs and the police N.C.O.'s, the naturs and the police work well together.

## CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT AND REVENUE

647 **Organisation and Establishment.** The Customs Department in its present form has existed for about fourteen years. Before then the late Ruler was in the habit of farming out the customs to certain Hindu merchants, which was unsatisfactory both to the State and to the mercantile community. In 1923 the Government of India lent to the Bahrain Government a special officer to organise a regular customs department which was based on Indian methods and the Bill of Entry system. In 1924, Mr. C. L. deGrenier was appointed Director of Customs, and he continues to hold the post. The institution of a regular customs system and department was appreciated by the public.

The customs was the first organised department of the Government, and in the beginning it acted as a general revenue department and dealt with many other matters besides customs; even now the collection of pearling and boat licences and registration of craft is done through the customs department.

The customs staff consists of the Director of Customs and nine senior Indian clerks, mostly men of long service, and about a dozen local clerks, of whom eight joined the department from the Government schools. In addition to the clerical staff there are about twenty-five naturs, many of whom are Bahrain-born Baluchis, the descendants of the Baluchi bodyguard who have been attached to the Khalifah shaikhs for many years. Customs officials are posted at Muharraq and at Sitra. There is no regular preventive service, as the local police and naturs are employed to detect cases of smuggling.

651 **Revenue.** **1. Customs Duty.** Customs revenue is obtained from customs duties and Import Yard charges. Duty is assessed *ad valorem*, according to the local market value, but in practice the invoice price of goods is normally accepted for assessment of duty.

Until 1351 (1932-33), customs duty on goods of every kind was 5%; liquor was imported free of customs duty as it was regarded as an immoral import. In 1351 the duty on certain luxury articles was raised to 7½% and then to 10%, and the duty on tobacco and its products was raised to 15%, and 15% was charged on liquor.

**2. Import Yard charges. Khanchieh.** There is no demurrage or bonded warehouse system in Bahrain. Khanchieh, which is a ground rent for space in the customs premises occupied by imported goods, is charged according to a scale of fixed charges based, not upon value, but roughly on the size of packets. Nothing is charged for the first ten days, but after ten days a charge is made, and also every ensuing ten days.

3. **Porterage.** Porterage is charged for moving cargo from the pier to the sheds.

4. **Pier Fees.** Wharfage is charged according to a fixed tariff and includes 'Biladiya,' or municipal tax, which has now been abolished as a separate charge.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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**5. Landing Company.** The British India Steam Navigation Company's agents have a concession from the Bahrain Government to operate a landing company which is authorised to convey cargo from steamers to the pier. They charge landing fees according to a schedule authorised by the Government, and the Company pays to the Government 5% of its total collections.

The cost of importing normal cargo, at the 5% rate, including all outside costs such as landing fees, import yard charges, etc., amounts to approximately 10%. This amount is not high considering that there is no other form of taxation in Bahrain.

**(*a*) Mainland Cargo.** Bahrain is, to a great extent, a distributing centre for the mainland ports; most of the imports into Saoudi Arabia pass through Bahrain, and for this reason various special systems have been arranged to deal with the transit trade. Until about sixteen years ago, imports through Bahrain which were re-exported to the mainland were charged the same duty as imports into Bahrain. In 1921 the duty on re-exported goods was reduced from 5% to 2%, and during the last ten years further changes have been made.

**(*b*) Optional Cargo System.** In 1349 (1930-31) the *Optional Cargo System* was introduced. Under this system cargo imported into Bahrain, but intended for re-export to certain specified mainland ports, is charged full import duty, but is eventually liable for 2% only when the shipping bills are returned endorsed from the ultimate destination.

**(*c*) Transhipment Cargo.** Transhipment cargo is cargo transferred by boats from steamer to native craft direct; 1¾% duty is charged on such cargo for certain specified ports and 2% for other ports provided that not less than 100 packages are transferred at once.

**Transit Cargo.** Transit cargo is cargo destined to other ports which is landed in Bahrain awaiting shipment. On this cargo 1¾% is charged, and also the import yard charges.

The reduction in duty on goods for certain mainland ports in Saoudi Arabia from 2% to 1¾% was made in 1354 (1935-36) as the result of negotiations by a delegation sent by His Majesty King Ibn Saoud to Bahrain to discuss various commercial matters with the Bahrain Government.

Harbour dues are charged only in the case of foreign launches which are not registered in Bahrain; no harbour dues are charged on native craft, although they are charged in all other ports.

**Export Dues, Boat-Building.** The only exports from Bahrain are dates, shells, animals' skins, and pearls. There is no export duty on pearls, but on the other commodities export duty is levied which amounts to approximately 5%. The only local industry of any importance is boat-building. This in the past was a flourishing trade, but with the slump in the pearl market, boat-building has declined. This table shows the numbers of boats built in Bahrain:

[439] [396]

| *Year.* | *Boats.* | *Launches.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1346 | 76 | 10 |
| 1347 | 100 | 12 |
| 1348 | 70 | 28 |
| 1349 | 27 | 13 |
| 1350 | 18 | 2 |
| 1351 | 10 | 1 |
| 1352 | 21 | 2 |
| 1353 | 25 | 1 |
| 1354 | 21 | 4 |
| 1355 | 8 | 5 |

The customs collections during the last ten years are shown on the attached graph. The peak year was 1346 (July 27th, 1928); from 1346 until 1351 the revenue decreased each year to an alarming extent; in 1352 it began to improve, mainly owing to the increase in rates of duty which

was imposed on luxury articles, liquor, and tobacco at the end of the previous year. From 1352 onwards the revenue increased steadily, and at the end of the present year, 1356, it will probably reach the high level which it attained in 1346.

The decrease in revenue resulting from general trade depression in Europe, and particularly the slump in the pearl trade, was caused not so much by a reduced amount of imports but by a decrease in the price of commodities which continued for several years. The cost of rice, flour, and coffee became lower each year during the depression, and importation of comparatively expensive European cotton goods diminished as cheap Japanese goods increased. The shortage of ready money for several years, and the inability of the local Arabs to spend much money on clothes was the greatest stimulus to Japanese trade in the Gulf, and especially in Bahrain. If the spending power of the people had not been so restricted it would have been very much more difficult for the Japanese to monopolise the trade in piece goods and fancy goods. Though the customs collections declined owing to the low value of imports, the cheapness of goods enabled many people to live who would otherwise have found it difficult to exist. I give a table showing the prices of various commodities in different years. The amount of imports, etc., are published yearly in the Bahrain trade report.

**Customs Improvements.** The customs pier and the import shed were built about twenty years ago; the pier shed was built in 1924. In 1925 a trolley line system was laid down to facilitate removal of cargo from the pier head to the sheds and to the bazaar. The trolley line resulted in doubling the quantity of daily cargo removals.

In 1927 a small mole and three small docks were constructed on the east of the pier. The mole was too narrow to be of much use, and the docks, which were dry at low tide, were also too small for general use. In 1937 the mole was widened and the new customs house was built on the site of the docks and a large piece of land in front of and on each side of the customs house was reclaimed. The additional area has partially relieved the congestion on the pier, where the area for storing cargo was insufficient.

The lighting of the port was improved in 1931 by the erection of a powerful light on the customs pier, which can be seen from the outer (white) buoy. When electricity was introduced, standard lamps were erected on the pier, enabling work to be carried out at night which was previously done under considerable difficulties. In 1933 the Gray Paul Beacon was lighted with a red flash light which affords great assistance at night to lighterage of cargo. A five-ton crane was purchased in 1930.

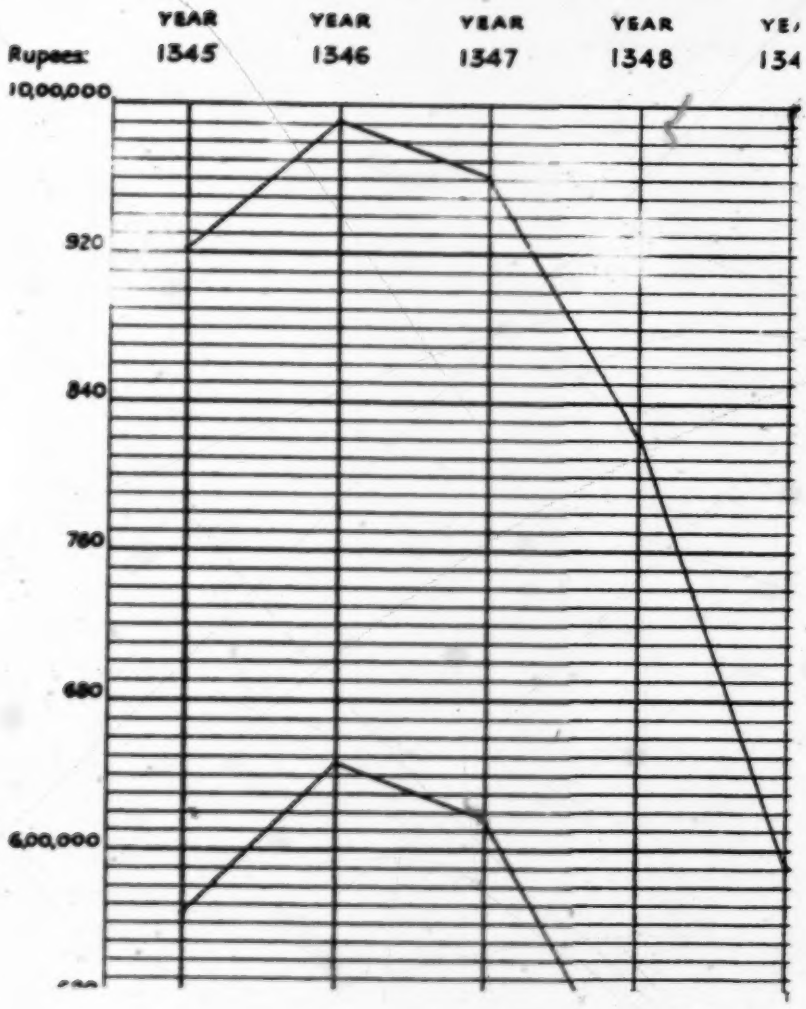
**Steamship Lines.** In 1924 the port was served only by the British India Steam Navigation Company Limited, with a very occasional Strick Line steamer. In 1925 the first Hansa Line steamer made its appearance. These two lines, and the Strick-Ellerman lines, now call regularly at Bahrain with direct cargo from Europe. In 1934 the Yamashita line, and in 1936 the Mitsui line, commenced regular callings at Bahrain.

In 1931 the British India Steam Navigation Company Limited began the weekly calling here of their subsidiary down-mail which had previously called every fortnight. In October 1932 the first Imperial Airways liner called at Bahrain, and there is now a bi-weekly air service east and west, a service which is expected to become more frequent.

With the development of the Bahrain Petroleum Company, Sitra became the port of oil tankers, and on occasions special permission has been granted for cargo boats to discharge Bahrain Petroleum Company's cargo at Sitra. On these occasions any ordinary cargo not intended for the Company is conveyed by sea to the customs pier in Manamah. Although the Sitra anchorage is more sheltered than the Manamah anchorage, it is not proposed to develop Sitra in any way as a regular port. Customs officials are stationed at Sitra and attend on the aerodrome when ships or aeroplanes are in port.

**Future Improvements.** An improvement to the port which has been under consideration on and off for many years is the extension of the existing pier to the edge of the deep water, which is about 400 yards distant from the pier head. Even if the extension were only a narrow one, it would be of great convenience both for passengers

# A decade of Cus




[facing p. 16 A]

# ustoms Progress

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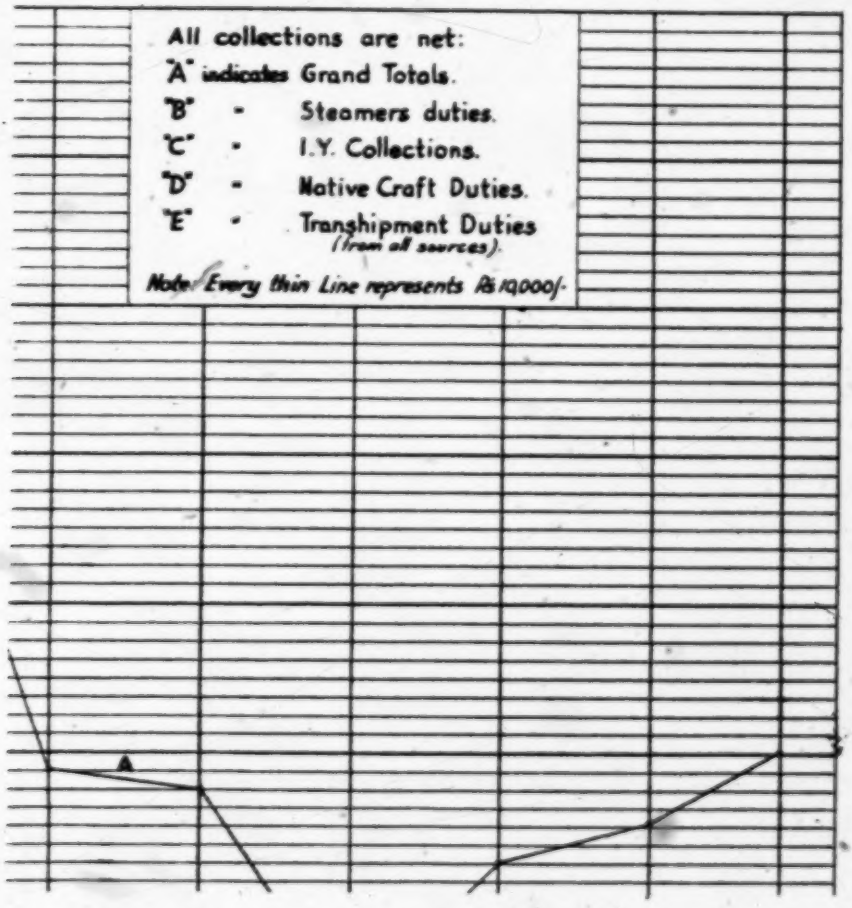
| YEAR | YEAR | YEAR | YEAR | YEAR | YEAR |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1349 | 1350 | 1351 | 1352 | 1353 | 1354 |

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/ 5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MIZ2 Bahrain M

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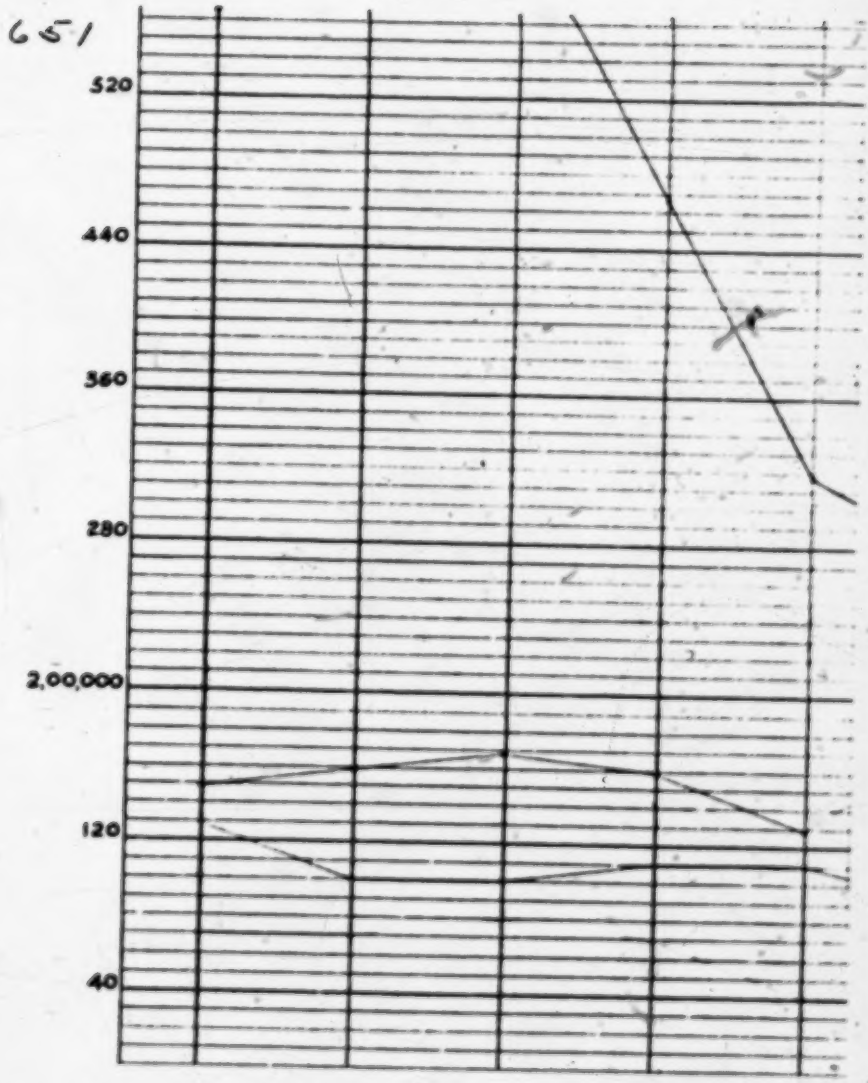


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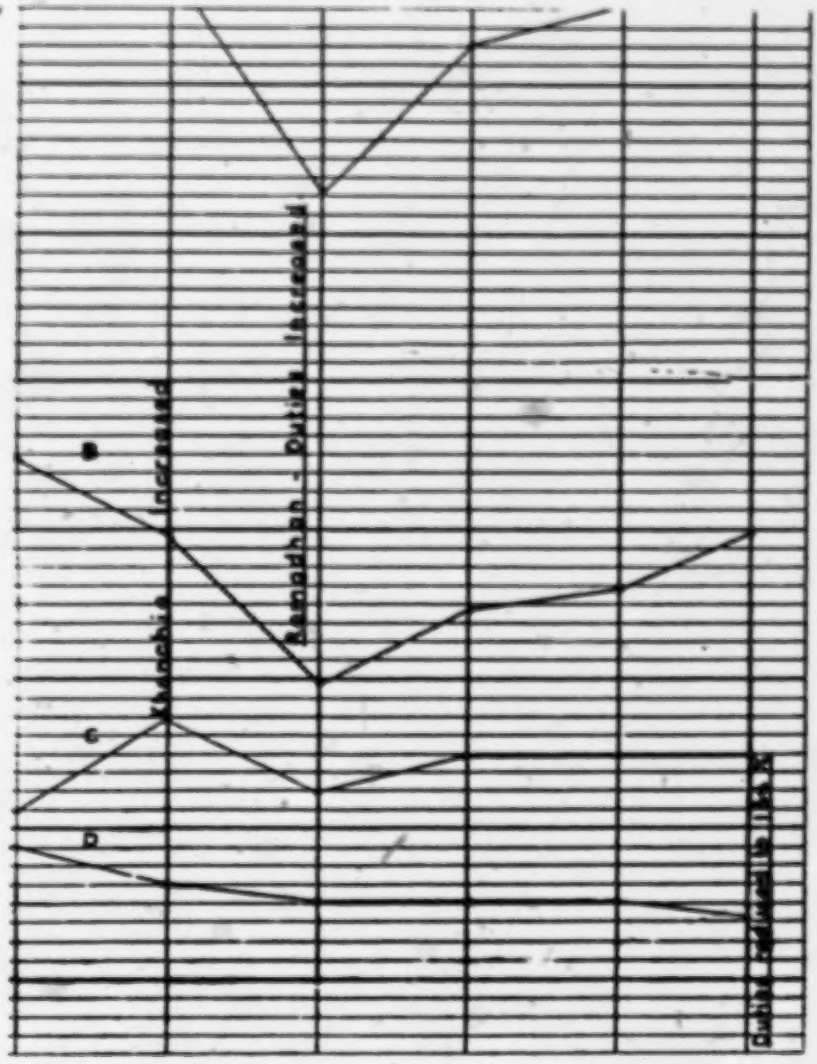


[facing p. 16 D]

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and for cargo, as at present only very small boats can come alongside when the tide is at its lowest. While work was being done on the Manamah-Muharraq road it was inadvisable to start more steam work at the pier, but when the road is complete the pier extension will probably be begun.

It is also proposed that a small office for customs and passport officials should be built on the Muharraq aerodrome.

| Year. | Customs Receipts. | No. of Steamers. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1344 ... | 8,82,000 ... | — ... | A poor pearling season. |
| 1345 ... | 9,62,000 ... | — ... | Increase in all imports, especially rice, wheat, flour, and sugar. Persia increased taxes on tea and sugar. |
| 1346 ... | 10,58,000 ... | — ... | Increase of Rs 95,000/- from sugar and piece goods. Good pearling season. |
| 1347 ... | 10,50,000 ... | 118 ... | Bazaars becoming overstocked. |
| 1348 ... | 8,95,000 ... | — ... | Budget expectations not fulfilled. Decrease in wholesale costs of all imports; silk and cotton goods depreciate 25% in value, carpets and abbas 40%. |
| 1349 ... | 6,36,000 ... | 96 ... | Slump in pearl trade; prices of rice and wheat decrease 50%; export of sugar almost ceased. Chief exporter became bankrupt. |
| 1350 ... | 6,10,000 ... | 97 ... | Decrease in prices of all goods. Pearl market very dull. Very large export of gold from Bahrain to India through Indian and Jewish firms. Japanese monopoline piece-goods trade. |
| 1351 ... | 5,46,000 ... | 104 ... | Continued decline in price of staple commodities; one quarter less packages imported. Increase in Japanese goods and import of cheap Japanese silk. Customs dues on luxury articles raised from 5% to [illegible]% and then to 10%, and on tobacco to 15%, and liquor, previously free, to 15%. Iraq wheat takes place of Persian wheat in Bahrain market. |
| 1352 ... | 5,58,000 ... | 149 ... | Continued fall in value of commodities. In five years Japanese imports rose from Rs 5,000/- to Rs 13,42,000/-. |
| 1353 ... | 6,01,000 ... | 174 ... (20 oil tankers) | Prices still decreasing, but quantity of imports increased. |
| 1354 ... | 6,50,000 ... | 195 ... (19 oil tankers) | Steady improvement in imports and increased activity in trading. |
| 1355 ... | 8,28,000 ... | 251 ... | Steady improvement in imports and increased activity in trading. |

## PRICES OF COMMODITIES

4/35

| Commodity | Year 1929. | Year 1934. | Year 1935. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ballam ... ... ... ... | 16/- ... | 9/8 ... | 10/8 |
| Kansch ... ... ... ... | 13/- ... | 7/8 ... | 8/- |
| Rangoon ... ... ... ... | 13/- ... | 7/8 ... | 8/- |
| Sugar, lump ... ... ... ... | 19/- ... | 12/- ... | 10/8 |
| Sugar, crystal ... ... ... ... | 16/- ... | 11/- ... | 9/8 |
| Sugar, loaf ... ... ... ... | 14/- ... | 9/- ... | 8/8 |
| Wheat flour, Indian ... ... ... | 17/- ... | 11/- ... | 11/- |
| Wheat flour, Iraqi ... ... ... | — ... | 7/8 ... | 6/8 |
| Tea, black ... ... ... ... | 45/- ... | 40/- ... | 75/- |

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5 Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 *MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# JUDICIAL

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The impartial administration of justice in the Bahrain courts is, in my opinion, the most difficult problem which is dealt with by the Government. The impartiality of magistrates and members of various courts is constantly liable to be affected by causes outside the court. Too often claims are not decided only on the merits of the case but partly by the amount of outside interest which the parties can bring to bear on members of the courts. The reason for such interference in cases is chiefly due to the fondness of the local inhabitants of Bahrain of concerning themselves in their neighbours' affairs: people who are not really affected by a case frequently involve themselves in it with the laudable desire to make a compromise, and if the case is already being heard, such action causes complications. When, as is often the case, the interceders are the relations of the magistrate it is difficult for the magistrates to disregard outside pressure. Other matters which make the work of the courts difficult are the jealousy which the Shera courts feel towards the civil courts, the sectarial differences between the Sunnis and the Shias, and the fact that because Bahrain is such a small place—especially in the courts such as the Meglis Tajara, whose members are a number of local merchants—the parties in most of the cases are usually connected with one or more of the members of the court either by relationship or through commercial or other channels. Another practice which affects the administration of justice is the ingrained habit of the Arabs of Bahrain of visiting the Ruler themselves to complain about the judgments in his courts instead of making an appeal to him in the prescribed manner. Perhaps, however, it is not surprising that the people of Bahrain have not yet become legally minded, as regular Bahrain courts have only existed for a little more than ten years.

**Institution of Courts.**

The first regular Bahrain court to be instituted was the Joint Court, presided over by the Ruler and the Political Agent, to deal with cases brought by foreign subjects against Bahrain nationals. In 1926 the Bahrain Court was created to judge cases between Bahrain subjects. In the beginning it consisted of myself and Shaikh Mohammed bin Abdul Rahman, a somewhat obscure member of the Ruling Family. There was also a court known as the Meglis Urfi, which consisted of three or four local merchants. This court, in one form or another, had been in existence for many years, and in 1926 it acted in an advisory capacity in cases where questions of local practice or commercial custom were involved. The Shera courts consisted of the Sunni and the Shia Kadhis. The former, Shaikh Jasim, was over eighty years old and quite blind, and the latter, Shaikh Khalaf, was not much younger; both these Kadis were more influential than any of their predecessors have been. They had no regular courts or records, and heard cases in their houses or in mosques. Diving cases were decided by the Political Agent or by the Bahrain Court.

**The Bahrain Court.**

The Bahrain Court is the highest court of the Bahrain Government, from whose decisions appeal lies only to the Ruler himself. In the last ten years it has seen various changes. In 1926 (1344-45), owing to a family dispute, Shaikh Mohammed bin Abdul Rahman gave up court work and his place was taken by Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed, who sat on the court, intermittently, for about eight years. On several occasions he retired from the court for some months. During the summer of 1934 he sat alone on the court while I was absent on leave, and in the autumn of that year a certain faction of the Shia Baharna of Manamah organised a disturbance and made serious complaints about various different matters, including the administration of justice by the Bahrain Court. Shaikh Sulman again retired from the Court, and since then he has shown no inclination to return to it. In 1935 Shaikh Rashid bin Mohammed and Shaikh Abdulla bin Shaikh Hamed were appointed as magistrates on the Bahrain Court, both having sat for several years on other courts, and since then they have occupied this post, an arrangement which seems to be generally satisfactory. They deal with most of the cases themselves, but for the hearing of appeals from lower courts and certain important cases I join them in the court.

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The following different kinds of cases are tried by the Bahrain court; usually, about 1,400 cases are heard during the year.

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[698]

**1. Criminal Cases,** including capital offences, except cases of a trivial nature which are heard by the Small Court, are tried by the Bahrain Court. Death sentences are submitted to the Ruler for confirmation before promulgation.

**2. Civil Cases,** including estate cases, bankruptcy, inheritance, and divorce, are heard by the Bahrain Court, but the divorce and inheritance claims are passed on to the Shera Courts for judgment. Several very important cases have been settled by the Bahrain Court during the last ten years, including the Sladi case, in which the amount involved was over ten lacs.

**3. Diving Cases.** These cases are frequently referred to the Meglis Tajara, which has a special committee who are experts in diving law.

**4. Land Cases.** Land cases are very numerous and often very complicated, but in time they should decrease as by degrees more property is being registered in the Land Department, which reduces disputes. These cases include boundary disputes, water rights, Wakf claims, and rights of way. The local custom regarding the different divisions of water is in itself a complicated affair, and it has never been embodied in any regulation or code. All sales are registered after publication of proclamation calling on persons having a claim to the property to make it within a given time; but in addition to the proclamation, every sale or voluntary registration of ownership is submitted to the Bahrain Court after the proclamation has expired, and the court verifies, by hearing witnesses, the statement of the seller, with special regard to the interest of any women or minors. Although this may appear to be a cumbersome procedure, its value has been frequently proved by the court discovering that property of women or minors is being disposed of without the knowledge of the owners. Sales by foreigners, as well as by Bahrain subjects, pass through the Bahrain Court.

**5. Fish-Trap Cases.** These cases are numerous and are decided according to a local code governing the use of fish-traps. The rules of fish-trap ownership have not yet been recorded, but they are generally known to persons connected with this industry. The court usually appoints a committee to report on cases, but this practice, on the whole, is not satisfactory, as members of the committees are too susceptible to outside influence.

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**The Bahrain Small Court.** The court was instituted in 1927 (1346) to relieve the Bahrain Court of some of its work. In the beginning it dealt with civil cases in which the amount concerned was not more than Rs 100/-, but in 1935 its powers were extended and it now gives judgment in cases up to Rs 400/- and also hears minor criminal cases, but not diving cases. When the court was first started it was presided over by the Assistant Adviser, Captain Parke, and the Amir of Muharraq, Shaikh Mohammed bin Jabr.

**Shera Court, Sunni.** In 1926 it became evident that the Sunni Kadi, Shaikh Jasim, was no longer capable of carrying out his duties on account of his age and blindness. It was found that dishonest persons were able to obtain his seal and used it for their own purposes. The Government appointed three Sunni Alims, Shaikh Abdul Latif bin Mohammed Al-Saad of Manamah, Shaikh Abdul Latif bin Ali Al-Joudar of Muharraq, and Shaikh Abdul Latif bin Mahmood of Hedd as Khdia, and from that time they have sat together in the Sunni Shera Court. It was found that three Kadis on one bench was more satisfactory than a single Kadi. Their work, on the whole, has been satisfactory, but the public complain, with justification, of the slowness of the court. Simple cases are often before the court for over a year before a judgment is delivered, and the court usually has between two and three hundred pending cases on hand.

**Shera Court, Shia.** There have been many changes in the Shia Court during the last ten years. In 1926, Shaikh Khalaf was the only Shia Kadi. He had been Kadi for many years, although he had twice been dismissed for irregular practices, but each time, after an interval, he returned to power. His influence was very great; he was regarded as almost divine. In 1926, charges of accepting bribes and misappropriation were brought against him and proved in the court. He was finally dismissed and ordered to leave Bahrain. He retired to Iraq for some years, but eventually returned to Bahrain, where he is now living.

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The Government then appointed Seyed Adhnan of Jedhafs as Shia Kadi. He was a progressive young man of a well-known family, with more education than most of the Shia Alima. He was interested in education and had travelled abroad. Through his influence the Government was able to start the Shia Wakf Department, and he himself compiled a list of the Wakf property in Bahrain. Unfortunately he died suddenly in 1928.

For some months no successor was appointed, but finally the Government chose Shaikh Ali bin Hassan al-Mousa and Shaikh Abdulla bin Mohammed Saleh; the former was appointed Kadi for the villages and the latter as Kadi of Manamah. Shaikh Ali bin Hassan still retains his position and is one of the three Shia Kadis who are now officiating.

Shaikh Abdulla acted as Kadi until 1935, when he was dismissed from his post in disgrace, having been prosecuted on a charge of criminal misappropriation. While he occupied the post of Kadi he was helpful and intelligent, but he became a rich man during the period of his office by stealing the property of orphans and minors.

After the dismissal of Shaikh Abdulla, Shaikh Ali bin Hassan was transferred to Manamah and two more Kadis were appointed, Shaikh Ali bin Jaffar and Shaikh Baqer al-Asfur. This arrangement is not very satisfactory as the three Kadis are all on bad terms with each other and the local political parties among the Baharna continually stir up trouble and play off the Kadis against each other in order to further their personal interests.

It is not surprising that the prestige and influence of the Shia Kadis has declined to a remarkable extent during the last ten years. The Kadis in the past, whatever their faults, had a tremendous influence over the Shia community; now this influence only exists over a few of the country people. The decline of influence is due partly to the change in the mental outlook of the young men in Manamah, but the main cause is the dishonest and unsuitable behaviour of certain of the Kadis.

These conditions will continue until men can be appointed as Kadis who are properly educated and versed in Shera law and legal procedure. The present Kadis, both Shia and Sunni, possess less general education than the present generation of young Arabs, and even their knowledge of the Shera law is, in the case of some of them, very slight. The only way to improve the status and reputation of the Shera Courts is for the Government to arrange for the education abroad of some suitable young men who will eventually become Kadis. The Government is at present trying to arrange for the education of the son of Seyd Adnan with this end in view.

**The Mejlis Tajara and Diving Court.** The Mejlis Tajara is probably the oldest judicial institution in Bahrain, excepting the Shera Courts. Originally it was known as the Mejlis al Urfi, and consisted of two or three local merchants who dealt with commercial cases. At that time it was not connected with the Salafieh al Ghoos, or Diving Court, which was a notorious institution consisting of one or two old pearl merchants whose judgments were invariably in favour of the merchants and Nakhudas and against the divers. This diving court was abolished at the time of the reforms, and for some years it ceased to exist. About ten years ago the Mejlis al Urfi was put on a different footing, and a shaikh of the Ruling Family was appointed as President of the Mejlis. Previously there had been no president. A year or two later further changes were made; the number of members was increased from eleven to twenty-two, divided into two committees, of which one committee sits once every fortnight. At the request of members, the Mejlis became known as the Mejlis Tajara, and on each of the two councils two or three members were appointed who belonged to the diving industry and were capable of dealing with diving cases. Thus the old diving court was amalgamated into the Mejlis Tajara. Another innovation at this time was the introduction of foreign members on the committee which had previously consisted exclusively of Bahrain subjects. Shaikh Rashid bin Mohammed al Khalifah was for many years President of the court until about a year ago, when he was appointed to the Bahrain Court and his place was taken by Shaikh Mohammed, the eldest son of Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa. The court is governed by regular rules, the President has the casting vote in cases of a divided opinion, and occasionally in important cases all the twenty-two members appear together. The increase in the members was made to ensure more regular attendance. The members, all of

them local merchants and many of them members of the two municipal councils, found it impossible to give up a whole morning every week to this voluntary work, but now that they only sit once every fortnight their attendance is more regular. 671 692

The Mejlis Tajara deals with cases both from Bahrain courts and from the Agency courts. It relieves the other courts of much work and is frequently successful in effecting compromises between parties, which saves time and trouble. In its present form the Mejlis Tajara is a satisfactory institution. 693

**Small Mixed Court.** This court was started in 1928 and deals with civil cases up to Rs 400/-. The Bahrain magistrate, a junior member of the Ruling Family, sits with a representative of the Political Agent, usually the Indian Assistant. This court has been a useful training ground for some of the younger sheikhs who, after working in it for some years, have been promoted to more responsible positions.

**Laws and Codes.** At present, except in the Shara courts, which decide cases according to Islamic law, none of the Bahrain courts follow any regular law or code. In important criminal cases the Bahrain Court is guided by the Sudan Penal Code, which is almost identical to the Indian Penal Code, but in minor criminal cases it gives sentences which it considers suitable and compatible with local opinions and conditions. Frequently these punishments differ very greatly to those which would be inflicted on foreigners found guilty of exactly the same offences who are tried and sentenced according to the Indian Penal Code. As an example of this, it is the practice of the Bahrain Court to sentence any person who contravenes the Bahrain liquor regulation, for instance, by being in possession of liquor, to undergo eight months' hard labour in the case of a first offence. 671

Civil cases are judged according to local custom and practice and, in cases which are applicable, especially in land disputes and diving cases, according to the various Government proclamations which are issued from time to time. Unfortunately, these proclamations have never been codified and not all the public are conversant with them.

Until about two years ago the practice of the courts of dealing with cases without a regular code was not objected to by the public, but during the agitation raised by a small faction of the Manamah Shias in 1935 a demand was made for a code of laws to be adopted by the Bahrain courts. A committee was appointed by the Government consisting of Shaikh Abdulla bin Shaikh Hamad and two Arabs and two Baharna, assisted by the clerk of the courts. It was intended that they should first codify all the existing proclamations, but it soon became apparent that the proclamations themselves, with the exception of the Diving Laws and a few other detailed regulations such as land registration rules, etc., were inadequate even to form a basis of a simple code for the courts. The committee have been meeting once a week for over a year and they have accomplished much valuable work, but it will probably take them another year to complete their task. The code which they are drafting refers only to civil matters such as rules regarding fishing rights, court rules, etc., etc., and it is not proposed that they should compose a criminal code. If a criminal code is necessary, and in my opinion it is not, it would save time and trouble if the Sudan Penal Code was altered to suit local conditions and then adopted. It has the advantage of being available in Arabic.

**Police Regulations.** The Bahrain police are not subject to or instructed in any regular form of regulations. As 90% of them are illiterate, it would be difficult to make them conversant with such regulations as the Indian Code of Criminal Procedure, but the police deal with an ever-increasing number of cases in which foreigners, including Europeans, Americans, and Indians, are involved. Only one of the N.C.O.'s has any knowledge of Indian rules and regulations affecting police cases and prosecutions, and as the courts in which foreigners are normally charged with criminal offences are governed by the Indian regulations, the position of the police is liable to become increasingly difficult. The Bahrain courts do not allow any foreigners to appear before the courts as pleaders or Wakils, but if in the future any professional Indian pleaders should appear in cases connected with the Bahrain police, he would probably be able to pick holes in the method of presenting cases. 671 693 695

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**Judicial Legislation.**

From time to time the Bahrain Government has issued proclamations which have become regulations guiding the actions of the Bahrain courts. Some of these orders, such as the following, are of considerable importance.

**Diving Regulations.** Several different proclamations on this subject have been issued embodying the various changes and conditions which resulted from the diving reforms.

**Wakils.** A proclamation was issued laying down the conditions under which Wakils should be permitted to appear in courts and specifying their rate of fees. This became necessary after criminal charges had been proved against certain Wakils who had cheated their clients.

**Mortgages.** An important proclamation was issued to the effect that no property could be mortgaged unless it had previously been registered on a Government title deed.

**Appeals.** A regular system of filing appeals from the various Bahrain courts was issued by proclamation.

**Statute of Limitation.** The period was fixed at ten years, and the same period for acquisition of land by squatters' rights.

**Liability of Government Servants.** Liability of Government servants was defined in a proclamation forbidding the public to make loans to Government servants while employed by the Government except at their own risk.

## PUBLIC WORKS

G53

The Bahrain Government has never had an independent Public Works Department. All buildings, roads, causeways, etc., etc., have been constructed under the supervision of Khan Saheb Mohamed Khalil, the Superintendent of the Land and Survey Department, which has combined the functions of Land Department and Public Works Department. This, in the past, has been a satisfactory and economical arrangement, but in the future, owing to probable expansion, it is proposed to separate the two departments and to start a regular Public Works Department. The Bahrain Government has, during the last ten years, carried out some large and important public works, including the Manamah-Muharraq causeway and the Naval base at Jufair, and the plain, dignified style of the buildings constructed by the Government has greatly improved the appearance of the town of Manamah.

The first important public works were the Palace, the Government offices, and the Manamah sea road. These works were completed during 1925-26 and were undertaken by an Indian contractor. The construction of the sea road was satisfactory, but time has shown that the palace and the Government offices were badly built. Large sums of money have had to be spent on repairing and propping up the Palace, owing to its inadequate foundations, and various defects in the Government offices became apparent after a few years. After this experiment, all building, with the exception of some unimportant work in the villages, has been done by the Government directly. Local building contractors do not exist, and the experiment of employing a foreign contractor proved a failure.

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**Roads.**

Since the Bahrain Petroleum Company commenced its operations in Bahrain the Government has been saved much money and labour as the Company maintains and builds roads in all parts of the concession area as well as keeping up the main road from Manamah to Rafaa, which is the most important road in Bahrain and which formerly cost the Government a considerable sum every year. The Government now confines its road work to areas in which the Company is not interested. The most important recent work is the new road from Jidhafs to Budeya which, instead of making a long detour round the coast, goes straight across country, so that Budeya can now be reached from Manamah in about twenty minutes. This will make it more easy to develop Budeya, where a school is being built. A police post was established last year, and the Government has recently purchased a large derelict garden, which is now irrigated from an artesian well, and is being put under cultivation.

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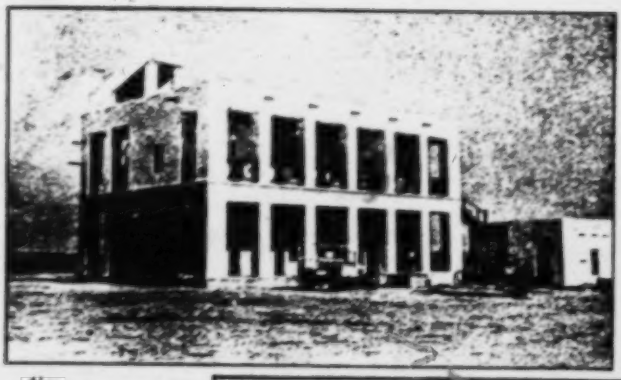
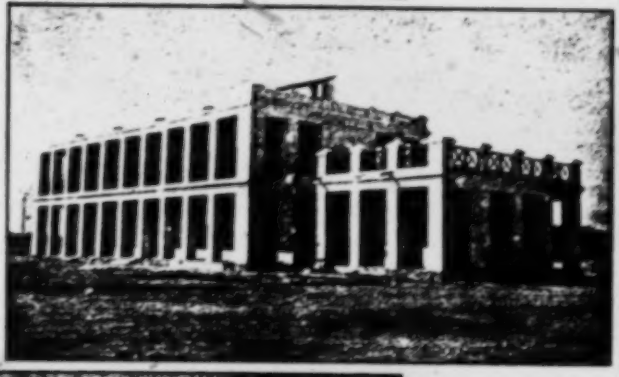


BUILDINGS CONSTRUCTED BY BAHRAIN GOVERNMENT AT NAVAL BASE, JUFAIR

*Above*
Clerk in Charge's House



*Right*
Canteen

*Left*
Officer's Building

[facing p. 22 A]

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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Souq Al Khamis Mosque

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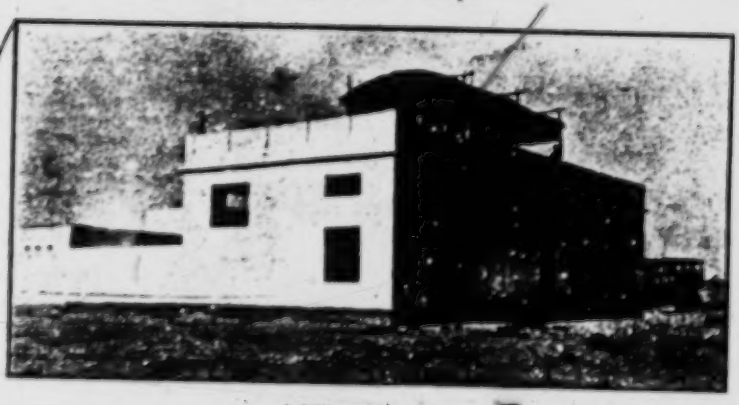

A Village Dispensary

[facing p. 228].

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In the last ten years several new roads have been made by the Government, linking up existing roads, such as the road from Sehlah to a point on the Budeya road opposite the Portuguese Fort and the road from the top of Rafaa hill to East Rafaa, which used to be inaccessible except from down in the valley.

There is still need for several more roads, especially for one connecting Aali with Manamah, which will take the donkey traffic which comes into Manamah from the villages around Aali. The main road to Radm al Koweri cannot be widened any more, except at great expense, as it is bordered on both sides by valuable date gardens, and the mixture of motor traffic and laden donkeys, which disregard all traffic rules, is a constant source of accidents. The country people themselves, through the Shia Wakf committee, have asked that a donkey track should be made so that they need not use the motor road.

653 491 346

**Buildings. Suk al Khamis Mosque.**

In 1346 (1927-28) the ancient mosque at Suk al Khamis, which was in a dangerously dilapidated condition, was restored by the Government, which at the same time straightened out the main road which previously made a wide detour. Earlier attempts to bring the road past the mosque had been opposed by the Shia villagers, but because they were pleased at the Government's action in repairing the mosque, no objections were made about the road.

This mosque was described by Von-Ernst Diez, who visited it in 1914, as being a mosque of the year 740 H. (1339-40). The ornamentation of the wooden pillars and cross beams are of particular importance and interest. Over twenty years ago all the wood in the mosque disappeared. During the last few months I have found, and been able to recover from a neighbouring village, several of the beams and large pieces of wood containing the carvings which were described and illustrated by Diez and which he ascribed to the ninth or tenth century.

653 312

**Idari Water Channel and Mosque.**

During this and the following year the Government, at the request of the landowners whose property is irrigated from Idari spring, built a cement water channel from the main spring to the high road, a distance of about 1,200 yards. The cost of the work, Rs 21,000/-, was paid by the owners of the gardens. At the same time the Government built a small mosque, on the site of an older one, on the bank of the pool. During the last year, further improvements have been made at Idari, and a quantity of flowering trees and bushes have been planted there. The pool during the summer is visited by thousands of people, who bathe there.

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**Manamah School and Workshop.**

The school was begun in 1347 (1928-29) and completed in the following year. The cost of the Manamah School, and a small school which was built at the same time at Suk al Khamis, was Rs 39,000/-. There are ten class-rooms in Manamah, capable of accommodating about three hundred boys, and a large hall which has on one occasion held six hundred people. The building is of stone and cement and is on one floor.

During the present year a workshop has been built close to the school, on the opposite side of the road. This became necessary as the carpentry and engineering classes made so much noise when working in the main building that other classes were disturbed.

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**Barracks, Police Station.**

In 1353 (1934-35) a new barrack room was built in the Fort in place of some of the old rooms, which became uninhabitable. The original building was made of stones fastened together with mud, plaster, and covered with a thin coating of lime plaster. Every year for the last ten years portions of the main wall of the Fort have fallen down, and most of the old quarters inside the Fort are in a dangerous condition.

A second barrack room was built in 1936, and also a new armoury and three motor garages, and in 1937 the north-west tower, which had fallen in, was rebuilt and part of the walls were faced with cement and thoroughly repaired.

The larger of the two barrack rooms, which is 114 feet long and 22 feet wide, with three doors and fifteen windows, and also clere windows, accommodates forty men and cost Rs 7,300/-

653 In 1353 (1934-35) a police station was built at Hedd, with a small office, men's quarters, and a lock-up enclosed by a wall, and during the same year a similar police building was built at Budeya.

**New Customs House.** During 1937 several important works were carried out. A new customs house, with a flat above the offices, was built on the shore, immediately east of the pier. The building and the reclaiming of a large area of ground which was required to extend the customs wharves cost Rs 66,000/-.

The new offices are light, airy, and convenient, and the building has done much to improve the appearance of the water front.

In the customs square a round garden with a fountain in the centre has been made, where it is hoped eventually to grow evergreen shrubs, grass, and flowering bushes. The circular garden in the centre of the square was made partly as a means of ensuring the one-way traffic rule, which is necessary owing to the large amount of motor traffic in this neighbourhood, and partly for the purpose of improving the appearance of the square.

**Shops.** Three shops, which have been rented on a long lease as motor showrooms and office, were built behind the old customs house on the site of some tumble-down sheds on the west side of Barrett Street. The Import Yard shed, part of the customs premises, occupies most of one side of this street. This shed, since the construction of the pier shed about twelve years ago, is never filled to its capacity, and space along the road to contain a line of shops could be spared from the shed. As this is now the chief shopping centre in Bahrain, shops in the street are a profitable proposition.

**Palace Wall.** During 1936 a wall, stone base and pillars, with wooden railings, was built in front of the Palace, which has greatly improved its appearance as well as making it possible to keep out crowds from in front of the Palace on public occasions.

**Law Courts.** At the time of writing this report, the new Law Courts are in the course of construction. The building is on a piece of ground which has been reclaimed and which was until recently water, inside the Manamah sea road, between the properties of Kanaibi & Co. and Gray Mackenzie. The offices and courts are round three sides of an open courtyard, and when the building is completed all the different courts, with their records, will be housed in one place instead of being scattered in various parts of the town in Government buildings and in hired rooms. Each courtroom has a record room and office opening out of it.

653 347 **Bazaar Buildings.** In the winter of 1936 a serious fire occurred near the Manamah Municipal Buildings which entirely destroyed the 'Suk al Arbaa,' an extensive bazaar, including the vegetable market and a number of shops belonging to H.H. Shaikh Hamad. Although much damage was done, the fire was a blessing in disguise, as His Highness decided to abolish the dangerous and insanitary type of buildings and to build new markets and shops. This work was undertaken, at His Highness's expense, by the Bahrain Government. Stone shops were built, and three large iron sheds were erected which are to be used for selling fruits, vegetables, and lucerne. The new bazaar is sanitary and up-to-date, and a water supply has been laid down which makes it possible to sluice the floors of the sheds every day and to wash out the shops. A pipe has also been laid on to the meat market so that it, too, can be washed out daily. In addition to His Highness's shops and sheds, two of His Highness's sons, who owned land in the bazaar, have built lines of new shops in place of the matting sheds which were there previously.

Through the kindness of the Manager of the Bahrain Petroleum Company, one of the Company's English staff has been allowed to superintend the erection of the steel sheds, and worked on the job for some months. This new bazaar is one of the most noticeable improvements in Manamah which has occurred during recent years.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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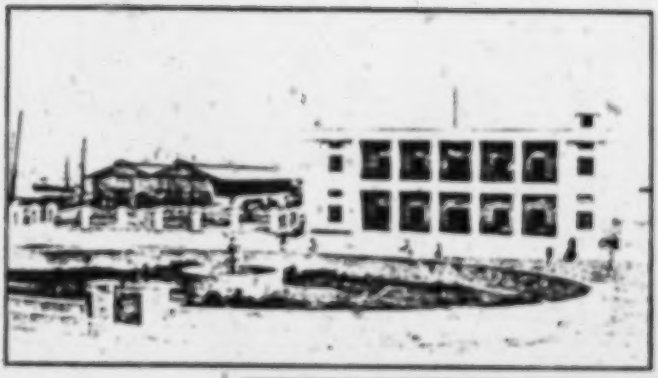

New Customs House and Round-about

Government Shops

Women's Dispensary

Facing p 24 A

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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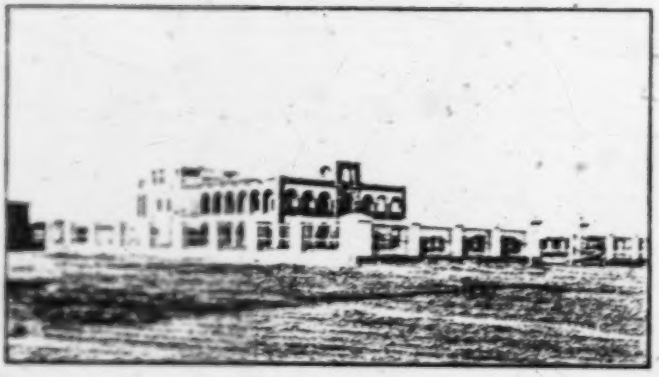

The Palace
Manamah

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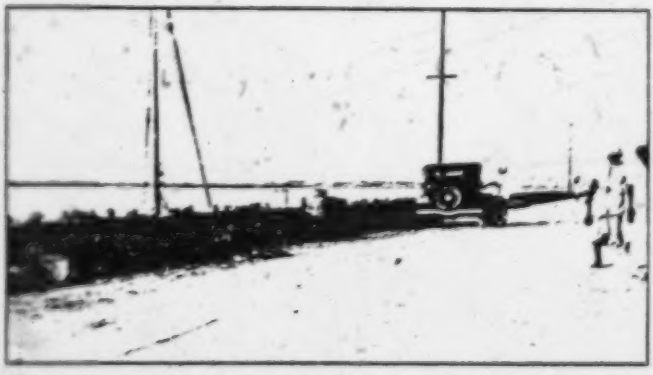

Manamah
Muharraq
Sea Road

The Road
(From the Sea)

[facing p. 24B]

658 In addition to these major works, a number of smaller buildings have been made, such as garages, dispensaries, extensions to existing buildings, quarantine station, small country schools, bridges, and water channels.

[339] In all buildings, local material is almost entirely employed. All buildings are made of coral stone, which is cut from the bed of the sea and brought to the shore in boats. Gutch plaster is obtained locally, and also lime, and the wood, although imported, is purchased from local merchants. Steel beams are bought in Europe, and latterly metal fittings have been imported direct from England.

**Jufair Naval Base.** At the request of the naval authorities the Bahrain Government undertook the construction of the Naval base at Jufair. The work lasted from May 1935 till May 1936. The most important buildings were a pier on the southern side of the point, 600 yards long and 10 feet wide, a canteen building with two billiard rooms, an officers' building, clerk-in-charge's house, store, Indian staff quarters, etc., etc. The Bahrain Government, in addition to the building, installed a complete water supply and drainage system; this part of the work was done by the State Engineer. All the houses were built in the usual style, of stone and cement, but tiles, imported from Busra, were used for flooring.

The cost of the most important buildings was approximately as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Pier ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | Rs 12,800/- |
| Canteen ... ... ... ... ... ... | 23,200/- |
| Clerk-in-Charge's house ... ... ... ... ... | 11,400/- |
| Officers' building ... ... ... ... ... | 18,800/- |

The above figures do not include the cost of electric and water supply installation.

653 491 **Manamah-Muharraq Road.** For many years it had been the wish of His Highness Shaikh Hamad to build a road across the sea, connecting the towns of Manamah and Muharraq, which are separated by a mile and 1,166 yards of sea, much of which is dry at low tide. In the past, connection between the two islands was only possible by boats, and on some occasions, during very low tides or in abnormally rough weather, it was almost impossible to cross the gap. Muharraq town is almost as large as Manamah, and the island contains a number of villages as well as the town of Hedd, which is the third largest town in Bahrain. When Muharraq was used as an aerodrome, the need for easier communication between the two islands became more necessary. When the project of building a road across the sea with some sort of bridge over the deep channel was first discussed, many people considered and said that it was an impossible proposition.

In 1348 the causeway was begun. It was estimated that the cost of completing it, not including the bridge, would be Rs 6,00,000/-. It was built of coral stone, with outside walls of murubaa stone and a centre filling of fishti stone surfaced with mud, and provided with culverts at every 100 yards. The width of the road is 32 feet, and the maximum height from the sea bed at the deepest place is 13 feet.

The causeway, without the bridge, was completed and opened for motor traffic at the end of 1936. Work on the road has not been carried out continuously, but during the seven years of its construction when money has been available the work has been continued, and only at times other than the diving season, when much unemployment existed. The total cost of the road from Manamah to the edge of the deep channel and from Muharraq to the channel is Rs 1,99,800/-. Of this amount, Rs 4,000/- was subscribed by a merchant of Muharraq as a contribution from 'thilth.'

It is now possible to reach Muharraq in less than ten minutes, at all times of the day or night and in all weather conditions. There are motor bus services to and from the end of the causeway, and when arrangements have been made for crossing the channel, which are now under consideration, there will be a bus service to Muharraq, Hedd, and other villages on Muharraq island. Already the road has caused an improvement in property values in Muharraq, and people working in

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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Manamah in shops and offices who had to leave their houses in Muharraq and live in Manamah owing to the difficulty of crossing to and fro are now able to live in Muharraq and to cross the channel and come into Manamah by bus.

In addition to the convenience of the road, it has provided work for thousands of men, who cut stone from the sea and bring it ashore in boats during times of unemployment. Everything in the road, except the cement in the parapet and the wooden beams in the culverts, is produced locally. In my opinion, it can be reasonably supposed that not less than 75% of the money expended has been spent in the Bahrain bazaars by the labourers who earned the money and has stimulated local trade.

## LAND REGISTRATION

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**Survey.** This department began its work about twelve years ago, and for the first six years it was mainly occupied in making a survey of the villages and cultivated area in Bahrain. The work, with the exception of two small areas, was completed before the financial depression necessitated reduction of the staff of the Land Department, which put an end to the survey.

When the survey first began it met with considerable opposition from the Shia villagers, who were suspicious of the Government's intentions, but after a short time the object of the work was appreciated by the people and no further difficulties were made.

The results of the work are contained in a quantity of maps showing gardens with their boundaries with reference numbers to registers which contain particulars of owners, water rights, and details about the property. At the time of the survey, information about boundaries, water rights, etc., was obtained from the landlords and from their tenants. Usually in Bahrain the landlords know very little about their gardens and rely almost entirely on the tenants for information about boundaries and water rights. In cases where original documents existed these were examined and checked, but in a great many cases property owners have no title deeds. Before completing the records, the Land Registration Department published a proclamation calling on the public to notify the department if the particulars for registration were not correct.

In addition to the survey of villages and gardens, the department made a survey and a large scale map of Manamah town, and also Hedd and Muharraq; the work in the case of these towns did not include registration of rights. The map of Manamah was made when the electric scheme was first considered and the map was used for planning the layout.

**Reports on Land Cases.** In addition to general survey work, every year the department provides plans and reports to the courts on cases of land disputes. During some years several hundreds of reports have been made, and these reports are usually the decisive factor in settling cases. The Land Department deals with cases in the Bahrain courts and also in the Agency courts.

**Registration of Sales and Titles.** The registration of property in Bahrain is not compulsory, but every year there is an increase in the number of people who apply for the registration of their houses or gardens. The public now realise the value of a Government title deed, and they appreciate the fact that when the title deed has been issued nobody can contest it. The only people who during the last ten years have attempted to set aside a Government title deed are certain members of the Ruling Family. Their claims failed, but if they had succeeded the valuable work of the Land Registration Department over many years would have been seriously affected.

**Mortgages.** The registration of sales of property was made compulsory in 1929, and in 1931 a proclamation was issued to the effect that no claim for foreclosure of a mortgage on immovable property would be heard in the courts unless the property had been previously registered on a Government title deed. The result of this is that nobody can mortgage property unless he holds a Government title deed for it. The actual transaction of the mortgage

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need not be registered, but the existence of a Government title deed ensures that the property is free from claims. Before this rule was made, cases frequently occured in the courts in which the same property was mortgaged to two different people. 647 423

**Government Title Deeds.** Government title deeds are hand-written documents in Arabic, describing the property with all measurements, boundaries, water rights, and particulars, and on the reverse of each title deed there is a plan of the property with measurements shown in feet and inches. The documents are signed on both sides by the Ruler, the Adviser, and the Superintendent of the Land Department. A person wishing to register his property makes a written application to the Land Registration Department. The property is surveyed by the Land Department surveyors in the presence of the owner or his agent, or, in the case of a sale, in the presence of both parties; if necessary, boundary pillars are erected. A proclamation is then issued, calling on all persons having any claim on the property to submit claims in writing within fifteen to thirty days in the case of a sale, and ninety days in the case of registration of ownership. Claims are forwarded to the Bahrain Court by the Land Department and are decided by the court, which also examines all applications for titles before the final documents are issued. The procedure is somewhat slow, but it is effective, and since it has been in force the number of disputes about land, boundaries, water rights, and fish-traps is gradually declining. Fees are charged for registration of sales according to a sliding scale in the case of sales, depending upon the sale price, and at a fixed rate in the case of registration of ownership. The fees in the latter case are low and do not cover in some cases the cost of the work, but it is to the advantage of the public and the Government that as much property as possible should be registered and, to encourage registration, fees are small. Between 400 and 500 title deeds have been issued by the department every year during the last ten years, and each year there has been a gradual but steady ncrease in applications for registration of ownership.

**Fish-Traps.** In 1353 (1934) all fish-traps round the coast of Bahrain and the various islands were registered, and rules were laid down with the object of preventing people from erecting and then claiming ownership to fish-traps on Government property. It was enacted that the owners of fish-traps had no rights over the boundaries mentioned in their title deeds, except as far as protection from other persons who might wish to erect fish-traps within the area described. In many cases great pieces of the sea were described in old documents as being the boundaries of a certain fish-trap, and if full ownership to these areas was admitted, valuable land along the foreshore would be lost to the Government if the owners chose to reclaim it. The department dealt with the question of a batch of very valuable traps close to the Bahrain Petroleum Company's pier at Sitrah, and was mainly responsible for arranging a settlement between the Bahrain Petroleum Company and the owners of the traps. 226

**Land Leases and Government Forms.** In addition to survey and registration work, the Land Department is responsible for leasing Government land, mostly in the neighbourhood of Manamah, to persons who live upon it in Barastis. The rents are very low, but the existence of a regular agreement between the Government and the occupier of the ground ensures that the Government retains its ownership of the land. In Bahrain, ten years' undisputed and uninterrupted occupation is sufficient to establish the ownership of the ground. Printed Government forms, the use of which is compulsory in the case of senads, powers of attorney, and diving 'barwas,' etc., are sold by the Land Department, and every year over 15,000 of these forms are purchased by the public. 427 475

The revenue collected by the Land Department does not cover the cost of the department, but the value of land registration to the Government and to the public is very great. The continued success of the registration work can only be ensured as long as the principle that Government title deeds, when once issued, cannot be contested is maintained. Frequent attempts have been made, usually by influential personages, to set aside title deeds, but so far without success. If one case of this kind should meet with success, the whole system would be seriously affected.

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# EDUCATION

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**Formation of an Education Committee.** The progress of education during the last ten years has not been altogether smooth, but the origin of some of the troubles which have occurred dates back to the time when schools were first started in Bahrain. In 1919, Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa returned from his first visit to England filled with enthusiasm for education. Bahrain was in a prosperous condition, as the pearl market was flourishing, and when the public were asked to subscribe to a fund for starting schools they responded generously, and over three lacs were collected. An education committee was formed under the presidency of Shaikh Abdullah, whose members were local merchants chosen rather on account of their wealth than their learning, many of them being entirely illiterate. Haji Yusuf Fakroo, a Persian merchant of Muharraq, was appointed as treasurer, and very soon acquired almost complete control of finance and administration.

**Muharraq School Built.** The committee decided to build a large school beyond the northern edge of Muharraq town; it was unfortunate that a site in a more central position was not chosen for the school. The cost of building the school was said to have been about two lacs, but this sum included the cost of a quantity of material which was ordered by the treasurer from India and which did not arrive in Bahrain. To-day the school could be built for less than a quarter of this sum and, even taking into consideration the decrease in the price of building, the amount which was alleged to have been spent upon building the school was incredibly large. For many years much publicity was given in Syrian and Egyptian newspapers, which have always taken an impertinent interest in Bahrain educational affairs, to what was described as a case of gross mismanagement of public money. The school was opened with a teaching staff which included several highly paid Egyptian and Syrian masters. Shaikh Hafiz Wahba, who is now the representative of His Majesty King Ibn Saoud at the Court of St. James, was for some time the headmaster of the Muharraq school. A second school was opened in Manamah in a house in the centre of the town, which is now the Manamah girls' school.

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**Education.** For some years after the beginning of the period which is dealt with in this report the two schools were nominally under the management of the committee, but in fact they were run by the treasurer and the Syrian headmaster of the Muharraq school. Educational results were disappointing: boys who were two years at school were unable to read and write, and most of the boys who left the school after learning for several years were incapable of filling the simplest posts in the Government offices. Though attention was given to teaching the sons of important people, most of the boys received a very scrappy education. The examinations, which were held in public at the end of each term, were entirely unreliable tests of education. The boys' fathers attended these examinations, and when the boys gave wrong answers the parents usually applauded, and it was considered inadvisable to correct the boys in front of their fathers, who were equally ignorant.

The members of the committee took little interest in anything except the financial advancement of their relations and friends, who were appointed as teachers. One of the headmasters of Muharraq introduced a number of his own relations, and the pay of the teachers depended not upon their ability but upon their friendship with the headmaster and the committee. In general, nepotism flourished to an extraordinary degree.

At that time it was impolitic to question the administration of the schools. The amount paid by the Government on account of education during 1344 (1925-1926) was Rs 48,000/-; in the following year only Rs 20,000/- was spent, but in 1346 (1927-28) the annual grant towards education was raised to Rs 46,000/-. It was during this year that the Honorable the Political Resident, then Colonel Haworth, pointed out to the Bahrain Government that, in comparison to the revenue, the annual expenditure on education was very small. 'Education,' he wrote, 'is the dominant factor in Bahrain.' A small school was opened in Rafaa and another school in Hedd.

**Jafarieh School.** In 1347 (1928-29) the expenditure on education was increased to Rs 57,000/-, but in addition to the Rs 32,000/- which was paid to the treasurer of the education committee, this sum included the cost of building the first four classrooms of the new school in Manamah which was intended for Shias. Out of the Rs 13,000/-

which was spent on the school during the year, Rs 5,000 - was contributed by public subscription. The school was managed by a committee of Shia notables, and a young Iraqi from Baghdad was appointed as the headmaster. His family had originally lived in Hasa, and after being in Bahrain for some time he was discharged, as his active sympathy with the Shia subjects of His Majesty King Ibn Saoud made him a possible cause of political complaint. Owing to the lack of suitably educated men among the Shias in Bahrain, most of the senior masters at the school were subjects of Iraq. From its beginning the progress of the school was hampered by the dissensions among the members of the committee.

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**Opening of a Girls' School.** In the same year a school for girls was opened in Muharraq in response to a demand for female education by some of the more progressive and enlightened Arabs of that town. The clerical and conservative Arabs in Bahrain disapproved very strongly of this innovation. They said that it would increase immorality because, if the girls could read and write, they would correspond surreptitiously with men outside their own house. The school was publicly denounced in the Friday mosque, but in spite of this it has been a flourishing institution since it started. The school owed its existence mainly to Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa and Shaikh Mohamed Ali Zainal, the much-respected Hedjazi pearl merchant and educationalist, whose arguments convinced the general public that the school would be beneficial.

**Appointment of a School Inspector.** The following year, 1348 (1929-30), was a year of disturbance, changes, and reforms. After a long period of expensive and unproductive school administration, the public began to demand a better return for the large sums of money which were paid every year by the Government to the treasurer of the education committee. The sudden dismissal by the education committee of a headmaster of the Manamah school who had quarrelled with the Muharraq headmaster caused a crisis. The Manamah headmaster was a popular man, and his supporters, who thought that he had been badly treated, openly criticised the conduct of the committee, especially that of the treasurer, and the unsuitable authority which was held by the Muharraq headmaster. Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa came to the conclusion that if the schools were to be properly managed it was essential that their finance and administration should be under the direct supervision of the Government, and that a qualified inspector of schools should be appointed. Mr. Fuad Adham, a Syrian recommended by the President of the Beyrout University, who held a degree from that university and also a degree from the Islamich College, was appointed as inspector of schools. His wife, a qualified teacher, was made the headmistress of a new school for girls which was opened in Manamah.

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**Strike of Students and Masters.** The headmaster of the Muharraq school and many of the members of the education committee bitterly resented the appointment of a school inspector and what they regarded as the interference of the Government in school affairs. For many years they had mismanaged educational matters with impunity and no question had been asked about the accounts. When the treasurer was asked to explain certain financial transactions he promptly sent in his resignation, which was accepted. This was the signal for trouble. Without any warning the headmaster of the Muharraq school declared a strike of teachers and students. This action was intended to affect all the schools, but actually only the Manamah and Muharraq boys' schools took part in the strike. For several days the boys marched about the towns in processions in a typical Egyptian manner, making noisy demonstrations and delivering speeches against the Government, which they afterwards admitted had been taught to them by the masters. There was certain amount of disorder, and damage was done to the Muharraq school. Shaikh Abdullah immediately took strong action: he sent for the two headmasters, who refused to appear, but wrote a long letter, making ridiculous demands. They were promptly dismissed and sent back to Syria, where they organised a venomous press campaign against the Bahrain Government, which was taken up by several newspapers in Syria, Iraq, and Egypt. The schools were closed for ten days by order of the Government and then re-opened. At first the attendance was small, but soon the normal number of students returned and the schools settled down to their ordinary routine, which continued undisturbed until the end of the term. This demonstration was undoubtedly encouraged by some of the members of the committee whose authority from that time was deliberately curtailed by the Government.

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Most of the parents of the boys disapproved of their children's behaviour, but they said that they could not prevent them from doing what they wished. Parental control in Bahrain is almost non-existent, and boys of twelve years of age and older usually act independently of their parents' wishes. Fathers frequently complain that they would like their sons to go to school, but as their boys do not wish to do so they cannot make them attend school.

**Reforms in the Schools.**

In 1349 (1930-1931), Rs 61,000 - was spent on education, which included the cost of completing the new Manamah school. The school was a large, handsome building capable of accommodating about five hundred boys, with a central hall, the largest room in Bahrain, which will seat over six hundred people. At the beginning of the year some trouble was caused by the Shia school committee and the members of the old education committee. An attempt was made to combine the Sunnis and Shias on one committee, but although the Sunnis agreed, the Shias refused to sit on a mixed committee. The presence of the Government's inspector was still much resented by some of the masters and by people who previously had undue influence in school affairs and finances. The curriculum of the schools was entirely re-organised and a simpler range of subjects was taught in all schools: subjects such as physics, music, and advanced mathematics, which were previously part of the programme and which were badly taught by unqualified teachers, were omitted. English lessons were given only in the higher forms. Several new masters were recruited from Syria, and three young Bahrain men who had been educated at Government expense in Beyrout were taken on as masters. The pay and the contracts of all masters were placed on a proper footing, and their salaries were made to depend upon their abilities. Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa became Minister of Education and was responsible for all matters concerning schools and education; the committees continued to exist, but instead of being an assistance they continually hampered the progress of education. By the end of the year there were over 500 boys and 100 girls attending the Government schools and, owing to the proper supervision of accounts, the monthly cost of running the schools was Rs 3,600/- instead of Rs 5,600/-.

**Disappearance of School Committees.**

During the following year, 1350 (1931-32), the expenditure on education was Rs 45,000/-. Owing to the internal disputes among the members of the Shia school committee the attendance at the Jafferieh school dwindled to about fifty boys. Many of the Shias removed their boys from school because they objected to a Sunni school inspector. During the year the Sunni committee gave up any pretence of taking an interest in the school because they were no longer able to appoint the masters and to decide their salaries, so eventually this committee was allowed to disappear and, after a general quarrel among its members, the Shia committee was dissolved. The control of the schools remained in the hands of Shaikh Abdullah, assisted by the inspector of education and, when necessary, myself.

**Amalgamation of Manamah Boys' Schools.**

The year 1351 (1932-33) was a lean year financially. The salaries of all Government servants, including the staff of the education department, were subjected to a cut, and economies were made in every possible direction. The expenditure on education was reduced to Rs 34,000/-, but in spite of this the number of students increased, and from an educational point of view the year was satisfactory. The most important change was the amalgamation of the Sunni and Jafferieh schools. The Jafferieh school became the Manamah boys' school and the old Sunni school was taken over as a girls' school. The change was resented by most of the Shias, who adopted a dog-in-the-manger attitude. Although they refused to send their boys to the Jafferieh school, they objected to its being used by Sunnis. At the same time another school was opened by a young man, Ibrahim al Arrayedh, who had been dismissed from the department of education after the disturbances in the previous year. This school was financed by some of the wealthier Shia families in Manamah, and for a year or two it served a useful purpose.

During the next two years progress was satisfactory and undisturbed. In 1352 (1933-34), expenditure was reduced to Rs 22,000/- by means of combining classes under one teacher and various other methods of economy, but at the same time attendance at the schools increased from 828 to 966. During the following year there was a further increase in students, and a number of

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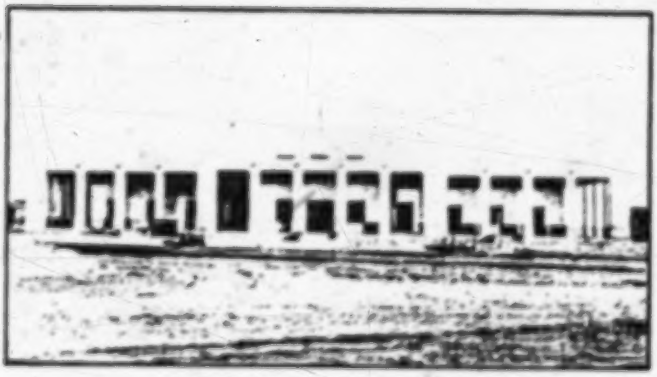
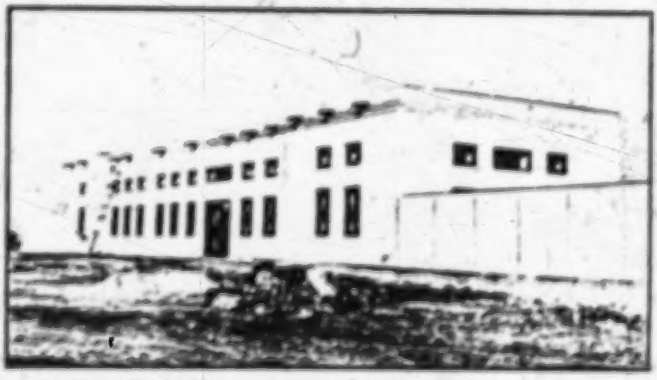
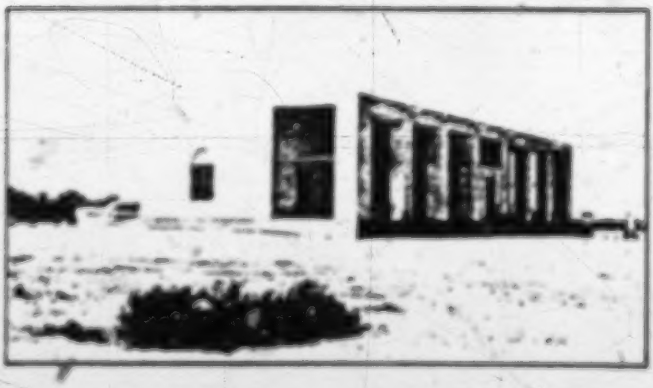


Manama Boys' School



School Workshops



A Village School

[facing p. 30]

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871 Shia boys returned to the Manamah school. Towards the end of 1354 (1935-36) a new school was opened in Sitrah, which was attended by about 30 boys, and it is proposed that several more schools are to be opened in other districts in the Shia villages.

874 **Technical Education.** In 1936, classes were started in the Manamah and Muharraq boys' schools for teaching carpentry and simple mechanics. Two skilled carpenters and a mechanic were obtained from Syria through the Beyrout University. About a dozen boys are now learning carpentry and another class is being taught by the mechanic. They are now working in classrooms in the schools, but this arrangement is inconvenient as the noise disturbs the other classes and the space is small. A simple building is to be put up close to the school, to be fitted out as a carpentry and engineering shop.

463 In Bahrain, all carpenters, masons, and most of the mechanics are foreigners. There is great demand for good work, and masons, etc., earn very high pay. There are undoubtedly great opportunities for trained men in these professions, but the chief difficulty in teaching practical trades of this kind is that many of the boys and their parents regard such work as derogatory. They would prefer to work as clerks on lower pay than as carpenters, masons, or mechanics.

871 Education in Bahrain is not compulsory; all Government schools are free, but students are made to pay for their books and materials. It has been suggested that fees for attending school should be charged, but if this were done the attendance would be restricted to the sons and daughters of people of means, who are mostly foreigners. It has also been suggested that free education should be provided for Bahrain subjects only and that foreigners should pay, but when this question was examined it was found that almost all the children of foreign parentage attending the Government schools were legally Bahrain subjects, having been born in Bahrain and not registered as protected persons.

There is a difference in the subjects taught in the various schools. In the country schools the boys are taught reading, writing, simple arithmetic, and the Quran. Girls learn reading, writing, arithmetic, sewing, embroidery, hygiene, and Quran. They have made remarkably good progress in sewing and embroidery and now produce work which would find a ready sale. More advanced subjects are taught in the Manamah and Muharraq boys' schools, where the programme includes English, history, geography, mathematics, book-keeping, and the system of diving accounts. Leaving certificates are issued by the Department of Education to boys who pass an examination when they leave the schools from the two top forms. No boy is taken into Government service unless he possesses one of these certificates, but unfortunately their value has decreased since the Bahrain Petroleum Company has taken to employing boys who do not hold certificates. During the last two years, about sixty boys from the top classes in the Manamah and Muharraq schools left school and obtained employment as clerks and gaugers with the oil company; others have been taken into Government service as pupil teachers, apprentices in the Customs Department, and in other Government offices.

Games are encouraged at all schools, and the older boys play football. There is also a company of Boy Scouts in Manamah and Muharraq. At the end of each term a play is produced and acted by the older boys. The play is usually very topical. These entertainments are extremely popular with the public and are well produced and excellently acted.

The chief difficulties which beset the path of education are the complete lack of discipline among the boys in their own homes, the religious differences between the two sects, Shias and Sunnis, and the suspicious attitude of local people towards foreign teachers, who are essential until the people of Bahrain have attained a sufficient degree of education to fit them to be teachers. The question of punishments is another problem, none of the punishments, except corporal punishment, which are used in civilized countries have any effect in Bahrain. If boys are ordered not to come to school because they misbehave, they do not care, nor do they mind being kept back after school hours, and most of them are quite indifferent to losing marks.

**Bahrain Boys at Beyrout University.** In 1929, seven boys from the Government schools were sent to the Beyrout University to be educated there at Government expense. Three of them were members of the Ruling Family, the others were sons of merchants who were chosen by the headmaster of the Muharraq school. All of them were fourth,

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which caused considerable resentment among the Shias, although at that time the proportion of Shias at the Government schools was much lower than it is now. If more care had been given to the selection of the candidates, this experiment would have been more successful. The boys remained at Beyrout for two years; a longer course would have been more useful to them but, mainly owing to financial reasons, the Government decided not to extend their time.

Some years have now passed since these boys returned to Bahrain, and the result of their education can now be seen. In my opinion, it was successful in the case of three of the boys, moderately successful in the case of three, and a complete failure in the case of one boy. If the boys had been younger when they left Bahrain, I believe that the experiment would have been a complete success.

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**Education of the Ruling Family.** In 1925, Shaikh Hamad allowed two of his sons to go as boarders to the American Mission school in Basrah. They stayed there for one term and did not return to school.

In 1930 a tutor was obtained from India to teach Shaikh Hamad's younger sons. He was well recommended and highly qualified and had previously been in charge of an Indian princeling. Although the tutor worked hard under difficult conditions and did his best to teach his pupils, it was soon apparent that his employment was a waste of his time and of the Government's money. The tutor lived in Shaikh Hamad's house, but the boys were disinclined to work and so did nothing. It was impossible to bring any compulsion on them to do their lessons. The experiment was a complete failure and, after completing one year, the tutor's agreement was not renewed.

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**Future Development of Education.** There is danger in the creation of a class of semi-educated young men in Bahrain who, because they have a little learning, regard themselves as too superior to do manual work and who will become too many to find employment of a clerical nature. The people, however, especially the Shias, are urgent in their demands for increased education, and more schools, and in reply to this the Government intends to open more small country schools in the villages. A knowledge of reading, writing, and simple arithmetic is all that is needed by boys from the villages, most of whom will eventually become divers, cultivators, and fishermen. In these occupations, school education is unnecessary, though for divers and fishermen a knowledge of figures is some assurance against being swindled.

Boys who attend the town schools in Manamah and Moharreq are mostly sons of shopkeepers, merchants, and pearl traders, and many of them enter their fathers' shops and offices, where they benefit from a knowledge of accounts, book-keeping, and the more advanced education which is given at the two big schools.

If the newly started technical classes are successful, the Government will develop this experiment and, if possible, introduce more subjects which will provide lucrative employment for trained boys when they leave school. It should be possible for boys who have learned carpentry, etc., at school to secure employment with the Bahrain Petroleum Company in place of some of the many foreign artisans who are now employed by the Company.

## ELECTRIC DEPARTMENT

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**Original Installation.** The possibility of introducing electricity in Manamah was first considered over ten years ago, and for some time funds were set aside for the purpose, it was not, however, till 1928 that any action was taken by the Government. That year the services of Mr. Stevenson, electrical engineer in Sind, were obtained in an advisory capacity and a scheme was prepared by him in Bahrain, together with plans for the layout and a rough specification. Bahrain was then in a prosperous condition, and it was estimated that the initial load would be not less than 2,000 lamps and 200 fans. The people in Manamah were anxious to form a public company, but after consideration this suggestion was dropped, and eventually it was decided that the scheme was to be undertaken by the Government and the Manamah Municipality.

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A number of well-known firms were invited to tender, but all seemed to consider Bahrain too far off the beaten track, except Callender's Cable and Construction Company who, on their own initiative, sent a representative to Bahrain to examine the prospect. In the summer of 1928, I and Mr. Stevenson discussed the scheme with several electrical engineering companies in London, but none of them were interested. Finally, Callenders' submitted a complete tender, which was accepted by the Government in the spring of 1929; the tender was for £20,607/- and included the power-house, plant, and the installation in Manamah town. In September, 1929, Mr. Jordan, Callenders' resident engineer, arrived, and the power-house was opened and the supply commenced on 11th May.

Unfortunately, during the time between the decision to install electricity and the completion of the work, the prosperity of Bahrain declined. An abnormally bad year on the pearl market resulted in general trade depression and a falling off in revenue. Only 1,200 lights and 200 fans were ordered or installed, and this included street lighting and lights and fans in Government and Municipal buildings.

**Muharraq Extension.** The following year it was decided to extend the electric power to Muharraq. The people of Muharraq protested, with some justification, that they should be allowed to share in the benefit of the scheme which had been paid for out of public funds, to which Muharraq, almost as large a town as Manamah, had contributed a large proportion. Callenders' submitted a tender which was accepted by the Government after obtaining the advice of the Chief Engineer, Iraq. The final amount was for Rs 53,000/-. The extension consisted of a high tension tubular pole line (3,300 volts) along the route of the causeway which was being built between Manamah and Muharraq, with a submarine cable across the deep water channel.

**Share of Municipalities.** The Manamah Municipality had paid 20% of the original capital expenditure, and when Muharraq was added to the scheme the Muharraq Municipality contributed a similar share: 20% of the original expenditure and also 20% of the Muharraq extension, to which Manamah also contributed its share of 20%. The cost of the completed scheme was divided between the Government and the two Municipalities, the Government having 60%, interest and the two Municipalities each 20%.

**Progress.** At the end of 1349 (May 1931) the total number of houses wired was 222; 1,497 lamps and 268 fans had been installed. There was a total loss during the year of Rs 27,000/-, but out of this sum Rs 22,000/- represented depreciation, which had perhaps been assessed at an unnecessarily high rate. During the following year there was a slight increase in consumers, but the result of the Muharraq extension was disappointing; 280 points were connected during the year. Electric power was used when an ice plant, which had been acquired by the Manamah Municipality, was installed in the power-house; a reduced rate was charged for power used in the plant as it was regarded as a public utility concern.

**State Engineer.** In October 1931, Mr. W. B. Steele, of Callenders' Cable and Construction Company, who had worked for some months in Bahrain as the Company's [illegible] in Bahrain in the Company's executive engineer, was appointed as State Engineer to the Bahrain Government. From that date Callenders' ceased to work the electric supply in Bahrain, and the Government also took over all wiring and installation work which has produced a small profit, although the price was kept low in order to encourage consumers. The loss in 1350 (1931-32) was Rs 32,000/-, of which Rs 27,000/- was depreciation. The expenditure during the year included several non-recurrent items such as passages for Callenders' engineer, rent of house, etc. The actual loss on running was about Rs 3,000/-.

**Progress.** In 1351 (1932-33), though the revenue increased by approximately Rs 5,000/-, there was a loss on running of Rs 5,800/-, not including depreciation which amounted to Rs 20,000/-. A small showroom was opened at the office of the Electric Department for the sale of electrical apparatus. Although the number of lights increased

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considerably, there was not a corresponding increase in revenue owing to the use of cheap low-power Japanese lamps which were bought by the public in place of the more powerful lights which had originally been installed.

In 1352 (1933-34) there was a further increase in revenue: 415 more points were connected and power was used for refrigerators, water-pumps, etc. The Electric Department acquired the sole agency for International General Electric Company's refrigerators which, after experiments with other makes, were found to be the most satisfactory. The increase continued through 1353 (1934-35); revenue from sale of energy amounted to Rs 6,000/- more than during the previous year, but, unfortunately, owing to an experiment which was made by a temporary engineer, there was a loss of over Rs 5,000/- on wiring. A reduction in the price per point resulted in wiring being carried out by the department at an actual loss, and the amount involved was considerable, as the department had undertaken a large amount of wiring work for the Bahrain Petroleum Company in addition to the normal work in Manamah and Muharraq. A large quantity of material was ordered at the same time in expectation of wiring orders which did not materialise.

**First Profitable Year.**

In 1354 (1935-36) the Electric Department made a profit of Rs 4,800/- after covering all charges including depreciation. Sixty new premises were wired, 302 lighting points and 33 fans were installed, and the load increased by 27 kilowatts. The department carried out all the wiring work for the naval base at Jufair and also put in a land telegraph line from the wireless office to the terminus of the subterranean cable on the coast west of Manamah.

In 1355 (1936-37), the seventh year of the undertaking, the net profit was Rs 16,737/-, the load increased by 58 kilowatts, and 91 new premises were wired. A new one-ton ice plant was installed, the existing supply being found insufficient for local requirements, and indications appeared that the public were beginning to use electric power commercially, for example, in carpentry, etc. A three-phase line and underground cable was run from Naim to the new direction-finding station installed by Cable & Wireless Limited, and underground mains replaced the overhead lines in the customs square. During the winter months the generating sets were run continuously, for the first time, in order to encourage the use of power appliances.

**Future Prospects.**

It can be reasonably assumed that during the next two or three years the load will increase. There are still a large number of houses which are not provided with electric light, and all new houses, especially those which are built for letting, are nowadays fitted with electric light. During the last year the two engines have frequently been running at the same time in order to cope with peak loads. This is undesirable and dangerous. It is now proposed to instal a third engine consisting of one 300 BHP Mirrlees set which will obviate any possibility of a breakdown and which will provide for future expansion.

A reduction in the rate charged for heating appliances was made during 1355 (1936-37), but it has not yet been possible to reduce the cost of the unit for lighting or cost of power for other purposes. It may be possible to effect a reduction during the year 1357 (1938-39).

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**Telephone System.**

In 1351 (1932-33) a public telephone was opened in Manamah, and by the end of the first year twelve lines had been connected and two were in course of erection. The telephone exchange was installed in a room above the Police Station, which was both a safe and central position. Two young men from the schools were trained by the State Engineer as operators. The yearly rent for a telephone, with an unlimited number of calls, was Rs 150/-, which was reduced after two years to Rs 125/-, as it was found possible to reduce the rent and still allow a small profit from the undertaking.

In 1353 (1934-35) an extension of the telephone system was run from the exchange to the aerodrome in Muharraq in conjunction with the Imperial Airways Company, which paid for this additional line. In 1354 (1935-36) the exchange was connected to the Bahrain Petroleum Company Limited telephone system by a trunk line, and another line was erected to the naval base at Jufair. In 1355 (1936-37) a new exchange of 25 lines was installed in Manamah, and a day and night service was instituted. At the end of 1355 (1936-37) it was decided to connect the

Ruler's house at Sakhir with the exchange by means of a line from Manamah through the Bahrain Petroleum Company's exchange. Telephonic communication now exists over a great part of the islands; from the aerodrome in Muharraq it is possible to talk to steamers lying off Sitra, as a submarine cable was laid by the Bahrain Petroleum Company to the Sitra anchorage, or to distant points on the oil field far down at the south end of the island. 206

At the end of 1355 (1936-37) there were 40 telephone subscribers, and it is expected that during the next year this number will increase to 60. The trunk line to the Bahrain Petroleum Company's Camp was duplicated in order to deal with the increased traffic. The possibility of installing an automatic switchboard (100 lines) is now under consideration. The advantages would be the elimination of operators and the language difficulties and the prevention of listening-in.

SUMMARY OF SEVEN YEARS' WORKING

| Year. | Units Generated. | Units Sold. | Revenue Rs | Connected Load in Kw. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1349 (1930-31) ... | 88,080 ... | 47,340 ... | 20,750/- ... | 102 |
| 1350 (1931-32) ... | 111,367 ... | 65,813 ... | 22,486/- ... | 46 |
| 1351 (1932-33) ... | 120,629 ... | 79,550 ... | 27,463/- ... | 23 |
| 1352 (1933-34) ... | 134,744 ... | 83,241 ... | 30,987/- ... | 9 |
| 1353 (1934-35) ... | 147,050 ... | 100,449 ... | 36,797/- ... | 16 |
| 1354 (1935-36) ... | 163,751 ... | 116,440 ... | 43,828/- ... | 27 |
| 1355 (1936-37) ... | 232,320 ... | 151,255 ... | 60,108/- ... | 58 |

The revenue figures are shown to the nearest rupee.

## AGRICULTURE

Until a few years ago agriculture in Bahrain consisted of cultivating dates and lucerne fairly extensively and growing citrus fruit and a few poor vegetables such as onions, tomatoes, radishes, and melons. In 1930 the Government attempted to encourage agriculture by employing an agricultural expert from Iraq, but owing to lack of funds his services were dispensed with before he could make much progress. 241

The encouragement of agriculture presents many difficulties. Bahrain Arabs regard all agricultural work as derogatory; I have never met one who worked in a garden or a date grove. All the cultivators are Shia aboriginals or Hasawis imported from the mainland as labourers. This feeling against working on the land, and also the question of land tenure have, I believe, restricted the increase of agriculture during the last century. There is ample evidence to show that in the past a great deal more land was cultivated than is to-day. The people who do work on the land are intensely conservative and view all methods except their own with dislike and suspicion. 461

**Land Tenure.** Most of the open cultivatable land, which is along the coast, is claimed by the Ruling Family, who make no use of it themselves, but prevent the Baharna from extending their existing gardens. In the past, Shaikh Sir Isa was in the habit of issuing papers to various of his relations, giving to them whole districts of Bahrain. These 'hibu' documents, which were often written on scraps of paper, included large areas described as 'sehar,' containing roads, villages, springs, privately owned property as well as open land. The Shaikhs who acquired 'hibas' enjoyed feudal rights over the territories which were mentioned in their documents, and in the past they were allowed to make what they could out of them by independent taxation of the people living in the villages, by employing forced labour and by using open land as grazing grounds for the animals which they used to own before the days of motor cars. When the 'hibu' system began, long before the introduction of artesian wells, the possibility of increased cultivation was not visualised, but now the holders of 'hibas' 471 473 423

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have interpreted them as giving actual and exclusive ownership of all land which is not privately owned which is really State land. As a result of this condition, nearly all the land from Manamah to beyond Zellaq, along the coast, is claimed by various members of the Ruling Family.

**Date Cultivation.** Dates are the most important crop in Bahrain; though not as good as the Hasa dates, they are said to be more lasting. Most gardens contain a large proportion of inferior species which are used only for feeding animals. Few gardens are well kept. More than half of the gardens belong to the Khalifah, who for years have spent no money on improving them, but in spite of this they complain incessantly that the rents have fallen off, which is owing to the decrease in the market price of dates by over 40%, and the deterioration of the gardens from lack of care and expenditure on improvements. Dates form part of the staple diet in Bahrain and are much used for provisioning the pearl fleet, but the home-grown crop is not enough to meet the local demand, and every year about six lacs' worth of dates are imported from Hasa and Iraq. There is no land tax and no tax on date trees in Bahrain, so it is impossible to give an estimate of the number of date palms, but the whole area under cultivation is very small, perhaps one-fiftieth of the total area of the islands. Recently the number of date gardens has been slightly increased, as a few people, notably the Ruler himself, have sunk artesian wells and planted land with trees. The date crop could undoubtedly be improved if more care was taken over the cultivation. In Bahrain, date cultivation is a casual affair, trees are never manured, and there is no regular system of planting. In one of the Ruler's gardens the experiment was made some years ago of manuring the roots of the trees, and the result of this was that the trees produced better crops than those which had not been manured. The use of any form of fertiliser, either decayed leaves and camel thorn or animal manure, was unknown a few years ago, but it is now being used in gardens, but not for date trees.

**Lucerne.** Lucerne is used extensively as fodder for cows and donkeys. It grows rapidly and is easily cultivated on poor soil. Both Hasa and Bahrain seeds are used, the latter being more expensive, and when once established it will grow for as long as ten years and will give a crop every month. It is very hardy in growth, but is liable to attacks by a kind of small caterpillar which appears once or twice every year and destroys all the lucerne in whole districts of the country. Experiments have been made by the camel section of the police in drying lucerne and using it as dry fodder when out on patrol; this has been found very successful.

**Cereals.** At one time it was the custom of the people of Rafaa to sow barley before the rainy season on the plain below the town, and for many years successful crops were harvested, but the crop occasionally failed owing to lack of rain. For some years now this practice has ceased, partly because the people of Rafaa are more prosperous than before, as almost all the able-bodied men of the town have obtained employment with the Bahrain Petroleum Company.

An experiment was made in growing California barley by the Government some years ago on irrigated land, and this was found to be a success.

Last year, millet was raised in the Fort garden. It sprang from the camel manure which was used in the soil. It grew sufficiently well to show that there were possibilities of its being grown on a large scale. Maize or Indian corn has also been grown in small quantities.

Three years ago a crop of rice was grown by Khan Bahadur Abdul Aziz Gumaihi, who is a large landowner and interested in agriculture. The rice was grown in rich, well-watered land near Sehlah; the seed was from Hasa, where it is cultivated extensively, and the crop yielded a small profit.

A little maize or Indian corn is grown in some gardens, and finds a ready sale in the bazaar; the quality is poor, probably because no care is taken to procure good seed.

**Cotton.** In the time of the Caliphs, cotton from Bahrain used to be sent to Baghdad, but it is not certain that this cotton was grown in the islands, as at that time much of the mainl[illegible] was also known as Bahrain. In 1930 an experiment was made in growing

cotton under the supervision of the agricultural expert. It was sown in three or four different gardens and on a three-acre patch of new land close to the town, which was lent for the purpose by Khan Bahadur Abdul Aziz Gozaibi. In two of the gardens, though 95% of the seeds germinated, all the plants died before reaching full growth. In the three-acre plot, which was sown in April, the experiment was successful. The seed germinated well and produced a crop of good quantity and quality, which was well reported on by the Cotton-Growing Association in Baghdad. Unfortunately, the price of cotton at that time was so low as to discourage any private individuals from spending money on cultivating it again. The success of the crop proved, however, that it is possible to grow cotton in Bahrain. 248

**Tobacco.** During the last two years tobacco has been grown as a commercial proposition by Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa AlKhalifah and by Mr. Hussein Yateem. Locally grown tobacco was sold in the bazaar, and it is understood that a slight profit was made. 249

**Fruit Trees.** A variety of fruit trees grow in Bahrain, but most of the fruit is of poor quality, as the trees are neglected and never pruned. The only fruit which is grown in any quantity is the citrus and the lote, the other fruit trees are negligible in number and are only found in a few gardens. 245

Fruit trees grown in Bahrain:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Citrus | Peach | Pomegranate |
| Lime | Fig | Guava |
| Orange | Grape | Custard apple |
| Mango | Apricot | Lote |
| Pawpaw | Loquat | Mulberry |

The Government planted about 250 orange trees some years ago, the trees bore fruit of very large size and good quality, but in five years a great number of the trees died. Those that remain produce good crops of oranges every year. Each year during the rainy season a number of trees died, apparently, because the salty earth was splashed up over the lower branches by the rain. In Bahrain, trees frequently die in this way after heavy rain.

**Vegetables.** Ten years ago, no European vegetables were grown in Bahrain; to-day, a number of the Arabs are growing vegetables in their gardens and selling them, very profitably, in the bazaar. Owing to the increase in the European and Indian population, there is a great demand for fresh vegetables. The following species can be grown easily and successfully in Bahrain: 244

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cabbage | Radishes | Onions |
| Cauliflower | Spinach | Swedes |
| Carrots | Lettuces | Celery |
| Turnips | Beetroot | Potatoes |
| Artichokes | Sugar beet | Tomatoes |

There is a steadily increasing demand in Bahrain for agricultural produce, there is land which could be irrigated and which would produce crops, and the results of the few experiments which have been made show that it is possible to grow a number of trees, crops, and vegetables which have never been cultivated on a large scale. All wood for fuel and for building is imported into Bahrain, with the exception of palm trunks, which are of small use. It has now been proved that a number of fast-growing trees will flourish in Bahrain, and their timber provides good fuel.

During the present year several thousand men, who are now working as coolies on the Refinery construction of the Bahrain Petroleum Company, will be discharged and will find themselves unemployed. Owing to the state of the pearling industry, they will not be taken on as divers, and their employment will present a problem to the Government. They now think that they will obtain employment with the Hasa oil company, but this is unlikely. Both land and labour are available, and the Government can now afford to continue the work, which had to be dropped some years ago owing to lack of funds, of increasing and exploiting the agricultural possibilities of Bahrain.

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## WAKF ADMINISTRATION

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**Nature of Wakfs.**

Much valuable property in Bahrain is wakf property, dedicated in the past for public and religious purposes, such as the upkeep of mosques, the payment of muezzins and priests, and in the case of the Shias, towards religious observances during the month of Muharram and the expenses of the matams, which can be described as village halls supported by religious endowments. In addition to the charitable wakfs, which are intended to benefit the general public, there are private wakfs which are frequently in the nature of entails of property to the heirs of a certain person and, among the Shias, property and money is often left in trust to pay for prayers to be said over a long period of time on behalf of a deceased person. Another common form of religious endowment is the dedication by will of one-third of the estate for charity or for certain specific charities, but this now only refers to wakfs of a public nature.

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**Shaikh Khalaf.**

Until the year 1346 (July 1927—June 1928) all wakf property in Bahrain, both Sunni and Shia, was administered by the Qadis and by anybody who was sufficiently powerful to retain the administration of the property in his hands. It is not an exaggeration to state that most of the proceeds of the property found its way into the pockets of the administrators and was not distributed to the poor for whose benefit it was intended. In 1345 (1926-27), Shaikh Khalaf, who was then the Shia Qadi, was compelled to resign owing to agitation among the Baharna which was caused by his habit of taking bribes. Twice before during his long tenure of office he had been compelled to retire owing to irregular practices, but in spite of this he retained a great influence over many of the country villages. Shaikh Khalaf had been one of the leading personalities in Bahrain for many years, and it was partly owing to his support that the diving reforms were carried out in 1923. No Qadi since Shaikh Khalaf has had such influence over the Shia community as a whole.

**Syed Adnan's Administration.**

His successor was Syed Adnan, a young man who had been educated in Iraq and who had a well-deserved reputation for piety, learning, and honesty. In addition to this, he was more progressive in his ideas than any of the previous Qadis. On his appointment he made an effort to register the wakf property and to start a regular system of administration. With the support of the Government he compelled many of the people who held wakf property to lease it through him and to submit to him an account of revenue and expenditure. He died very suddenly about a year after his appointment, but during the time that he was Shia Qadi he accomplished much valuable work, and his books containing the descriptions and registrations of wakf properties were of great use to the wakf department when it was formed.

**Appointment of a Council.**

After the death of Syed Adnan, the wakf property was administered for some time by Shaikh Mohomed Ali Medani, the executor of the late Qadi, but this arrangement was distasteful to most of the Shia community who, quite rightly, placed no confidence in Shaikh Mohomed Ali Medani, who was afterwards convicted of misappropriating funds belonging to some minors and orphans. Two Qadis, Shaikh Ali bin Hassan of Sanabis and Shaikh Abdulla bin Mohomed Salih of Manamah, were then appointed. The former, when he was appointed, stipulated that he should have nothing to do with the administration of the wakf property; the latter very soon demanded that the wakf property should be handed over to him. He was persuaded to appoint a committee of leading Shia notables to assist him in the administration of the property. After a short time the country people, who form the majority of the Shia community and who have the greatest interest in the wakfs, objected to this arrangement and made a petition on the subject to the Ruler, who had hitherto taken no interest in the question of the Shia wakf administration. The public asked that the administration of the property should be entirely in the hands of the people and not under the control of the Qadi of Manamah. A council was appointed, consisting of six men from the country and four from Manamah, and the wakf property was handed over to their charge. A local merchant was appointed as treasurer, but no president was chosen in order to placate the feelings of Shaikh Abdulla and Shaikh Mohomed Ali Medani, both of whom were comparatively satisfied as long as the other was not in control.

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**Previous attempts to organise Wakf Department.** About four years before an attempt had been made by the Government to alienate the wakf property from the Qadis. Both Sunnis and Shias combined in such furious opposition to the proposal that it was soon dropped. The same result was obtained, with no disturbances, when it appeared that the idea had come from the public themselves. The expenses of the department, pay of the treasurer and the clerk, and accommodation were provided by the Government, as it was desirable and in the interests of a large portion of the community that wakf property should be properly dealt with.

**Progress of Administration and Elections.** By 1930 the wakf department had become an established institution, entirely unconnected with the Shia Qadis, who were only referred to by the council in question concerning shara law. The department opened an account at the bank, regular accounts were kept, wakf lands were leased by the department, and no payments were made except with the approval of the council. Each member was responsible for supervising and reporting on the wakf property in his district, and for this purpose Bahrain was roughly divided into sections, each section being represented by a member of the council. The Government issued a proclamation, ordering all persons to register wakf property within a certain time, failing which the administrator would be liable for prosecution. In response to this order, much wakf property was discovered which was previously unknown. In 1353 (1934-35) the revenue collected by the department was about Rs 24,000 .

In 1349 (1930-31), the third year of its existence, the revenue of the department decreased considerably owing to the general depression, particularly because its income was mainly derived from date gardens, and many of the tenants were unable to pay their rents in full. In spite of two or three bad years which followed, the department was able during this time to purchase more gardens and to improve the existing property by planting many thousands of new trees, repairing irrigation streams, and in some cases sinking artesian wells in order to cultivate new ground. At various times the department suffered somewhat owing to the intrigues of the religious leaders, who stirred up the tenants against the council, but the members were sufficiently influential and independent to withstand these difficulties.

A new election was held in 1350 (1931-32), and this time voting was by ballot and took place in a village in the centre of every district. Although this was a novel procedure, the people adopted it with enthusiasm, and in some villages there were keen contests to return certain members. The department began to register wakf property in the Land Department and became involved in much litigation with various Sunni landowners who claimed wakf property as part of their own gardens. In some cases, members of the Ruling Family objected to the registration of wakf property, claiming that it was included in gift documents held by them for whole districts. Cases regarding the Shia wakfs, which were referred occasionally to the Sunni shara courts, were not always dealt with impartially. The Sunni Qadis, who still retain control of the Sunni wakfs, resented the Shia wakf department and council, fearing that public opinion would compel them to hand over control of their wakfs to a similar committee. Many of the Ruling Family were also unsympathetic to the wakf department, thinking that the Shias might be encouraged to claim gardens which were originally wakf property but had been confiscated by the Khalifah many years ago.

In 1351 (1932-33) the accounts of the wakf department were audited by a chartered accountant, but as there were more than 1,800 separate accounts, one for each different endowment, it was impossible to check every account, but various suggestions were made to simplify the method of book-keeping. During this year there was some agitation against the department, organised by one of the Qadis, and numerous petitions of doubtful authenticity were made to the Government, asking that the council should be dismissed and that the Government should take over complete control of the wakf administration. This was not done. The department continued its work during the year, improving the gardens, repairing mosques and matams, and occasionally purchasing small gardens, but the accumulation of debts owing to the department increased, and a very large sum was outstanding at the end of the year.

During 1352 (1933-34) the work of the department was carried out without any disturbances and the revenue improved slightly. In 1353 (1934-35) there was some adverse criticism of the

421 department by the public, who complained, with justification, that wakf property dedicated to the Shia Qadi received more attention than other property.

429 In 1935 there was renewed opposition to certain members of the council, including Syed Ahmad bin Syed Alawi, the treasurer, which owed its origin to a bitter quarrel between two factions of the Shia community in Manamah, which came to a head when Shaikh Abdullah bin Mohomed Saleh was tried and convicted by a special court for misappropriating money which he was administering on behalf of an orphan. The members of the council took opposite sides, and the routine of the department was disturbed. It was therefore thought advisable to hold a new election. This was done early in 1936. The council was increased from 10 to 15 members and the offices of the department were moved from two rooms in the Manamah school, which they had previously occupied, to rooms in the Bahrain court-house. The new council includes several of the leading Shias, who are more businesslike and capable than their predecessors. One of their first decisions was to appoint a sub-committee for dealing with accounts and another committee for inspecting gardens and property on the lines of the municipal council's methods. After the last election the two Qadis again requested the Government to take over the administration of the wakfs, but this request was again refused.

**Results.** The formation of the Shia Wakf Department has been comparatively successful. It is the first time that the Baharna have had an opportunity of working together and managing their own affairs and, in spite of frequent intrigues and attacks from outside, the department has done much valuable work which is of benefit to the whole Shia community. The results have been more successful than I anticipated, and it is evident that this is appreciated by the general public, not only the Shias, for at the time of writing there is a movement afoot among the Sunni ulemas and some of the Sunni notables for setting up a similar council to administer the Sunni wakf property.

The work of the Shia Wakf Department is not an easy task, as the wakf property is made up of nearly two thousand isolated pieces of gardens, fish-traps, houses and shops, and in many cases only a proportion of the property is wakf and the remainder is owned by individuals. The normal income from the wakf property should be about Rs 40,000/- per annum, but during recent years it has been difficult to collect the rents, and at the beginning of 1936 the balance outstanding against the tenants amounted to about Rs 15,000/-.

**Future Development.** A possible development in the future would be the education at Government expense of two or three young men who could be sent to Iraq or elsewhere to study the work and methods of the wakf ministry. The members of the council, although most of them are illiterate, are fully capable of dealing with the practical work, such as supervising the cultivation and the upkeep of the gardens and buildings, but they lack the administrative experience and enterprise which is necessary for the management of a public department.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF THE DEPARTMENT

| *Year.* | *Revenue.* Rs | *Expenditure.* Rs |
|---|---|---|
| 1349 (1930-31) ... | 18,700/- ... | 17,900/- |
| 1350 (1931-32) ... | 17,700/- ... | 18,300/- |
| 1351 (1932-33) ... | 21,000/- ... | 20,200/- |
| 1352 (1933-34) ... | 24,100/- ... | 22,400/- |
| 1353 (1934-35) ... | 28,600/- ... | 24,100/- |
| 1354 (1935-36) ... | 18,300/- ... | 18,000/- |
| 1355 (1936-37) ... | 18,100/- ... | 18,700/- |

**Sunni Wakf Administration.** The administration of the Sunni wakfs is in the hands of the three Sunni Qadis and, although the Government contributes to the expenses of the clerks who do the work, it has no knowledge of the methods or results of the administration.

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## PASSPORT DEPARTMENT

Passport control by the Bahrain Government was begun in 1928, when a passport official was appointed whose duty was to register the names of all passengers landing from steamers in Bahrain. Soon afterwards all passports which were in order were stamped with the Bahrain passport control stamp. 486 647

In 1929 the Government began issuing its own passports to its subjects. The book passports are similar to those of other countries; the binding of the passports is scarlet. Passports are valid for two years, but can be renewed for eight more years. Application for passports is made on a printed form; the cost of a book passport is Rs 7 - and for each renewal Rs 5 -.

Soon after the introduction of book passports the Government began to issue travel documents for use within the Gulf, costing Rs 2 -, which are valid for one year only and are not renewable. The proposal that special travel documents should be issued for pilgrims to Mecca and the Shia holy cities in Iraq has not yet materialised.

For the last seven years the British Consular authorities abroad have, on behalf of the Bahrain Government, given visas to persons travelling to Bahrain, and to Bahrain subjects abroad.

Bahrain passports are not considered valid by the authorities in Persia. Persians living in Bahrain are given special exit and return passes, valid for twelve months, which enable them to go to Persia and return, and a special arrangement is made in the case of genuine Persian divers working in Bahrain boats. Other Persians who wish to visit Bahrain have to obtain special permission from the Bahrain Government, and such permission is only given on the written and stamped guarantee of a respectable local merchant, who assumes responsibility for the person returning and for his good conduct in Bahrain. Should occasion require it, these privileges could be cancelled, and no Persian would be entitled to visit Bahrain without the necessary visa on his passport.

Bahrain nationals travelling to any foreign countries outside the Gulf obtain a visa from the Political Agent, Bahrain. Travel documents issued by recognised authorities in other Gulf States to their own nationals are recognised by the Bahrain Government, and the holders are admitted without a visa.

Various fees and stamp duties are collected by the Passport Department, and at one time the collection from passport fees was the third largest item of revenue in the Budget. The Passport Officer, who has been the head of the department since it started, is Mr. Jalal-lo-din Ahmed. [651]

In spite of the vigilance of the passport officials, especially during the last year, great numbers of indigent Persians have entered Bahrain, illegally, at various points on the coast. Many of these people obtain work with the Bahrain Petroleum Company and fill posts which should be occupied by Bahrain subjects. The enormous increase in Persians, most of whom entered Bahrain without permission, is especially noticeable in Manamah, where almost every other person in the bazaar and nine out of ten of the beggars appear to be Persians. When once these highly undesirable aliens have entered the country it appears to be almost impossible to repatriate them. Being foreigners, they are not under the control of the Bahrain Government. [167]

## MUNICIPALITIES

**Constitution and History.** Manamah. Municipalities exist in Manamah and Muharraq. The Manamah municipality was founded in 1919, under the presidency of Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa. As in the case of almost every innovation in Bahrain, the first proposal to form a municipality met with open and hidden hostility, not from the small people, but from the important landowners in the town, who feared that their vested interests would be affected. In after years the people who objected most actively became strong supporters of the municipality. The ill-feeling soon subsided, and in 1927 another municipality was formed in Muharraq at the request of the people of that town. 632

632 The Manamah municipality consisted originally of a council of eight members, with a president, vice-president, and secretary. Several of the councillors, as well as the vice-president and the secretary, were foreigners. Bahrain subjects were a minority, but at that time foreigners were more progressive than the people of the country. To-day, in municipal affairs, there is little difference between the two communities.

The municipality began by numbering all the houses in order to impose a house tax by which it could pay for cleaning the town and repairing streets and roads, and for some years it confined its activities to this work. Manamah used to be a filthy town. House refuse was thrown into the streets or on to mounds in open spaces, as is still done in the country villages. These refuse mounds in the villages have recently been discovered by cultivators as providing supplies of good manure. Vegetables, fish, and meat were sold under the most insanitary conditions, and the narrow lanes in the town and the bazaar were choked by leaking drains and open cesspits.

In 1920, Shaikh Hamad became President of the Council, with Khan Bahadur Mohammed Sherif, a Persian merchant, as Vice-President, and Haj Khalil Kanoo as Secretary. The members of the council continued to be appointed by the Government, but in 1926 the constitution of the council was changed. Ten members were appointed by the Government and ten were elected by the public. Every householder who paid a certain sum in house tax was eligible to vote. Each community was represented by one or two members, but elections were conducted in a casual way: there was no recording of votes, and persons wishing to sit on the council produced sheets of signatures, usually thumb-prints, which may or may not have been genuine. Usually the same persons were elected year after year, and a seat on the council came to be regarded as a family right. The permanent members became lethargic and took small interest in anything except opposing on principle any measures that might possibly affect their own pockets.

The last irregular election was in October, 1926. A year later it became necessary for the Government to intervene in the administration of municipal affairs. The council was dissolved, the Secretary and his assistant were dismissed, and a new election was held. A register of electors was published, the public recorded their votes in person, and for the first time a ballot-box was used. It was found at this election that the Jewish Hindu and Moslem Indian communities did not conform to the regulations necessary to entitle them to representation; although their members were sufficient, the Indian owned hardly any property in Muharrak. Each of these communities were invited by the Government to nominate a member, instead of electing one, who, if approved by the Government, would be given a seat on the council. The Jewish community agreed to the suggestion, but the Indians refused, and since then they have not been represented.

For the Ruler of the State to be President of the Municipal Council created a difficult position. When matters were discussed, voted upon and passed by the council, it was assumed that the presence of the Ruler during the debate signified the final acceptance of the measures by the Government. In 1929, Shaikh Hamad retired from the presidency of the council and appointed in his place Shaikh Mohammad bin Isa alKhalifah, who still continues to hold this office when he is in Bahrain. During the summers when he is away, Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa acts as President.

The council is elected for three years; the last election was in 1935, and the composition of the council was as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The President | ... | |
| The Secretary | ... | |
| Arab members | ... | 5 |
| Baharna ... | ... | 5 |
| Negdis ... | ... | 2 |
| Persian Sunnis | ... | 2 |
| Persian Shias | ... | 2 |
| Jews ... | ... | 1 |
| | | 19 |

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A road in Manama

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Street in Muharraq

[facing p. 42]

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632 **Muharraq.** The Muharraq Municipality, being a comparatively recent institution, has usually followed the lead of Manamah and has adopted most of its regulations. The election and composition of the council is similar to Manamah, but except two Persian members, all the councillors are Bahrain subjects. The Muharraq councillors are usually older men than those in Manamah and less enterprising and progressive. The activities of the municipality are restricted owing to its small income. During municipal elections in Manamah there is a great deal of excitement and canvassing, but in Muharraq very little interest is taken in municipal politics. The President of the Muharraq Municipal Council is Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa, who also acts as President of the Manamah Council during the lengthy yearly absences of Shaikh Mohammad bin Isa.

**Municipal Finances.**

**Government Assistance.** Soon after the Manamah Municipality was instituted, a pier tax, known locally as the 'Baladya tax,' was imposed on imports into Bahrain, which was intended to provide the funds for municipal expenditure. Later this system was found to be unsatisfactory, and in place of the proceeds of the pier tax a regular subsidy of Rs 2,000/- per month was paid by the Government to the Manamah Municipality. The same amount was paid to the Muharraq Municipality when it started, but during the financial depression both these subsidies were reduced by 50%. When conditions improved the allowances were restored to the original amount.

Half of the vehicle tax which is collected by the Government is divided between the two municipalities and is spent by them on upkeep of roads in municipal area. The cost of repairing, widening, and making new roads inside the towns is now considerably more than this subsidy.

In addition to the regular payments by the Government to the municipalities during the last year or two, special grants have been made for specific purposes, such as for filling in the pits at the back of Manamah, for cutting a new road through Ras Rumman to connect the Muharraq causeway, etc., etc. Although it would be possible to increase the monthly subsidy to the municipalities, I think that it would be very unwise to do so, as this would have the immediate result of causing the council to reduce the municipal house tax, which has already been reduced several times during recent years and is now very low. Unfortunately, in financial matters, the members of the council, who are usually large property owners, are influenced more by personal interests than by civic spirit.

[631] **Municipal Taxation.** Apart from the Government's subsidy, the chief income of the municipalities is obtained from the house and shop tax. In addition to this, revenue is collected from fees on animals slaughtered in the municipal abbatoir, a tax on gramophone records, application fees for erecting new buildings, coolie licences, dog licences, and a few other local forms of taxation, all of which amount to a comparatively small sum. Shops, offices, and stores are assessed according to the rental value at the rate of two annas in the rupee; houses which are let pay Rs -/1/6 in the rupee, but houses which are occupied by their owners pay house tax according to an assessment, which is made by a committee who have no method or system and who consider the status of the individual more than the value of the property when deciding how much shall be paid. This last arrangement is open to much abuse.

MANAMAH MUNICIPALITY

| Year. | | Revenue. Rs. | | Expenditure. Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1344 | ... | 1,19,600/- | ... | 97,000/- |
| 1345 | ... | 1,11,000/- | ... | 90,000/- |
| 1346 | ... | 1,17,300/- | ... | 85,000/- |
| 1347 | ... | 1,10,800/- | ... | 1,03,000/- |
| 1348 | ... | 1,06,000/- | ... | 1,03,000/- |
| 1349 | ... | 62,000/- | ... | 68,600/- |
| 1350 | ... | 62,300/- | ... | 61,300/- |
| 1351 | ... | 55,000/- | ... | 60,900/- |
| 1352 | ... | 55,600/- | ... | 49,400/- |
| 1353 | ... | 58,200/- | ... | 35,900/- |
| 1354 | ... | 57,300/- | ... | 47,600/- |

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

632 Until 1348 the Government paid Rs 48,000/- per annum to municipal funds, and the municipality paid Rs 24,000/- to the Government towards public protection.

632 491

**Municipal Achievement.**

**Manamah.** It is in Manamah that the work of the municipality is most conspicuous, partly because Manamah Municipality has had more money to spend and has existed for longer than the Muharraq Municipality.

**Roads.**

The most noticeable work in Manamah during the last ten years is the construction of roads and the widening of streets in the bazar area. Ten years ago there were very few parts of the bazar which could be reached in a car, and even the most important shops were situated in narrow lanes. Now most of the principal bazaars are accessible to cars. The wider streets, which are in some places permanently roofed, are more healthy and sanitary and are easier to keep clean. The style of building has changed: people are no longer contented with low, dark shops, but build high, airy showrooms with windows in which their goods can be displayed. Although the first people to set this fashion were foreign shop-keepers, their example was very soon followed by the local traders, especially as, during the last two years, rents of good shops and offices, as well as houses, have risen considerably.

632 744 312

**Conservancy, Sanitation, Water Supply, Malaria.**

For many years a municipal contractor was employed to clean the town; his work was satisfactory in the conspicuous parts of the bazar and town, but not satisfactory in the back quarters of Manamah. The municipality now does the work itself, with more successful results. On the whole, the town is very clean and free from smells. One of the greatest problems which the municipality has to deal with is the reclamation of low ground behind the town, where water lies stagnant after the rainy season for many months. Originally the people of Manamah dug mud from this site for building houses, and now a large area of ground is only a few feet above sea level, so low that all attempts to drain the water into the sea have proved unsuccessful. During the last two years, special grants of Rs 10,000/- have been made by the Government to the municipality for filling this ground. The work is not yet complete.

Until a few years ago sanitation in Manamah consisted of cesspits in every house, which were emptied once or twice a year. The system was satisfactory; the municipal inspectors reported any leaking drains or insufficiently covered cesspits. Lately, however, many householders have installed a water supply, and an attempt at modern sanitation. In the case of houses on reclaimed land and near the sea, the drains flow into the sea, but the drainage conditions of houses distant from the sea is not satisfactory. A sewer which was built from the Municipal Garden to the sea, at the cost of over Rs 7,000/-, has not proved a success owing to the small difference in level between the garden and the sea, and drains which empty into this sewer have flowed backwards. At the time of writing, work is being done on the sewer, and it is hoped that it will eventually serve its intended purpose.

The water supply in Manamah now consists of a number of artesian wells, some of which are private property, others having been made by the Government. The Government and the municipality have issued regulations to prevent waste of water and the collection of stagnant water where mosquitoes will breed; these regulations are effective in the town. During certain months of the year, in the spring and autumn, there are a great many mosquitoes in Manamah and Muharraq. It has, I think, been proved that the main mosquito-breeding place is inside houses in the large earthenware water jars which are kept in every compound, usually in a dark corner under a shed. They are never emptied, but are refilled when the supply gets low. Until now the municipal council and the public have strongly opposed all suggestions that the water jars should be inspected. In Rafaa and Sakhir there are always quantities of mosquitoes, and these places are many miles from any gardens or water, which is an additional proof that the mosquitoes breed inside the houses. The municipalities spray oil on all standing water and take all possible steps to deal with breeding places which are not inside houses, but their officials have no authority to enter houses and inspect them.

At a future time it will be necessary to consider installing a regular town water supply, and possibly a drainage system as well. It is possible that a water system with a tap in every house would obviate the need of water jars and reduce the number of mosquitoes.

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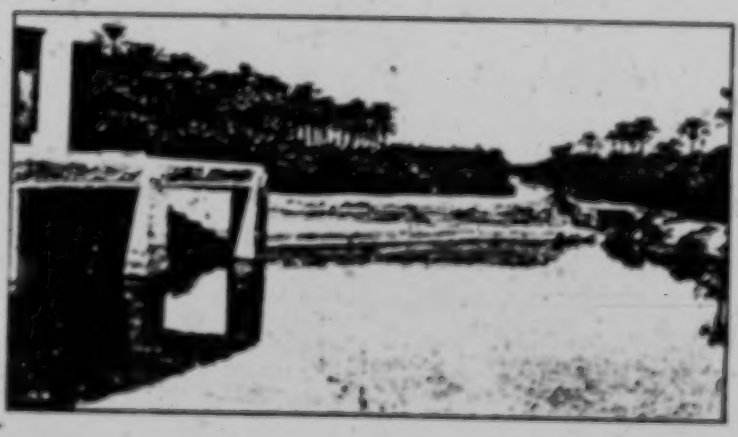
*Above*
An Artesian Well
(Showing head of water)

*Below*
A Natural Spring
(Adari)



[facing p 141]

S: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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The municipalities are valuable vehicles for carrying out sanitary and health measures among the public. It is easier to introduce unpopular rules, such as anti-malaria regulations, through the municipalities than by direct Government action.

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**Fire Precautions, etc.** In several parts of the town there are quantities of barasti houses made of palm branches; these buildings are very inflammable. When fires occur in these neighbourhoods the flames spread rapidly. The Manamah Municipality some years ago built fire stations in various parts of the town, equipped with a fire bell and tins of sand for use in emergency. The storing of more than a certain number of tins of petrol and paraffin inside the town was also forbidden, and for this reason the Anglo-Persian Oil Company were given a piece of ground on the sea shore beyond Manamah, on which they built an oil and petrol store. The Government has now ordered a fire engine from England, and when this arrives, valves will be fitted on to the artesian wells in the town so that the engine can fill from any well. The fire engine will be in charge of the police, and will be kept at the fort.

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**Markets and Food Regulations.** During the last ten years the municipality has greatly improved the conditions under which food is sold in the bazaars. Animals used to be slaughtered in the town opposite the Municipal Building, and the meat was sold under filthy conditions in a line of palm branch shops whose mud floors were never clean. The monopoly for the meat market and the slaughter-house was in the hands of Shaikh Sulman bin Shaikh Hamad. The municipality, in 1346, built a slaughter-house on the shore at Kouaibia, actually in the sea, connected to the shore by a pier; and by means of an arrangement with Shaikh Sulman a proper stone meat market was built adjoining the Municipal Building. The municipality eventually, with the assistance of the Government, purchased Shaikh Sulman's rights over the slaughter-house, which is now a municipal concern. The negotiations, unfortunately, caused considerable ill-feeling, but the final results were satisfactory.

In 1931 a fish market was built, and during the present year three large steel markets have been erected by His Highness on his own property in the Suk al Arba, which are to be used as vegetable, lucerne, and fruit markets. These buildings, and a number of new stone shops, occupy a site which previously contained barasti buildings. After a serious fire at the end of 1936, the whole of the area was laid bare, and it was then possible to rebuild the markets, replacing straw shelters with stone shops and steel buildings.

Many regulations have been passed by the municipality affecting foodstuffs; dried fish, which has an evil smell, can only be sold in a certain area; the food sold in the hotels and coffee shops is regularly examined by municipal inspectors, who are also responsible for the cleanliness of soda factories. Other matters affecting food in which the municipality has shown an interest—sometimes a rather officious interest—are prevention of short-weight bread, use of soda, adulteration of real ghee with cheap vegetable ghee, short-weight rice, and also standardisation of weights and measures. During Ramadhan, the municipality buys a quantity of sheep and sells meat at cost price in order to assist the poor. Other charitable work which is done by the municipality is the payment of compensation to poor persons whose houses are destroyed in fires, and the burial of paupers.

**Public Health Measures.** In 1931 the municipality opened a lunatic asylum, which was badly needed. It is under the supervision of the Quarantine Medical Officer. The inmates are men and women, and it usually contains about a dozen persons.

The need for a leper settlement has been often discussed by the council, but this has been postponed until the Government has its own medical officer. There are a number of lepers in Bahrain, especially in the country villages, and undoubtedly steps should be taken to segregate them. Foreign lepers, when they are discovered, are immediately sent home to their own countries.

Attempts to enforce compulsory vaccination have not yet succeeded, though the need for this is appreciated by many members of the council.

Both in Manamah and Muharraq there are municipal midwives—Indian—who also have free dispensaries and clinics for women and children. The Government has recently opened a second

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632 744

women's dispensary in Muharraq, which is in charge of a midwife who was trained in Iraq and was for some years in the Basra Civil Hospital. The work done among the women is much appreciated and is, in my opinion, very valuable. Bahrain is notorious as being the one place in the Gulf where local midwives still administer a certain sort of treatment to women after childbirth which has the most disastrous effects on ensuing childbirth. It is hoped that the work of trained midwives will combat the local practices.

All stagnant water inside the municipal area is sprayed regularly with crude oil, which is provided free for the purpose by the Bahrain Petroleum Company.

**Gardens, Cemeteries.** About thirteen years ago the Manamah municipality bought a large piece of ground inside the town for a municipal garden. Two years later an artesian well was drilled there and a quantity of trees, mostly obtained from Karachi, were planted in the garden. The trees are now very tall, and the garden is much frequented by the public, especially during the hot weather, when quantities of people go there in the afternoons and sit on the shade under the trees. Part of the ground has been made into a small zoological garden, and the Bahrain Sports Club, by arrangement with the municipality, has built two cement tennis courts, which are much used. It has been proposed regularly for the last four or five years in the municipal council that on one afternoon the garden should be set aside for women only. Every year the motion has been defeated, but each year by a smaller number of votes.

Two large cemeteries, formerly open on all sides, inside the town were surrounded by stone walls in 1930, which has done much to improve the appearance of the part of the town where they are situated. The tomb of Shaikh Ahmed, the first Khalifah Shaikh of Bahrain, on the southern edge of the town, was repaired and walled at the same time.

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**Muharraq Municipality.** The work of the Muharraq municipality is less conspicuous than that of Manamah. The most important work after town cleaning and road widening has been the filling in of what used to be a noisome creek which reached from the shore almost to the entrance of the bazaar. The reclaimed ground is valuable, and is now occupied by stalls and the taxi stand. The sea road on the north of the customs office was built by the municipality about eight years ago, with assistance of a special grant from the Government. The question of extending this road is now under consideration.

Opportunity for town-planning is almost non-existent in Muharraq, as the town is surrounded on three sides by the sea and on the north much of the shore has always been flooded during high tides. The municipality has made some effort to preserve the low-lying land outside the town by building a long, low wall on the shore which keeps back the sea.

During the last two years the Muharraq municipality has carried out work in Hedd, where no municipality exists, widening the main road and filling in a long and very unsanitary sewer. The Government made a special grant for this work, which was outside the provision of the Muharraq municipality.

The town of Muharraq is very overcrowded, there are no open spaces or public gardens as in Manamah, and the streets are too narrow for trees to be planted in them. For that reason it is difficult to improve the appearance of the place. Houses in Muharraq are old-fashioned in style and, except on the sea road, few of them are detached, the bazaars do not contain any modern shops, and there are no public market buildings. For several years the commercial importance of Muharraq has been declining, though it is still a centre for pearl trading, as most of the biggest pearl merchants live there.

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**MUHARRAQ MUNICIPALITY**

| Year. | Revenue. Rs. | Expenditure. Rs. |
|---|---|---|
| 1346 | 46,000/- | 38,500/- |
| 1347 | 62,900/- | 59,600/- |
| 1348 | 95,600/- | 62,900/- |

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Meat Market

Slaughter House

Head Waterside Harbour Master Customs

[facing 46A]

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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Modern Villas in Manamah

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A Street in Manamah

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Municipal Garden, Manamah

[facing p. 46B]

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

MUHARRAQ MUNICIPALITY (cont.)

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| | Revenue. Rs | Expenditure. Rs |
|---|---|---|
| 1349 ... | 52,000 - ... | 46,300 - |
| 1350 ... | 36,700 - ... | 28,900 - |
| 1351 ... | 33,900 - ... | 27,700 - |
| 1352 ... | 33,700 - ... | 30,400 - |
| 1353 ... | 32,800 - ... | 26,200 - |
| 1354 ... | 32,600 - ... | 23,300 - |

The Manamah municipality, after the Customs Department, is the longest-established public department in Bahrain. In the beginning its authority extended in various directions beyond the normal functions of a municipality: it controlled the police and it had some influence over customs matters. Owing to this reason, the municipality in the past has at times assumed rights over matters which do not concern it, such as objecting to the import of vegetable ghee on the grounds that the public could be cheated by its adulteration with real ghee; but during recent years the council has confined its work to legitimate municipal affairs.

The municipalities are encouraged as much as possible to manage their own affairs, they are not dominated by the Government, but they are given advice when they require it. The municipal officers and past and present members of councils have a certain civic pride, and they and the public, especially in Manamah, are proud of the work which the municipalities have done.

The community in Bahrain, especially the people in the capital, is passing through a period of transition. Manamah is no longer just a prosperous diving town depending almost entirely upon pearls; it is rapidly becoming the commercial centre of the Gulf and, in addition to this, Bahrain is now one of the important oil-producing countries of the world. These changes, which have been very rapid, produce many new problems, some of which have to be dealt with by the local municipalities, and so far, on the whole, they are dealing with them successfully. Among the possible developments for the future which have been considered at municipal meetings, apart from water supply and drainage system, which I have mentioned, are public libraries, public baths, hot and cold, and a workhouse for aged paupers.

## THE PEARL-DIVING INDUSTRY

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**General.** For many centuries pearl diving has been the sole industry of Bahrain, on which the prosperity and the existence of the people has depended. Ten years ago it was still a flourishing concern, although big profits were not so easily made as they were some years before. Then came the collapse of the pearl market in Europe, and within a few seasons the diving industry in Bahrain shrank to a fraction of its former importance. The revenue of the Bahrain State depended, indirectly, on the pearl trade. It consisted chiefly of customs duties on imports, and when the pearl diving flourished, divers, merchants and boat-owners had money to spend in the bazaars and shop-keepers imported large quantities of goods to sell to the public. The slump in the pearl trade was reflected in the decline of the revenue. If oil had not been discovered in Bahrain the country would now be on the verge of bankruptcy.

**The Diving System.** Both the method of diving and the system of the industry are very ancient, as is shown by descriptions of Bahrain in books written by travellers many hundreds of years ago. Theoretically, the system is a fair one, the total profits of each boat, after deducting all expenses, are divided proportionately among the pullers, divers, and the caulafa, a puller receiving one share, a diver two shares, and the caulafa the share of five divers. There are various modifications of this system applicable in special circumstances, all of them well known and recognised in the diving community. In course of time, however, changes and abuses crept into the system. Originally the boat-owners were rich enough to finance their own boats for the season; then came a time when many of them were unable to find the large sum of money which was necessary to buy the provisions and to pay the advances which were made to the divers.

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The divers on their trade gained profits in selling and trading in pearls than the owners of the boats who brought the pearls from the banks. The nakhudas took to borrowing money from the shore merchants at the beginning of each season, and the shore merchants demanded interest on their loans. Because interest is forbidden by the Quran, it became the practice of the merchants to make their advances in kind, by handing over bags of rice, but if a receipt was given for one hundred bags, the recipient only received eighty bags, the remaining twenty bags representing the interest. This state of things existed over a hundred years ago and probably before then. The amount of interest varied, it was never less than 20%, and in most cases it was very much higher. All the divers, most of the nakhudas, and a great many of the merchants were illiterate, and no proper accounts were kept. Inevitably the divers suffered. The system of giving advances or loans to divers, which is also a comparatively modern innovation, was another arrangement by which the divers ultimately suffered. The diving season lasts for four months and ten days, while the year is four. When the industry flourished, divers, especially good ones, were in great demand, and the nakhudas gave them loans, on which very high interest was charged, to enable the divers to provide for themselves during the off-season. It became the definite policy of the nakhudas to bind their divers to themselves by keeping them in debt. The first loan to a diver was a genuine payment, though frequently in kind, but it was usually the heavy rate of accumulating interest on the original sum which made it impossible for the diver ever to repay his nakhuda, and so long as a diver was in debt he was bound to dive for the man to whom he owed money. Occasionally a diver would have a streak of luck and would earn enough to pay off his debt, but this did not suit his master, so the diver would be given a few bags of rice, which he always accepted, charged against him at ruinous prices, and the interest on the alleged cost of the rice would keep the diver tied again to his nakhuda. When a diver died his sons became liable for their father's debt, on which the interest accumulated until, when boys were old enough to start diving, they found themselves already saddled with a large debt. The divers were, and still are, utterly improvident, possessed with a gambling spirit, and eternally optimistic. They always hoped that one day they would be in a boat which found a really big pearl. There was practically no other occupation except diving, and while the men were young they were glad to dive; it was when they became old that they began to complain. These old conditions, for many years now a thing of the past, gave rise to the frequent and, in my opinion, previously justified criticisms in books and in newspapers which described the conditions of the Bahrain pearl divers as 'almost that of slavery. Unfortunately for Bahrain, journalistic delineations of the dreadful conditions among the pearl divers are of better news value, although previously exaggerated and now quite untrue, than descriptions of the real reforms which have been carried out in the industry during recent years. These criticisms, appearing from time to time in reputable papers, which only a few people who are, or have been, upon the spot recognise as being untrue, are most offensive to the Government of Bahrain.

**The Reforms.**

In 1923 His Excellency Shaikh Hamad, who had only recently been appointed Deputy Ruler on the suggestion of and with the support of Major Daly, who was then Political Agent in Bahrain, carried out in the face of almost universal opposition sweeping reforms in the diving system. The divers themselves, the nakhudas and the pearl merchants, were strongly opposed to any change. The divers had been persuaded that the reforms were against their own interests, and the merchants and nakhudas realised that the result of the reforms would loosen their hold over the divers and would reduce some of their profits which they obtained by cheating the divers. The movement, however, was supported by a few important and progressive pearl merchants, and by the Sunni and Shia Qadis, Shaikh Jassim Al Nehza and Shaikh Khalaf, who disapproved, on religious grounds, of a system in which usurers played such a part. After a bitter struggle the reforms were carried through.

A regular system of accounts was introduced and stiff penalties were decreed against persons who did not keep them properly. Every nakhuda was made to keep a ledger showing his profit and loss, expenses, and weight and value of pearls, and every diver was given a little account book in which his debt and his earnings were entered each season. A staff of clerks were employed by the Government to check and to make up the accounts between merchants and nakhudas and divers. The rates of interest on money lent by merchants and on advances to divers were limited to a certain percentage; the amount of the bi-annual advances, *bital* and *Tenjeen*, which were

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paid to the divers at the beginning and at the end of the season, were decided each season by the Government and announced by proclamation, and advances in kind were forbidden. The Salafieh Court, which consisted of certain notorious merchants and nakhudas, who were supposed to judge diving cases but who were invariably prejudiced in favour of their own class, was abolished, and diving cases were tried in the ordinary courts. It became illegal for nakhudas or merchants to make their divers work without wages in gardens or houses during the off-season, and when a diver died his debt died with him and did not pass on to his children.

The ultimate success of the reforms has been proved by the fact that now, more than thirteen years after they were started, the diving rules are still in force, and many of the men who opposed them most bitterly now admit that the reforms have been beneficial. Ten years ago, however, most of the big men in the industry were still actively antagonistic to the new laws, and for several years increment attempts were made by divers, as well as merchants and nakhudas, to evade and to upset the regulations.

**Demonstrations by Divers.** The time usually chosen for causing trouble was the occasion of the *Salaf*, the advance which is made to divers before the season begins, which they are supposed to use for buying food for their families while the men are at sea, and for purchasing anything which they themselves require while out at the banks. After the reforms, the amount of this advance, as well as the advance at the end of the season, was decided by the Government and announced by proclamation. It was the policy of the Government to reduce the amounts of the advances every year with the intention of reducing the divers' debts. For several years the issue of the proclamation was a signal for disturbances and demonstrations which were made by the divers but suggested and organized by a certain section of pearl merchants and nakhudas, who hoped to force the Government's hand and to overthrow the new regulations and revert to the old conditions. Besides the disgruntled pearl magnates, there were at that time plenty of other people who were dissatisfied with the Government and who welcomed any opportunity of stirring up trouble. Unfortunately, on two occasions when violent disturbances were made by the divers, the Ruler cancelled the proclamation and increased the advances. The divers, having got their own way by adopting violent measures, became each year more aggressive. On various occasions mobs of divers entered the bazaars and looted shops; usually they attacked the premises of an unpopular merchant or nakhuda. One of these demonstrations was made at the time of the Tenpenny advance, which happened to be on New Year's Day. When all the leading merchants were assembled at the Agency, listening to speeches eulogizing the happy conditions in Bahrain, a messenger arrived, saying that a mob of divers from Muharraq was looting the bazaar. Another year the divers went on strike and refused to take the boats out; finally, in 1932, a crisis was reached. Without any warning a mob of several thousand divers from Muharraq and Hidd, armed with clubs, iron bars, etc., landed on the shore at Ras Rumman, proceeded to the police station, which they attacked, released the prisoners, and started towards the bazaar. Some of the present police force, who were then new, local recruits and a few Punjabi police, were rushed to the scene. The situation was serious, there was a fierce fight all along the sea road from the customs to the Political Agency, and during the fighting the recruits, without orders, used their rifles. Four of the divers were shot and several were wounded. The mob dispersed, and this was the last time that the divers caused any trouble. Since then the amount of the advances has been decided at a meeting which is held every year between the leading men of the pearl trade and representatives of the Government, the responsibility for the decision is shared between the Government and the merchants.

**The Slump.** The continued decline in the pearl trade can be seen from the following figures. The estimate of the value of the catch is only approximate, and has been obtained partly by calculations based on averages from the actual figures supplied by the diving clerks. The diving clerks do not record all the amounts of all the boats, as many of the nakhudas employ their own clerks. The figures represent the amount paid to the nakhudas by the first purchaser, but before the pearls leave Bahrain they probably change hands many times, and each time at a considerably higher price. Ten years ago, important Indian and Continental pearl merchants used to visit Bahrain every year towards the end of the

229 diving season to buy pearls, but as the state of the pearl market deteriorated, these buyers ceased coming, and lately most of the Bahrain pearls have been sent to Bombay, to be sold to buyers for the European markets.

| Year. | | Number of Boats Diving. | | Number of Divers. | | Value of Catch. Rs |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1345 | ... | 515 | ... | 19,250 | ... | Not recorded. |
| 1346 | ... | 507 | ... | 18,500 | ... | " |
| 1347 | ... | 531 | ... | 19,650 | ... | " |
| 1348 | ... | 538 | ... | 20,150 | ... | " |
| 1349 | ... | 509 | ... | 19,300 | ... | 21,25,000/- |
| 1350 | ... | 504 | ... | 17,600 | ... | 18,32,000/- |
| 1351 | ... | 456 | ... | 16,650 | ... | 12,14,000/- |
| 1352 | ... | 436 | ... | 16,000 | ... | 13,40,000/- |
| 1353 | ... | 340 | ... | 12,700 | ... | 10,00,000/- |
| 1354 | ... | 316 | ... | 11,550 | ... | 8,33,000/- |
| 1355 | ... | 264 | ... | 9,800 | ... | 6,07,000/- |

Note.—*Value of catch and number of divers is only approximate.*

*Value of catch* is calculated from actual figures of diving clerks, to which is added an average of those boats whose catches are not recorded by diving clerks.

*Number of divers* is obtained from the diving-boat licences, which specify that not more than a certain number of men may be carried in boats of the various classes. The number of divers may possibly be less than the figures given above, but not more.

Various causes have contributed to the slump in the pearl trade, the chief reasons being the recent years of financial depression in Europe and the success of Japanese cultured pearls. Other matters which have affected the market are changes in women's fashions, which tend to reduce the amount of jewellery which is worn, and the popularity and cheapness of motor cars and wireless sets. Nowadays men give women cars and wireless sets instead of pearl necklaces. There has been a very great increase in the sale of cultured pearls during the last five years, and their price has fallen correspondingly. When they first appeared on the market they were sold at about one-third the price of real pearls; now they cost less than one thirtieth the price of real pearls. This, in some ways, is an advantage. The cultured pearls are rapidly taking the place of the artificial pearls such as are made by Ciro and Tokio. Both these firms are now selling quantities of cheap cultured necklaces, and a cultured pearl necklace can be bought at a price only a little higher than that of a good artificial pearl necklace. The artificial pearl trade, according to a trade statement, has been affected to the extent of six million pounds since the introduction of cultured pearls.

**Diving Mortgages.** The depression has affected the diving industry in various ways. In times of prosperity merchants willingly advanced large sums of money to nakhodas with no security except the knowledge that they had first claim on the boats' catch, and that if the nakhoda became bankrupt the merchant could take over the boats and divers. Now, and for some years back, owing to uncertain conditions, no merchant will advance money for diving without taking a security for his loan, either title deeds of property or gold ornaments. Nakhodas, as a class, rarely owned land or immovable property except the house in which they lived, and in order to get money to equip their boats and pay the advances to their divers many of them mortgaged their houses. After several cases in which merchants foreclosed on mortgages and turned the nakhodas out of their houses, it was decided by the Government that the actual living house of a nakhoda should not be liable in case of a diving debt. The changed conditions brought to the front a few nakhodas who, because they happened to own gardens or other immovable property, were able to obtain loans more easily than many bigger men whose wealth was entirely in boats and divers.

**Divers' Debts.** One of the chief objects of the reforms was to reduce the debts of the divers to their nakhodas. Ten years ago, both merchants and nakhodas were opposed to any reduction in the advances because they knew that it would eventually result in divers being free to dive for whoever they chose; the divers themselves

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A Small Pearling Dhow

[Facing p. 60]

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have, naturally, at all times wanted as much as they can get. As conditions changed, the position became reversed. The Government has always realised that a small, genuine advance at the beginning of the season and during the off-season is necessary, but since money has become scarce in the diving community the Government has had to argue with the nakhudas and merchants to persuade them to make any advance at all. The following figures show the decrease in the bi-annual advances.

| Year. | Tenguen | | Sela. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Diver. Rs | Puller. Rs | Diver. Rs | Puller. Rs |
| 1344 | 100 - | 80 - | 60 - | 60 - |
| 1345 | 80 - | 60 - | 100 - | 80 - |
| 1346 | 100 - | 80 - | 100 - | 80 - |
| 1347 | 100 - | 80 - | 130 - | 105 - |
| 1348 | 100 - | 80 - | 80 - | 60 - |
| 1349 | 55 - | 45 - | — | — |
| 1350 | 55 - | 45 - | 55 - | 45 - |
| 1351 | 30 - | 25 - | 30 - | 25 - |
| 1352 | 30 - | 25 - | 30 - | 25 - |
| 1353 | 30 - | 25 - | 30 - | 25 - |
| 1354 | 20 - | 15 - | 20 - | 15 - |
| 1355 | 20 - | 15 - | 20 - | 15 - |

The result of reducing the advances is that men who have begun diving during the last five years either pay off their debts altogether or owe only small sums to their nakhudas. Unfortunately, old divers who started before the reforms still owe large sums which they will never be able to pay off. Last year a record was made by the court of the debts of over 500 divers, all of them men owing money, of whom perhaps 50% had started diving before the reforms. According to these figures the average diver owed Rs 507/-, but out of the five hundred men, eight owed between Rs 2,000/- and Rs 3,000/- each and nine men owed over Rs 1,000/- each. As the diving industry has shrunk in importance, the value of a diver has declined. An example of this is the practice of nakhudas, who gladly cancel from half to one-third of a diver's debt if he is enlisted as a policeman, provided that he repays the rest of his debt at the rate of Rs 5/- per month. The old divers will never repay their debts, but the new generation of divers will never become heavily in debt unless Bahrain reverts to the state which existed before the reforms. Although nowadays nakhudas cannot afford to make large advances, they constantly complain that the new generation of debtless divers do not work as well as the old men who owed big sums. They complain that divers resent the discipline of the nakhuda while out at the banks, and they attribute, quite wrongly, part of the recent depression in the industry to the deterioration in the divers themselves. Men who have become divers since the reforms know that if they are ill-treated by their nakhuda they can resort to the courts. A few years ago, complaints about ill-treatment were frequent, but after several examples had been made, such complaints have almost ceased; there has been a similar decrease in complaints by divers about their accounts.

**Transfer of Divers.**

Certain local practices in the diving industry, which are not clearly understood outside Bahrain, are likely to be misinterpreted and to create an impression that divers are liable to be bought and sold. This is not the case.

If a nakhuda cannot find money to equip his boat and to pay advances, he lets his boat to another nakhuda, if he is lucky enough to find a tenant, and releases his divers on 'barats.' The 'barat' is a document issued by the nakhuda, allowing a diver to seek employment with another nakhuda for the season, within Bahrain, on the condition that the new nakhuda who takes on the diver pays to the original nakhuda one-third of the diver's earnings in part satisfaction of the diver's debt. If the diver finds work on shore, he pays a definite sum for the season to his nakhuda.

If a nakhuda becomes bankrupt because the merchant who finances him demands a settlement, the merchant has the right to take over the diving craft, at a valuation, and to take over the divers

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for the amount which they owe to their nakhuda. The divers then work for the merchant; if he owns boats he can order them to dive in his boats, but if he does not own boats he cannot employ them directly himself: he is compelled to give them 'baraas' to dive with any nakhuda who will employ them. If any diver has an objection to diving in the boat of a nakhuda who has taken him on from his original nakhuda, he is entitled to apply to the court, which issues him with a 'barua.' In the past it was the custom of the merchant who took over divers in this manner to employ them during the off-season on any sort of labour, but this was stopped when the diving reforms were made. The transfer of a diver from one owner to another without the diver having any right to protest used, certainly, to resemble a condition of slavery. If the merchant who takes over the divers is an ordinary shop-keeper, as is sometimes the case, he now has no right to place the divers out in other people's boats. His means of recovering his claim is from the one-third earnings of the divers if they happen to find nakhudas.

**The Catch.** During recent years the catch has deteriorated, and fewer large pearls have been found. It is said that there is a greater proportion of barren shells, but it is almost impossible to check this statement. There is a definite feeling that it would be advisable to close certain banks for a season or two, but this could only be done in conjunction with other Gulf pearling States. It has also been suggested locally that all diving should be altogether stopped for one season to give the banks a rest and to give an impetus to the pearl market. There would be an opportunity for those merchants who still hold big stocks of old pearls to dispose of them. I believe that if the banks were closed for a season there would be a recovery in the industry, but the employment of many thousands of divers for four months of the year would be a difficult and expensive problem, and no such scheme would be possible without the co-operation of other Gulf States. The market is now clogged by a number of big merchants, such as Shaikh Mohomed Ali Zainal who hold vast stocks of pearls which they bought when prices were high. These pearls have not yet been fully paid for, and many Bahrain merchants, the original sellers, are still waiting for payment. It is the practice for buyers of pearls to pay for them when they re-sell, and this system has become a vicious circle: until the big merchants sell they cannot pay the medium merchants, and until the medium merchants are paid they cannot pay the small men.

**Recent Changes.** The actual method of diving is still what it was centuries ago, but there have been some slight changes in recent years. In 1925, a motor launch was used by a pearl merchant, who went out to the banks and bought a number of pearls at a cheap price because none of the rival merchants were there to compete. This action roused a storm of protest, and a proclamation was issued by the Government forbidding the use of launches at the pearl banks during the season. It was announced that the following year there would be no such restriction. Next year several launches were used, and since then launches are always used by buyers, who go to the banks to buy from the fleet, and frequently for sending supplies out to the boats.

For some years the Government sent a large sailing boat, equipped as a hospital-boat, to the banks during the diving season. This arrangement was expensive and not very satisfactory. The boom has now been sold, and every year the Government sends out an Indian doctor in a motor launch, who makes several trips to the pearling fleet and, when necessary, brings back sick men to the shore.

At the time of writing, the Government, in order to assist the diving community in Bahrain, has reduced the licences for diving-boats by 50%, and has also postponed the date of payment of licences from one month before the commencement of the season to two months after the season begins. This action will result in a loss of revenue to the Government of about Rs 15,000/-, but it is expected that it will cause an increase in the number of boats which go diving in the summer of 1937.

It is difficult to prophesy the future of the diving industry. The demand for real pearls may possibly increase; there are many people in the pearl trade who are confident that the markets will improve, but not even the most optimistic think that the pearl business will ever again become what it was in the past, when both Arabs and Europeans made huge fortunes out of Bahrain pearls.

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## SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

**Arabs and Baharna.** There is a sharply defined difference in Bahrain between the urban and the rural population. The people of the towns, Manamah, Muharraq, and Hedd, are mostly Arabs and foreigners, traders, shop-keepers, pearl merchants, and landowners. The villagers, who are said to form about two-thirds of the total population, although there has never been a census in Bahrain, are the aboriginal Shia inhabitants of the islands, cultivators and fishermen, many of whom dive during the pearling season. There is a racial and religious difference between the two which is outwardly apparent in the appearance, the dress, and the speech of the people, especially in the case of the women. The Baharna, who used to own Bahrain, are now the tenants and servants of the Arab landowners and the Ruling Family, and there is no sympathy between them.

**The Baharna.** During the last ten years the life of the country people has altered very little, but their outlook has changed considerably. Though still suffering acutely from an inferiority complex, they have become more independent. They have learnt to resort to the Government when they consider themselves aggrieved, and they have shaken off the remnants of feudal obligation to individual members of the Ruling Family which they unwillingly bore in the past. They recognise and appreciate the advantages of a central government which has made it impossible for individual landlords to take the law into their own hands or to unduly oppress their tenants.

Another important political change is the marked decrease in the influence of the Shia religious leaders. The Shia Qadis used to be regarded, especially in the villages, as almost divine, but to-day their power has dwindled. This is mainly owing to the undignified dissensions among the religious leaders and the public exposure, after criminal proceedings, for misappropriation of trust money, of two Shia Qadis during recent years. The transfer of the *waḳf* administration from the control of the Qadis to a council elected by the Shia community has also contributed towards the lessening of the influence of the Qadis. Instead of depending on the advice of the Qadis in all important and political matters, the country people now follow the lead of two or three politically minded merchants of Manamah whose ideas, though progressive, are not free from self-interest.

Living conditions among the Baharna have changed very little. They are still the poorest element in the community. Their villages are dirty, unhealthy, and insanitary, and physically they are below the standard of the Arabs. Although no statistics are available, it seems evident that there is a very high death rate among young children in the villages owing to unhealthy conditions and lack of medical attention. The diet of the people is mainly vegetables, fish, and a little rice and dates, but they spend more money on their clothes, because they need no longer fear that, if they are decently dressed, they will attract the cupidity of the local overlord. Although the average amount which they spend on marriage-money has decreased by over 50% in ten years, yet they still spend large sums on making the pilgrimage to the sacred cities of Iraq, which they regard as being as important as the pilgrimage to Mecca. In spite of the obvious poverty of the Baharna, the Ruling Family still believe that their tenants, when they fail to pay their rent, have large sums of money hoarded in their houses. This belief, in the past, was one of the reasons for the frequent attacks on Baharna houses and villages by armed followers of Khalifah landlords. For some years, however, crimes of this type have ceased to take place.

The Baharna take more interest in the doings of the outer world. Although most of them are illiterate when they come into Manamah or to the weekly markets, they listen to people discussing the news in the papers or what they have heard on the 'radios,' and they carry distorted and very inaccurate stories back to their houses and villages. In their general outlook the Baharna are many years behind the town dwellers.

**The Townsfolk.** Among the townspeople, particularly in the capital, there have been startling changes during the last ten years, both in the style of living and the outlook of the people. These changes have come from the people themselves and have not been forced upon them by the Government. This is especially noticeable

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178 in the case of the younger generation, who have passed through the schools. This generation has grown up under a regime of settled government and accepts as a matter of course the existence of regular law courts, regulations, schools, municipalities, and other governmental institutions, though many of the comparatively recent innovations are still resented and occasionally opposed by the old conservative element, which looks back regretfully to the days of the past when, by a little influence with important people and a little judicious expenditure, they would usually get their own way and do as they liked. Education, facilities for easier travel, contact with foreigners, both at home and abroad, and the effect of newspapers, books, and broadcasting, which stimulate an interest in foreign affairs, are some of the chief causes of the changes among the people of Bahrain. Most of the changes are for the better, but the sudden influx of large numbers of Europeans belonging to the Oil Company, many of whom are unaccustomed to Eastern customs, has had minor but unfortunate results. Beggars, who in the past were comparatively unobtrusive, now throng the bazaars and thrive on the misplaced generosity of white people; and the Arab children in the streets of Manamah, who used to be well-behaved, now follow Europeans about the bazaars and make impudent remarks to them in English.

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177 To-day, most of the young men in Manamah wear at least one article of European dress, usually a coat, and European shoes are rapidly taking the place of sandals; socks are universally worn, and the more advanced young Arabs wear complete suits of European style, but retain their Arab headdress. Importers of second-hand clothes, ranging from tail-coats to General European military uniforms, do a good trade. To-day, a young man wearing entirely Arab dress is usually a foreigner or one of the Shaikhs' retainers. Labourers in the oil field who work near machinery are compelled to wear shirts and trousers, and this has contributed to a large extent to the change in dress. Even among the women, there is a tendency to wear articles of European clothing, especially stockings and shoes.

511 Although there is still much poverty and unemployment in Bahrain, the general standard of living has improved, and the older men often complain that their sons are no longer content with the frugal diet of fish, rice, dates and, occasionally, meat, which was good enough for them when they were young. Bread is eaten much more than it used to be, and cheap tinned fruits and biscuits have become almost part of the regular diet in the houses of the middle and wealthy classes. The decrease in food prices has made it possible for poorer people to buy more food and to enjoy more variety. Ten years ago a bag of rice cost Rs 15/-; to-day it can be bought for Rs 11/-. The price of dates has fallen almost 50%, and the public can now buy cheap vegetable ghee instead of expensive clarified butter, which used only to be used by the wealthy classes. Before artesian wells were sunk, all water had to be bought, but to-day there is an artesian well in each district of the big towns, and women of the lower classes fetch their own water from the taps and cisterns. The water supply has encouraged cleanliness, as in the past, when all water had to be bought, there was little washing or bathing except by men in the sea during the summer.

The municipalities have done much to improve conditions, both by cleaning the streets, passing regulations affecting public health, and by building markets where meat, fish, and vegetables are sold under the supervision of municipal inspectors, who are also responsible for inspecting the abattoir. These officials visit the coffee shops and 'hotels' and report cases of the sale of bad meat or stale food to the public.

342 **Houses.** In Manamah there has been a great improvement in the style of buildings. A number of small, sanitary, and well-ventilated houses have been built by private persons for letting purposes. Though the rooms are smaller than those in the old-fashioned houses, the construction is better, the importance of proper foundations is appreciated, and cement and steel beams are universally used. A few years ago the use of steel beams was considered, locally, extremely dangerous. Most of the new houses are equipped with electric light and have adequate sanitary arrangements. By degrees the 'barasti' type of house, built of palm branches, is decreasing, and its place is being taken by stone houses which are more permanent, more healthy, and less liable to catch fire or to collapse during storms.

252 Houses are more elaborately equipped. Formerly a few mats and one or two carpets were sufficient furnishing for the Majlis of a merchant, but now, in most middle-class houses, there

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are chairs, tables, window curtains, often framed pictures and photographs, and usually a gramophone; in the houses of the wealthier people there is often a wireless set. Coffee shops reflect the change in ways of living. They are important institutions in Bahrain and take the place of clubs or cafés in Europe. Each has its regular clientele, but the popularity of individual coffee shops varies according to fashion. Ten years ago, coffee shops were usually small shops inside the bazaar, furnished with a few rough benches, where little else than coffee could be obtained. To-day, most of the coffee shops are elaborately decorated and illuminated, provided with little tables and chairs, and a gramophone or a wireless set which plays loudly and incessantly, relaying Arabic programmes to the customers. Some of the coffee shops are divided into two parts: in one part only coffee and drinks are served, and in the other part regular meals can be obtained, including Indian and Persian dishes, bread, cakes, and ices in the summer. Most of the proprietors are foreigners—Indians, Persians, and Iraqi, who are more enterprising in these matters than the local people. The bigger coffee shops are now referred to by the public as 'cafés.'

**Games.**

The popularity of games is another recent development during the last ten years. Before this, nobody played games except the men of the Levy Corps, who were made to do so, which was regarded as a peculiarity of the Commanding Officer. To-day, there are half-a-dozen local football teams and several hockey teams, who play against each other or against teams of sailors or Europeans from the Bahrain Petroleum Company. They play well, and are very keen, and every match attracts a large and interested audience from the town. Many of the parents of the young men who play disapprove of hockey and football, which they consider dangerous and unnecessary, chiefly because they did not play themselves when they were young. There is an entire lack of class distinction in these games: the sons of shaikhs play side-by-side with policemen, clerks, and taxi drivers. Although games have improved the physique of those who play them, the use of motor cars instead of horses or donkeys has caused a great many people to become soft and flabby. Sons of wealthy fathers, especially the young members of the Ruling Family, have entirely left off taking any exercise. They use a car to go a few yards; they never walk, and the only occasion on which they ride a horse is during marriage celebration or on public holidays, such as the annual accession celebrations.

**Class Changes.**

The depression in the pearl trade and the recent improvement in the bazaars has caused an upheaval in financial positions, and with it a certain change in the political importance of classes. This change is gradually, though unwillingly, being appreciated by the Ruling Family. In the days when the pearl trade was flourishing, pearl merchants and nakhudas were the monied classes, and their money gave them great power, which they did not scruple to use for their own benefit. To-day, the men who used to be worth lacs of rupees are, in many cases, almost bankrupt, and petty traders, shop-keepers, and men who happen to own property in Manamah, are becoming the monied class. The old powerful pearl merchants were, in many cases, self-made men who started life as divers, but their wealth made them important and, though most of them could neither read or write, they were the people who mattered in Bahrain. Many of these men have lost all their influence because their money has gone. The class which is now becoming prosperous is more progressive, more mixed, and better educated, but as a community it does not hang together because, unlike the case of the pearl industry, its prosperity does not depend upon one trade alone. One of the serious disadvantages of the change is that the pearl industry provided work, during part of the year, for many thousands of men, but the people who are now making money provide little employment for the people. At present, about five thousand divers are working in the oil field. They are making a great deal more money than they would normally make from diving and, besides earning money, they are paying back their debts to the nakhudas by regular monthly instalments, so both parties are satisfied; but this employment is not permanent and, when present construction work at the oil field is finished, there will be a sudden increase in unemployment which will have to be dealt with by the Government.

**The Ruling Family.**

The life and outlook of the members of the Ruling Family, with a few notable exceptions, has changed less than that of any other community. Although there is a great difference between the outlook of the older men and those who have grown up during the last ten years, the attitude of the family as a whole is

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still that of feudal chiefs, though the feudal feeling no longer exists among the people of Bahrein. They consider it their right that they should be well provided for financially by the State, and they resent any suggestion that they should add to their incomes by doing work. They are still the biggest landowners in Bahrein, but by draining their property dry, and not spending any money on improvements, their property has deteriorated in value. They regard any real work as degrading, and only accept posts on courts or councils for the sake of obtaining more money, not because it is incumbent on them, as members of the Ruling Family, to occupy public positions. Their attitude in this respect is a contrast to that of the merchant class in Bahrein, who are unusually public minded and who freely give up much of their time to sit on courts and commissions and councils.

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**The Women.** Among the women, too, there have been changes, but they are more gradual than among the men. Every step towards emancipation is firmly resisted by the older female members of the households, but in spite of this there is a definite feeling among the younger women that they should have more freedom. Their ambition, at present, is not to take any part in public matters, but to be able to go out more frequently. They are becoming restive of the restrictions of the purdah system. Some are now educated, and a few have travelled abroad in Syria, Persia, India, and Iraq, and there they have seen the changes which are taking place in the life of the women of those countries. Many who have never been out of Bahrein read newspapers and listen to news on wireless sets, and frequently meet Indian and Syrian women in Bahrein. All this causes them to feel unsettled.

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One of the notable recent changes is that nowadays a great many young men only marry one wife, not because they cannot afford to support more wives, but because they prefer monogamy. The younger men are no longer ashamed of mentioning their wives and talking about their families, and many of them take their wives out with them in cars. A few years ago, if a man was seen with a woman in his car, one could be quite sure that she was not his wife. The modern young man look for wives who are educated, and frequently marry Persian or Iraqi girls because they received better education. One of the effects of education among the women in Bahrein is that they learn to keep their houses clean and they appreciate the value of hygiene, which is taught at school. Education also makes them willing to employ qualified doctors, especially at childbirth, when, in the past, they would have been treated by local Arab untrained midwives who are dirty and dangerous, and whose use of the notorious salt method is undoubtedly responsible for an enormous number of casualties among children and pregnant women.

Changes are taking place all over the Gulf, but of the Arab States, Bahrein is changing most rapidly. The most conspicuous visible changes in comparing Bahrein to-day and ten years ago are in the capital, where a person returning to the country would notice the wider streets, better buildings, and a decrease in straw huts, trees, gardens and more vegetation, large shops selling European goods, motor traffic, European dress worn by natives, increasing use of machinery, partly owing to installation of electric power, knowledge of English language, and a far greater interest being taken in outside world affairs.

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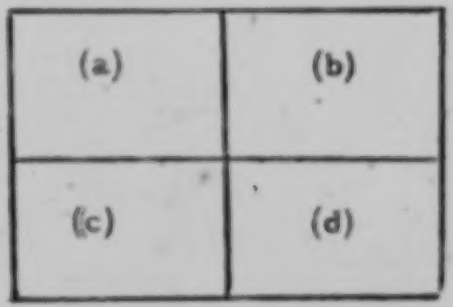

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# THE BAHREIN ISLANDS

(750-1951)

A contribution to the study of Power Politics in the Persian Gulf

By

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*Professor of Persian and Islamic History*

*Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes*

An historical, economic, and geograhical survey

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New York

1951

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THE SHEIK OF BAHREIN

[facing page 3]

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## INTRODUCTION

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About midway of the Persian Gulf and some fifteen miles off the coast of Arabia, lie the Bahrein Islands at the mouth of the Gulf of Bahrein, of which the Qatar Peninsula forms the western side. There are five principal islands, only two of which are of real consequence. The largest and by far the most important is variously called Awal, Al Manāmah after the principal city, or more commonly just Bahrein. The last is the modern designation.

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In ancient times, the name "Bahrein" was applied to a larger area which included the Arabian mainland of Qatar and Hajar and the land situated between Mesopotamia and the Gulf of Oman (the Indian Ocean); this area took in the entire southern coast of the Persian Gulf. This has caused widespread misinterpretation of much of the writings of pre-Islamic and Medieval historians. Throughout this book we shall use the term "Bahrein" in its modern sense to refer to the archipelago of Bahrein proper or to the central island, except where the mainland province is clearly indicated.

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Bahrein today has few attractions. There is not much to recommend it as a place of residence, as it is intensely hot for about seven months of the year, and for many of the native inhabitants lacking in comfortable living conditions. For tourists it is rather off the beaten track. Nevertheless, through the centuries these bits of land have been considered well worth fighting for by both European and Asiatic empires

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The reason for Bahrein's unusual and enduring importance can be summed up in two words—pearls and strategy. The pearl fisheries of Bahrein have been known all over the world since the dawn of history and, thanks to an abundance of fresh water springs, the island was a frequent stopping place for ships on the trade routes to India and the Far East.

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The Portuguese, the first European power to have an Asiatic colonial empire, fought hard for possession of the islands.



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They held them for some time, but finally lost them to the Persians, who with the help of the British, put an end to Portuguese domination of the Persian Gulf.

One generation passeth away and another generation cometh; but the earth abideth forever. Hardly had the Persians rid the Gulf of the Portuguese than they had to face British naval supremacy. At first the British did not seem to realize the importance of Bahrein and did not intervene actively until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Since then, however, they have made up for lost time and Bahrein has become, to borrow Byron's picturesque expression, "a bundle of hay" with Persia trying to hold it and John Bull tugging "a different way." This diplomatic tug of war has continued ever since, and very recently the Persian government was directed by the Parliament to "take effective measures with a view toward implementing the Persian sovereignty over the islands."

In olden times Bahrein was a center of religious studies and produced great religious philosophers and mystics, as well as students of mathematics and the Arabic languages; but the general public was content with the Koran texts and Moslem catechism. The majority of the schools were part of the mosques and other religious foundations and were under their supervision. The beginning of the modern schools in Bahrein dates from the first World War. Among them were Persian schools supported by Persian merchants for the education of Persian children, but open also to the children of other communities. However, the Anglo-Persian controversy of 1930 over Bahrein resulted in the decision of the local government, encouraged by the British Ambassador, to create its own system of education independent of Persian influence. In the schools, as in other things, Bahrein followed the general pattern of Arabization of the Persian Gulf, and to this end adopted the Iraqi system of education.

The discovery of oil in 1930, and the granting of concessions to American interests, has singularly enhanced the historic importance of Bahrein and created a complicated international

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problem. The protestations of the Persian Government and its view of the concession as null and void, have broadened the Anglo-Persian controversy to include the United States, and as a side issue have created an Irano-American dispute. Considering the location and the nature of the countries involved, this has dangerous potentialities, especially in the present state of international relations.

With the above in mind, the present book was written to provide the reader with the minimum of facts essential to an understanding of the problems in this part of the world.

The author wishes to express his gratitude to Ali Aghassi for his scholarly suggestions and sincere and friendly encouragements, without which this work would have been impossible.

A. Faroughy.

New York, August 1950.

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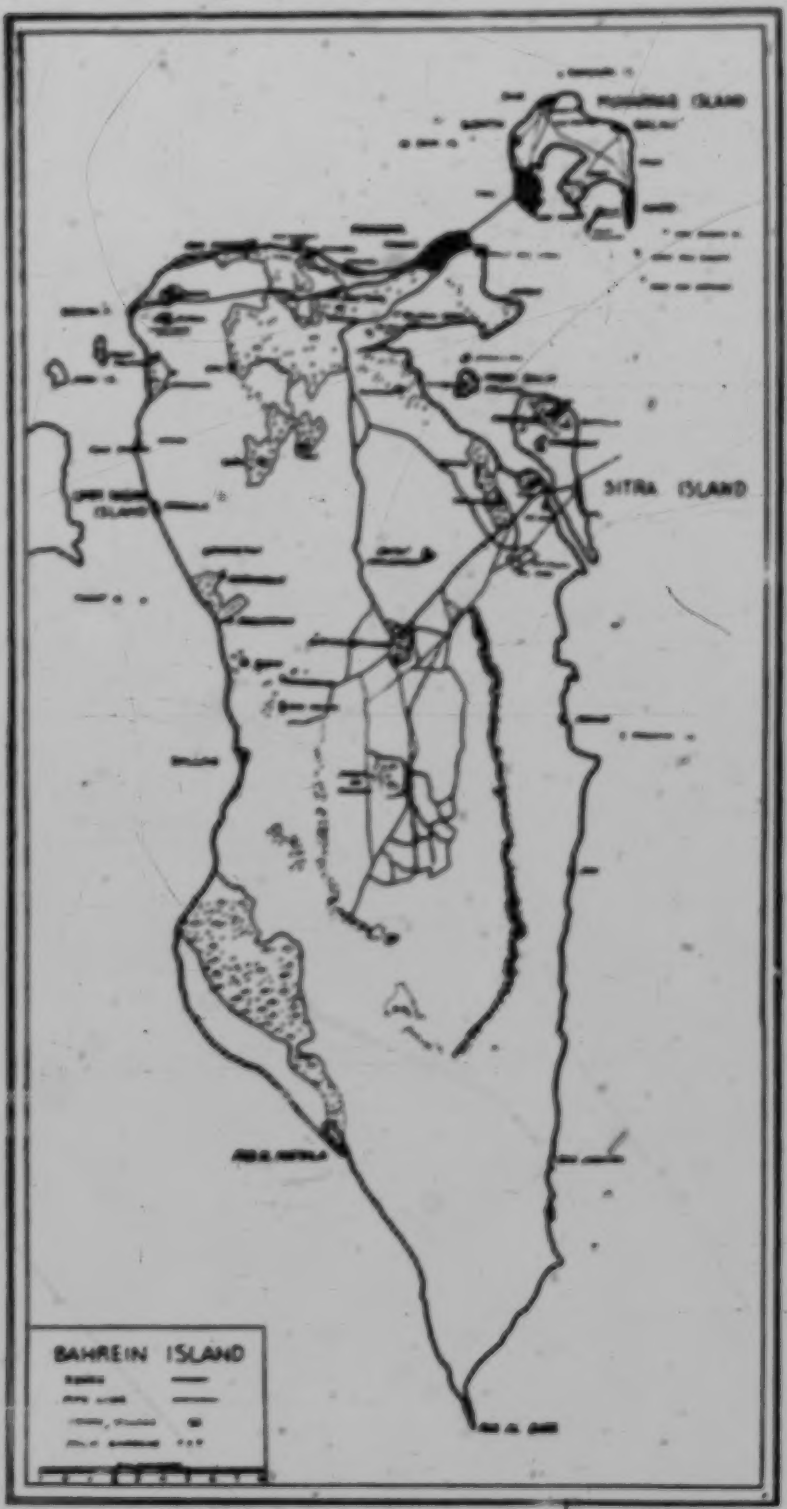


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# THE BAHREIN ISLANDS

## THE NAME

103 "The name of Bahrein, which means 'Two Seas,' is derived, according to the natives of the country, from the existence of two strata of water located there. The higher film is extremely salty, whereas the deeper consists of sweet water with a very pleasant taste." So wrote Masoudi, the famous Arabian author.

Ibn Khallakan has a different explanation. He cites the Persian lexicographer Al-Ashari as follows: "Al-Bahrein ('The Two Seas') is so named because in the region where its towns are situated, near the gate of Al-Ahsa and the village of Hajar, there is a lake at ten parsangs distance from the Great Green Ocean [the Persian Gulf]. The lake is three miles long and as many broad. It does not overflow, and its waters are tranquil and salt."

101 According to Al-Jawahari, the author of *Sahah*, the inhabitants are called Bahrani rather than the more usual form Bahri, because "the latter term might be misunderstood, having as it does another meaning, namely 'Belonging to the sea.'"[1]

## GEOGRAPHY

131 The Bahrein Islands are situated at 26° latitude north and 50° longitude east on the southern side of the Persian Gulf. They are about fifteen miles from the main coast of Saudi

1. Throughout this book, however, we shall use the modern designation "Bahreini" when referring to the people.



[pp. 10, 11, 12 have no textual material]

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131 Arabia and somewhat closer to the Qatar Peninsula. Manama, the capital, is at 26°13′ north and 50°35′ east.[1]

The archipelago is formed by five principal islands and a number of smaller ones, of which only one is of real importance. It is variously called Awal,[2] Manama after the principal city, or more commonly just Bahrein. Curiously shaped in the semblance of a sea horse,[3] the island is only twenty miles long and ten miles across at the widest point.

312 Bahrein would be totally uninhabitable if it were not for an abundance of fresh water (believed to come through channels under the sea bottom from somewhere in Arabia, probably the Tuwaik mountains) which supplies about two hundred springs and many artesian wells. It is likely that some of these springs were formerly under the sea, since the islands are surrounded by coral formations and in such places the sea always tends to become shallower and dry land to increase. In the northern part of the principal island the water is plentiful enough to produce luxuriant gardens and palm groves, and on the other islands irrigation farming is carried on extensively.

Fresh water springs are also found on the shallow ocean bottom. In former times the natives dived into the sea to collect drinking water in collapsed goatskins. Some water sellers used more scientific methods, however, sinking bamboo tubes to the level of the springs, then collecting the water as it rose above sea level.

## GEOLOGY

133 Bahrein lies on a portion of the ancient Tethys geosynclinal belt represented today by the Persian Gulf. The formation of the principal island is the result of pressure from the mountainous masses of Persia against the crystalline platform of central Asia, the thrust being absorbed by a gentle folding in the

1. The British Political Agency is at lat. 26°14′09.95″ N. and long. 50°35′00.39″ E.
2. The etymology of the word *Awal* is "fish" or "whale."
3. See map, back of book.

geosyncline. The structure of Bahrein is that of a large, single, closed dome covering the entire faulting. 133

Rocks exposed at the surface consist of:

1. Recent sands and coquinas forming flat, raised beaches surrounding the island from which the surface rises gradually to an elevation 150 to 200 feet above sea level. At this point it breaks away into inward-facing cliffs eighty to one hundred feet high completely surrounding an oval central depression about twelve miles long and four wide.
2. Pleistocene sands, cross bedded and probably wind deposited, lying in the canyons.
3. Meiocene silicious clay covering a very limited area.
4. Eocene limestone covering most of the island, the central region of which, known as "Jabal Dukhān" or "Mountain of Smoke," rises to a point 439 feet above sea level. The limestone is very porous and is the source of most of the water in the northern half of the island. [312]

Because of the coral formations surrounding the islands, the sea approach is shallow, so that only vessels of very light draft can land. Ships drawing as much as twenty feet anchor from two to four miles out in the Gulf, and those of greater draft from fourteen to seventeen miles out. Shallow boats are used for all transfers of passengers or freight, and the Standard Oil Company was obliged to construct a submarine pipeline three miles long to convey oil from Bahrein Island to its tankers. 133 503

## CLIMATE

The Bahrein Islands possess one of the most trying climates in the world. It is intensely hot for about seven months of the year and the humidity stays near the saturation point. The annual average temperature is 78° F. with a corresponding relative humidity of 73%. The hottest month is August, when the mean temperature is 92° and between noon and 3 P.M. may 132

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132 go as high as 109° — the hottest yet recorded. The coolest weather comes in December and January, with an average temperature of about 60°; the lowest ever recorded was 41° in January. From October to April the temperature ranges from 60° to 80°. There are only about three inches of rainfall during the year, all of it between the middle of October and the middle of May.

There are also seasonal winds. The *Shamal,* or Northwestern, blows for forty days beginning in June and returns to become very violent in January and February. At times the wind may reach a velocity of sixty miles per hour, accompanied by a great quantity of dust and sand from the Arabian desert.

The very hot wind known as the *Qaws,* or Southwestern, comes irregularly between December and April and is likely to blow for extended periods of time. It generally brings strong rain and violent squalls and for this reason has always been dreaded by the navigators of the Persian Gulf.

The following tables, adapted from the *Persian Gulf Pilot,* give the average monthly temperature and the velocity of the winds in the Bahrein Islands.

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Table 1. METEOROLOGICAL TABLE*

| Month | Mean Temperature (½ Max. Min.) | Relative Humidity % | Mean Rainfall (in inches) |
|---|---|---|---|
| January | 61° F. | 80 | 0.39 |
| February | 62 | 80 | .67 |
| March | 68 | 77 | .51 |
| April | 76 | 72 | .24 |
| May | 84 | 65 | .08 |
| June | 88 | 63 | 0. |
| July | 91 | 65 | 0. |
| August | 92 | 71 | 0. |
| September | 88 | 73 | 0. |
| October | 82 | 76 | 0. |
| November | 74 | 78 | .24 |
| December | 65 | 81 | .83 |
| Mean | 78 | 73 | (Total) 2.99 |

* Compiled from 12 years' observations.

Table 2. WINDS*

| Month | Wind—Mean Velocity miles/hr. | Percentage of observations from | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | N. | N.E. | E. | S.E. | S. | S.W. | W. | N.W. | Calm. |
| January | 5 | 13 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 4 | 24 | 34 | 2 |
| February | 5 | 19 | 5 | 4 | 10 | 7 | 3 | 16 | 32 | 4 |
| March | 5 | 19 | 10 | 8 | 10 | 8 | 8 | 13 | 23 | 1 |
| April | 5 | 17 | 8 | 9 | 7 | 9 | 9 | 16 | 25 | 0 |
| May | 5 | 20 | 10 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 20 | 34 | 0 |
| June | 5 | 21 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 22 | 47 | 0 |
| July | 4 | 16 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 7 | 23 | 43 | 1 |
| August | 3 | 16 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 6 | 7 | 18 | 29 | 1 |
| September | 3 | 22 | 3 | 10 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 17 | 28 | 3 |
| October | 3 | 17 | 11 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 19 | 33 | 0 |
| November | 4 | 15 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 5 | 22 | 29 | 2 |
| December | 5 | 13 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 3 | 25 | 37 | 2 |
| Mean | 4.2 | 17 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 20 | 33 | 1 |

* Nine years' observations. Height above sea level, 18 feet.

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## POPULATION

161 The total population of the islands was estimated in 1930
162 at 120,911,[1] of whom 120,656, or 99.8%, were Moslems.[2] More than 100,000 are Baharinah, that is, members of the Shiite sect of Persia, who live mostly in the villages. The rest of the native population are either Sunnites of the Malekite sect or members of the Wahabite faith of Nejd, the principal faith of Saudi Arabia. Among the Sunnite community the most numerous are the Huwala tribe, who are residents of Manama, Muharraq, and Badaiya'a. They are engaged mostly in trade and pearl fishing. The Utūb, to which the local Sheik belongs, the Sādāt, and the Dawasīr are the most influential politically.

Tables 3, 4, and 5 show the distribution of the inhabitants in 1930.

Table 3. MOSLEM POPULATION

| Tribes, etc. | Sunnites | Shiites | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Utūb | 55,000 | — | 55,000 |
| Bahārinah | — | 45,000 | 45,000 |
| Negroes | 11,000 | — | 11,000 |
| Huwāla | — | 2,500 | 2,500 |
| Persians | 100 | 2,000 | 2,100 |
| Arabs of Qatif and Hasā | 2,000 | — | 2,000 |
| Dawāsir | 2,000 | — | 2,000 |
| Arabs of Iraq | 200 | 300 | 500 |
| Sādāt | 400 | — | 400 |
| Hindus | 130 | 20 | 150 |
| Turks | 6 | — | 6 |
| | 70,836 | 49,820 | 120,656 |

1. The eighteenth census, taken during the war for the purpose of distributing ration coupons, gave a population of approximately 90,000. Since then this number has been augmented and the present population is estimated to be about 105,000.
2. The Moslem population was estimated in 1897 at 68,000.

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Table 4. NON-MOSLEM POPULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Hindus | 150 |
| Jews | 50 |
| Syrians | 60 |
| British | 10 |
| Assyro-Chaldeans | 5 |
| Total | 255 |

Table 5. SECTS AND TRIBES

| Tribe | Race | Sect |
|---|---|---|
| Utūb | Zuzara Arabs | Malekites |
| Bahārinah | Iranians | Shiites |
| Dawāsīr | Arabs of Nejd | Sahabites |
| Huwāla | Arabs of Persia | Sunnites |

The discovery of oil, the essence of foreign trade and international traffic, has brought a considerable increase in the number of non-Moslem residents. At the present time there are some four or five hundred Christians, mostly employees of the Standard Oil Company, five hundred Jews, and about the same number of Hindus.

## TOWNS AND VILLAGES

There are about two hundred centers of population in the islands. The most important are:

### *Bahrein Island*

MANAMA,[1] the largest city and the commercial center of the islands, is located in the northern part of Bahrein. It is traditional headquarters for the pearl fisheries and today is the center of the petroleum industry. At present there are about 45,000 inhabitants. The city has a government operated electric plant which also supplies the city of Muharraq on Muharraq Island, and commercial establishments include an ice plant, a large

1. Manāmah literally means a "scala" or "port."

361 bazaar, a movie theatre, branches of the Eastern Bank and the Imperial Bank of Persia, a post office, a broadcasting station and a single gas station.

362 Little by little Manama is being modernized and the houses
713 built by the Standard Oil Company for its American and British employees serve as models for the natives in the improvement of their own. There are three hospitals, one operated by the Bahrein Oil Company; a second, for men and women, with a British staff, by the government; and the third by the Arabia Mission of the Dutch Reformed Church in America. However, the facilities of these few establishments are quite limited and even under normal conditions 85% of the population suffers from one or more ailments.

164 The diseases endemic in Bahrein are malaria, the entire
548 group of fevers, dysentery both amoebic and bacillary, bilharzia, trachoma and ankylostomiasis. At the head of the list should go the entire family of venereal diseases. Prostitution, forbidden in Saudi Arabia, has increased greatly under the complacent eyes of the authorities and Bahrein has become a kind of "pleasure island" where thousands of native and foreign employees of the oil companies from Arabia spend their
[273] leaves and money buying cheap pleasure, drinking arak, a 100 proof, colorless distillation of dates, contributing to vice and the propagation of disease.

164 The island is liable to epidemics of plague and cholera. From 1905 to 1911 Bahrein was visited every second year by plague and during the epidemic of 1911, in Manama, Muharraq and adjacent villages alone, more than two thousand persons died. Since World War I international control of plague and more vigorous quarantine measures by the British administration have limited the recurrence of this disease. Since 1920 epidemics of plague have occurred only at five year intervals.

Cholera epidemics are less frequent, probably because the water supply is less open to contamination than formerly. However, last year's epidemic was as serious in Bahrein as in the other ports of the Persian Gulf.

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Manama, is the capital of the State, and is the official residence of the Sheik. The Sheik holds court and administers justice once a week on the balcony of the municipal building and petty criminals are publicly flogged by red-turbaned policemen in the market place immediately below.

Manama is also the seat of the higher court composed of two members of the family of the Sheik and presided over by the British Adviser. The British Political Agent, who is under the authority of the Persian Gulf Political Agent at Bushir (in Persia), also has his residence in Manama.

BADAIYA'A is located at the northwestern end of the island, a mile from the coast. The majority of its eight thousand inhabitants belong to the Dawāsīr tribes, famous for their ability as divers. Following the political upheaval of 1923,[1] the Dawāsīr evacuated the town and fled to Damān on the mainland, but the majority later returned.

Near Badaiya'a are the two important centers of *Diraz* and *Jamra.*

ZALLĀQ. Situated on the west coast, this is another important center inhabited by the Dawāsīr fishermen and divers.

BALAD AL-KADIM. Really a cluster of several villages, this is, after Manama, the most active native center, with many palm groves and artesian wells. Its small but important population consists mostly of Baharinah farmers and fishermen. A short distance from the village is the small Sūq al Kaamīs where the Thursday market is held. Half a mile farther on is the famed water source of Abu Zidān with a religious school near by and a noted minaret in the Persian style, reminder of Iranian supremacy.

BURI, another village inhabited entirely by the Baharinah, is located about seven miles south of Manama. It is a date producing center with ten to twelve thousand palm trees.

JIDD HAFS is located about three miles west of Manama on the highway joining that town to Badaiy'a. Populated by the Baharinah, it is one of the most prosperous agricultural centers,

1. See below, p. 99.

361 with palm groves containing more than sixteen thousand trees,
162 as well as numerous vegetable gardens and orchards.

Near by is the small village of 'AIN-AD-DAR.

'ALI is located about a mile north of Buri to the west of
[491] the paved main highway running south from Manama to the Jabal Dukhān region. A motor road joins the village to Buri and Karzakkan and the west coast of the island. Situated as it is in the midst of palm groves and vegetable gardens, 'Ali is an important market place. Many of the Persian residents of the island own lovely homes there and the town has a mosque in the Persian style.

SANĀBIS and FALA, on the north shore of the island about three miles west of Manama, are active commercial and fishing centers inhabited by the Baharinah.

RIFA'. The two villages of East Rifa' (Ash-Sharki) and West Rifa' (Al-Gharbi), situated a mile apart, are near the center of the island. Since their location is considered to be one of the most healthful in Bahrein they are not surprisingly inhabited by the Utūb, the tribe to which the Sheik belongs. His immediate
[312] family lives in West Rifa', which is more exclusive though the important water sources are at East Rifa'.

ASKAR. This is another village of interest on the east coast, four and a half miles east of Jabal Dukhān. The inhabitants are the bu 'Ainin, probably the descendants of the people who ruled Bahrein nearly a thousand years ago.

About three miles away is the town of JAU, also on the east coast. Near by are historic ruins, probably the remains of the important ancient town, also called Jau, which is believed to have been the capital of the island in pre-Islamic times.

KIRABAD, or "Oil City," is the initial Awali camp built by the Bahrein Petroleum Company for the use of its employees and popularly known as "Bapco" from the initials of the company. Three miles away is the refinery. The town is on an eleva-
[491] tion eighteen miles south of Manama, to which it is connected by a modern highway also built by the company.

000 "Bapco" has some two hundred homes for married members

Bapco has some one hundred homes for married members of the oil company staff and others are under construction. In addition there are office buildings, bachelors' quarters, a club, an eighteen hole golf course, a restaurant, and a new, completely air conditioned hospital for the native employees of the company. All homes and living quarters and most of the commercial buildings are connected with three central air conditioning plants where water is chilled to a temperature of forty-five to fifty degrees Fahreinheit then piped underground to each building, where it is circulated through grilles. In the winter heat is furnished by circulating hot water in the same manner. All drinking water in both the refinery and camp is distilled.

362
365

The other villages of importance on the west coast, reading from north to south, are:

361
103

HUWAR—Located close to the coast of Qatar.
HAMALA.
DAMISTAN.
KARZAKKAN.
MALIKIYA.
SADAD.
SHAHRAKAN.
DAR KULAIB.

On the east coast, from north to south, the important villages are:

JUFAR.
GHURAIFA, with a loading terminal and a nearby military seaplane base with anchorage facilities and limited refueling service.
SILHAT.
KUWARA.
SANAD.
NUWAIDRAT, near the refinery. It has palm groves and is an important center of native trade, where most of the local employees of the oil company live.
MA'AMIR, a small village located on the canal separating the island of Sitra from Bahrein.
FARSIYA.

## *Muharraq Island*

This is the second largest island of the group and in all probability the "Aradus" of the classical writers. It is located northeast of Bahrein and is about five and a half square miles in area, horseshoe shaped and only a mile wide. It is separated from Bahrein by a channel spanned by a causeway a mile and a half long with a motor road and by a swinging bridge which was completed in 1941.

The chief city is MUHURRAQ, on the western side, the second largest city in the islands and the summer residence of the Sheik. Its population is about 26,000. Muhurraq and Manama, on Bahrein Island, are each administered by a Municipal Committee which in addition to civic duties are jointly responsible for the upkeep of thirty per cent of the roads in the archipelago.

Other towns among the sixteen or more on Muhurraq which should be mentioned are:

ARAD. This is an important date producing center with some sixteen thousand palm trees, on the southern shore of the Gulf of Arad. It is inhabited by the Baharinah.

HADD. Second in importance only to Muhurraq, Hadd is the leading pearl fishing center of the islands. It has a population of almost 10,000, consisting of Sādāt and Beni Yās. Since the English began to take a direct hand in the administration of the island it has become possibly the most modern of the cities, with many up-to-date homes and an agricultural experiment station as well as a modern penitentiary and the cottage of the British Financial Adviser.

The villages of Basatin, Qalali, Samahij and Dair, on the north and northeast coasts, are also important. Their population follows the Sunnite faith exclusively and those in Qalali belong to the Manani'a tribe.

Muhurraq Island has a military and civil airfield used by the British Overseas Air Service. The field has limited fueling and repair facilities for normal traffic as well as minimum lighting, runway lights, and lighted wind indicators. There are hard surface, all weather runways with an elevation of two feet; the

longest runway, to the nearest hundred feet, is 7400 feet long. There are radio communication and direction finder with voice, and the Radio Bahrein tower operates on 6440 kilocycles, 117.9 mc.

The other principal islands of the Bahrein group are:

SITRA, which is separated from Bahrein by the Sitra Canal, which is about a quarter of a mile wide. The southern part of the island is completely barren but in the north there are small villages, mostly inhabited by Baharinah farmers and fishermen. The most important are Wadiyan, Kharijia, Muhazza and Sufala, all of which are important date growing centers.

NABBI SĀLIH, the smallest of the five islands, situated about three quarters of a mile off the coast of Bahrein. There are palm groves and two small fishing centers, Kaflan and Karya. The island has many gardens and orchards as well as palm groves with some fifteen thousand trees. It is entirely inhabited by the Baharinah.

UMM NA'SAN, two miles west of Bahrein, a low and sandy island four miles long and triangular in shape. The island is dominated by two rocky peaks, one rising to an elevation of sixty-six feet at about half a mile from the western point of the island, and the other twenty-five feet high situated about half a mile farther to the east. Near the west coast there is a water source used by the people of the west coast of Bahrein, mostly the towns of Badaiya'a and Zallāq, whose custom it is to send their cattle to graze there during the summer.

Besides these principal islands there are a number of smaller ones, mostly inhabited. From north to south and west to east these are:

KHASAIFA.

JARDI.

SAYA, with its fresh water spring, located about half a mile off the west coast of Muharraq Island.

ABU MAHIR, a small island south of Muharraq and connected to it at low tide. There is a small fort on the island erected for the defense of the water source which formerly supplied the people of Muharraq.

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101 162 formerly supplied the people of Muharraq. The inhabitants, who are divers and fishermen, belong to the Sunnite sect.

NAIM, SULUTA, and KHULAFFAT are three small islands in the Gulf of Arad.

Farther east are:

[312] ABU SHĀHIN, with its fresh water spring.

UMM SHAJAR.

UMM SHIYARA.

Mention should also be made of the three small, rocky islands north of Sitra bearing the name of Kasr (Castle) and farther south, opposite the village of Askar, the little island of Mashāikh with its fishing huts.

Off the east coast there are many others which are rocky islands or mere shoals and of no interest to us. Among them are the small islands of Raka and Cliff, El Ben farther north, and Yusuf closer to the coast.

## ANTIQUITIES

172 The north central part of Bahrein Island is covered with thousands of large tombs in the form of mounds of rock heaped with earth which are among the unsolved mysteries of Near Eastern archaeology. Their number has been variously estimated at from fifteen thousand to several hundred thousand—so many in fact as to be completely out of proportion to the size of the island and its possible ability to support in ancient times a population to match the size of this enormous cemetery.

The tombs are ancient burial vaults of large dressed stones erected at ground level, sometimes with a second story. After the interment the vault was covered with a mound of gravel, stone chips, and earth, obtained largely at the foot of the cliffs surrounding the central basin of the island. The mounds vary greatly in size, ranging from four to eighty feet high and up to one hundred feet in diameter. Some of the largest tombs show the remains of outer walls, while others seem to have been surrounded by rings of heaped up gravel to keep intruders

away from the main structure. It is impossible, however, to determine the height of the walls or rings because of the many centuries of torrential rains which have intervened and the probable theft of materials by later tomb builders. 172

Since 1878 there have been at least six attempts to establish by excavation the identity of the people who built these curious structures. In 1898 the British Museum dispatched Bent to work on the mounds but up to 1906 only three had been opened. In later years Colonel Prideaux worked on sixty-seven of them and Ernest Mackey on thirty-four, and quite recently thirty more were examined by P. B. Cornwall. The early explorers probably looked for writing of some kind but no traces have been found. Furthermore, as the result of dampness, the salinity of the soil and the ravages of insects and rodents, the condition of bones and artifacts is extremely poor. There is some pottery but it seems to have been intentionally broken, perhaps as part of the burial ceremonies, for only a single jar has been found in its original state. There are a few articles of ivory and bronze, heavily damaged by water and salt. Finally there are very faint traces of what may have been textiles and wooden articles. Many tombs contain the bones of a ram or sheep, pointing to animal sacrifice.

There seems to have been no fixed custom in the disposal of the remains. The body was placed sometimes on its side, sometimes in a niche cut in the stone wall. In many cases the bones were scattered about or mixed with those of sheep or other animals, while elsewhere they were collected in neat heaps. Careful study of all the findings has produced nothing to support any conclusion except that the burials are very ancient. The picture is that of an unknown primitive group with somewhat inconsistent burial customs.

The varying treatment of the bones, according to a suggestion made by Petrie, may indicate that in some instances the remains were brought to Bahrein from the mainland in accordance with a custom that was fairly prevalent in the Orient. Moreover, it has been noted that all of the tomb entrances face

172 southwest toward Arabia[1] — an indication that it was from there that the people originally came. The existence of similar tombs along the Arabian coast tends to support this hypothesis. Finally, for what it is worth, there is an Arab tradition that the tribe of Thamud, driven out of Yemen and across the desert, found a home on the island of Bahrein about the beginning of the second millenium B.C.

Attempts to date the Bahrein tombs by the nature of the contents have brought to light only contradictory evidence. The finding of a jar that resembles a Babylonian jar of 2500 B.C. must be weighed against the finding of bronze weapons dating from 1500-1200 B.C. It is possible that future explorations of the thousands of tumuli will yet supply an answer to the riddle, but the meager results obtained from the examination of 134 of them can hardly be called encouraging.

## EDUCATION

658 The Bahrein government decided in 1934 to engage a number of Iraqi teachers for its schools. Iraq had done all in her power to attract the emirats of the Gulf into her orbit, and by 1934, when the British and Persians were fighting over the question of sovereignty over Bahrein, Iraq had made known her intention of creating a consulate in the island and establishing a school for the children of Iraqi subjects residing there. This was an effort to compete with the Persians, who since the end of World War I had conducted a school, "Tarbiat," founded originally for the education of Persian children but open also to children of other communities.

871 658 875 Bahrein today has nine elementary and one secondary school, the latter founded in 1940, and one school for girls, opened in 1939. The program of study of the Iraqi schools was adopted. At the end of 1937, a group of fifteen Syrian teachers were engaged by the government to teach in the newly founded schools. In 1940, the government engaged six Iraqi teachers to

1. According to Cornwall W.25°s. is the most frequent reading: were they oriented toward Mecca?

organize the secondary school system. The teachers received from £25 to £30 a month and "bed and board" paid by the Bahrein government. Interestingly enough, the first director of the first school opened at Muharraq was the present Saudi Arabian Minister to London, Sheik Hafiz Wahba.

At present, there is no newspaper in Bahrein. A weekly newspaper, Al Bahrein, was founded in 1939, but ceased its publication after the death of its publisher, Abdallah Za-id. In 1940 a broadcasting station was built, and the Al-Bahrein Radio started short-wave broadcasts on a 23-m, 50 band on November 4. During the war, Radio Bahrein was most useful to the Allied cause, since its four daily news broadcasts in Arabic and Persian were heard more easily throughout the Near East than those of Egypt.

Besides the schools, two "circles" for the discussion of political and literary matters were established in 1935 under the patronage of the brother of the Sheik. There was already a Cercle Israelite in the island.

## ECONOMY

The geographical features and the geological formation of the islands greatly reduce the economic value of Bahrein. The scarcity of water and the sandy nature of the soil exclude agricultural development. The application of modern methods of agriculture and the utilization of artesian wells and gasoline operated pumps are too recent and too inadequate to make Bahrein even partially independent of imported food. For many years to come, and probably forever, the islands will be dependent on food, meat, vegetables, and fruits brought chiefly from the Persian or Arabian mainland.

Fortunately, in most of the islands of the Persian Gulf and the surrounding regions, wherever water is found naturally or captured artificially, date palms grow with astonishing ease. The northern part of Bahrein Island, thanks to natural springs and more recently to artesian wells, is practically a string of oases with palm groves numbering several hundred thousands.

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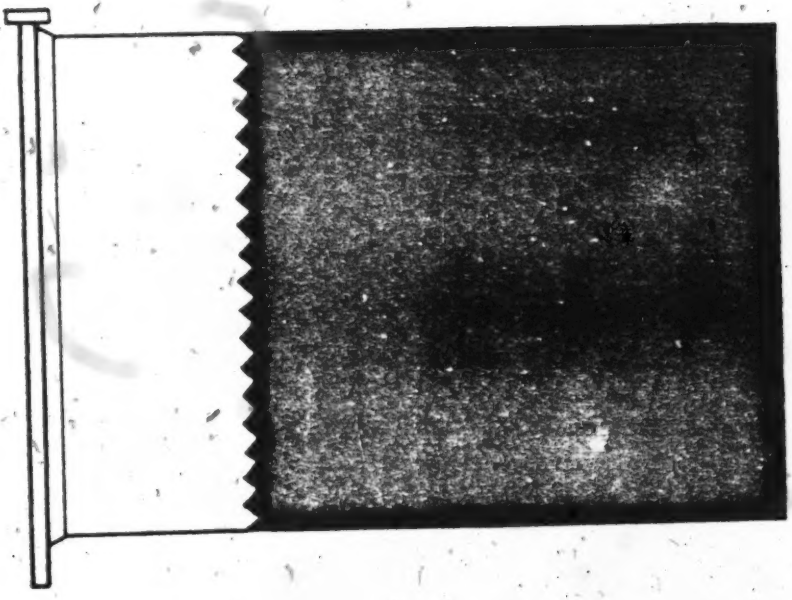

FLAG

The flag of Bahrein is red with a vertical white bar next to the staff

[facing page 29]

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Bahrein produces dates of very good quality, though inferior to the Iraqi and especially to the Persian variety known in the United States as the Bassorah date. The entire date production of Bahrein is consumed locally, either fresh or dried, or in a powder which is used like wheat flour for the making of bread, the common food of the rich.

The economic value of the date palm does not stop with the fruit. All other parts of the palm yield products of practical value to Bahreinis; their life would be impossible without it. The trunk furnishes timber for houses and boats; the midribs of the leaves go into crates and furniture; the leaf bases are used for fuel; the small leaves are used in basketry, the fiber for cordage and packing, and the fruit stalks for rope and fuel.

Under the shade of their palm trees and around their springs, the Bahreinis live their relatively simple life, producing some vegetables, weaving a few shawls, making sailcloth or reed mats, and breeding their donkeys. The Bahrein donkeys, or "Bandari," were bought by donkey lovers for their endurance, their height, and other celebrated qualities.

The main occupations of the townspeople are commercial and maritime, mostly fishing and handling the transit shipments which are one of Bahrein's largest sources of revenue. The greatest economic asset of the islands, however, despite the value of the recently discovered oil, is still the pearl fisheries.

## PEARL FISHING

The chief source of income of the islands before the discovery and exploitation of oil reserves in the nineteen thirties was pearl fishing. Before the rise of competition from the Japanese pearl fisheries and worldwide economic crisis of 1930, the industry employed more than 20,000 persons annually, and revenue from the pearls, which were exported principally to Paris and London, amounted to about £2,000,000[1] annually. Single pearls often bring enormous prices; for example, the most beautiful

1. Except where otherwise specified, pounds referred to throughout are English pounds sterling.

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pearl found in the 1929 season was sold to one of the four leading dealers for 1,500,000 francs, or about $75,000.[1] The industry at times has produced as much as $8,000,000 worth of pearls, to which should be added about $100,000 in revenue from mother-of-pearl shell which is highly valued in the Western world, though of less interest to Orientals. The real profits, however, begin with the Arab and Hindu dealers in Bombay, whence the pearls are shipped to the jewel markets east and west, at each exchange acquiring a greater value and thus ministering to human ostentation.

The Big Four among the pearl dealers were formerly the Houses of Rosenthal, Pack, Mohammad Ali and Bienenfeld, all of Paris,[2] but after the beginning of World War II the market moved to Bombay.

The banks that are fished most often are the shallow waters of the Arabian coast and those that lie between the twenty-fourth and twenty-seventh parallels north, and the fiftieth and fifty-fifth east. The most famous are situated between the islands of Sir Beni Yas and Shiltaye.

The pearl may be described as the result of a kind of "occupational disease" of the oyster, which in opening its shell to obtain food often takes in gritty particles which cause irritation. Nature provides a remedy in the form of a secretion that covers the offending particle with a smooth coat of nacre. Once started, the process continues indefinitely, each year adding to the size of the pearl which results. Many kinds of molluscs of both fresh and salt water varieties produce pearls of some kind, varying greatly in shape, size, color, and commercial value. The most prolific of the pearl producing oysters in the Gulf, the *Mahharahs*, grow to about two inches in diameter, and are collected when three years old. Large pearls are called "Unions"[3]

1. We are not far from the time of Pliny, when the price of Indian and Arabian pearls was second only to that paid for the *adamas*, or diamond.
2. It is reported that some Gulf pearls sold to Cartier were purchased by the Duchess of Windsor for $20,000, and a single pearl of the same origin was finally sold to Barbara Hutton for $15,000.
3. Cf.: If all the world were but one ring
   Ormuz should the union bring.

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000 because there is generally only one in a shell; small ones are called "Margaritae" from the Persian *Marvarid*.

The stones come in many colors and shades—white, yellow, gold, pink, azure, blue, green, gray, black—and unsual colors add greatly to the value. To avoid damage, care must be taken in handling the oyster after it is taken from the water. It must not be forced, but allowed to open of its own accord. If the oyster opens before the water has run out of the shell the pearl will be at its best; otherwise the stone is likely to be yellow in color and of less value.

Pearl fishing can be traced back to remote antiquity, though apparently there is no connection between the early pearl fishers and the mysterious tomb builders of the central island.[1] Jules Oppert, the German orientalist, claimed to have found references to pearl fishing in cuneiform tablets from Nineveh, but Megasthenes was perhaps the first classical author to write about it. References are also found in Ptolemy and in Pliny, who wrote: "Opposite Gerrha is the island of Tylos; it is famous for the great numbers of its pearls and has a town of the same name." There are later references in Masoudi, the ninth century Arab geographer, Rabbi Benjamin Tudela in the twelfth century, and Ibn Batuta in the fourteenth.

In more modern times Ludovico de Varthema, or Barthema, described the fishing methods used when he visited the islands in 1508 and stated that often as many as three hundred little boats could be seen in operation at one time. His description shows that there has been little change during the centuries that have passed.

When Jan van Linschoten, the Dutch traveler, visited the island in 1590, he found that there were often as many as 40,000 persons employed in fishing, useing methods like those recorded by Varthema in his diary.

"This fishing . . . is done in the Summer time, and there passeth not any yeare but that divers Fishers are drowned . . . and many devoured by fishes, so that when the fishing is done there is a great

1. See above, ANTIQUITIES.

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and pitiful noyse and cry of women and children heard. Yet the next yeare they must do the same work againe, for that they have no other means to live." 000

There are many reasons for the importance of the pearl trade, and as with other jewels, a wealth of legend and superstitution has grown up around this gem. On account of its mysterious origin and formation, men have always attributed a mystical value to it. In the Book of Revelation[1] the gates of the Heavenly Jerusalem are said to be of pearl, and in European religious tradition the pearl symbolized Jesus. The Church, therefore, from the earliest times, used the stones in enormous quantities and believers followed the example of their priests.

The Hindus bought pearls for quite different reasons. To them it was a symbol of purity, and all Hindus, however poor, had to pierce a pearl during the marriage ceremony.[2] After the ceremony the pearl which had been pierced was reduced to powder to be consumed during the honeymoon, or made into a love potion for later use. Since it was not the Hindus alone who regarded the pearl as an aphrodisiac, the medical "science" of the Middle Ages later provided a large market in Europe as well as in Asia. Even today stimulants are sold which are claimed to be the same mixture of powdered pearl as that given by Cleopatra to Caesar, with its happy result, Caesarion.

Women in the East also make use of the pearl in attempting to gain a husband, for there is a common belief that a maiden may rub her eyes with a pearl and thereafter by merely gazing at a man may make him her slave.

In addition to ceremonial uses, pearls have been used extensively in all lands and in all times to decorate clothing, in jewelry, and in objects of art. The Roman ladies "quite gloried," as Pliny put it, in having pearls "suspended from their fingers or two or three dangling from their ears." The affection of the patricians for pearls gave rise to the Roman saying that "a pearl

1. Rev. 21:21.
2. Cf. this verse by the Persian poet Sadi: "Thou whose hand trembleth, how shall thou pierce a pearl?" The trembling of the hand is, of course, a symbol for growing old.

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000 worn by a woman in public is as good as a lictor walking before her."[1] With or without lictors, however, no woman neglected to display her jewelry. Lollia Paulina, the wife of the Emperor Caligula, is said to have been wearing at an informal "betrothal" party emeralds and pearls valued at forty million sesterces. Pliny adds maliciously: indeed she was prepared at once to prove the fact, by showing the receipts and acquittances.

Later centuries saw the pearl trade expand, and at Bahrein as many as three thousand boats were used annually in pearl fishing, employing nearly half the population of the islands. Little by little the pearl lost its glamor, and with less demand has declined in value. At the end of the last century a very fine quality pearl the size of a pea could be purchased for around a pound sterling. Vanitas vanitatis.

228 If the market has fluctuated in London or Paris, nothing has changed in this "Sea of the Changeable Winds" since the time of the Assyrians, and the diver of the Persian Gulf today dives from the same kind of boat and in the same way his ancestors did many generations ago. The pearl fishing boats (*Mahaila*), product of local labor, have long been standardized. They range in size from one to fifty tons and carry a single sail and mast, though a few are equipped with a small motor which turns a toy-like propeller. The small boats keep near home but the larger ones sail about freely in the Gulf, often for weeks at a time, as long as their supply of water holds out. The crews vary from fifteen to twenty men.

The diver's traditional equipment consists of a basket to hold the oysters, a rope with a stone attached to carry him down and another to pull him up, a leather clothespin-like contrivance or a forked bone to close his nostrils, ear stoppers of beeswax, and leather sheaths to protect his fingers and big toes. The Persian merchants tried a few years ago to persuade the divers to adopt modern diving equipment, including helmets, but the protest was so great that the Sheik outlawed its use.

1. The honor of being preceded by a lictor was reserved to members of the imperial family.

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The diver puts his foot in a loop in his rope and goes down with the weight of the attached stone. When he has gathered as many oysters as he can, he gives a signal and the basket is pulled up. The stone follows, and last of all the diver, who by this time is not infrequently dead. 228

The average dive is about eight fathoms, and fifty seconds is the usual time under water, though it may be as long as three minutes. There are numerous accounts of much longer submersions, but it is impossible to fix the point where truth ends and romance begins in these tall tales. In any case, though the diver may come up more dead than alive, he is expected to make trips at five or six minute intervals, that is, diving fifty to sixty times in a single working day. Ten to twelve oysters is a good average for one dive.

It is little wonder that the divers are plagued by a multitude of occupational diseases. At the outset, suffocation is a constant danger. To protect their skin against rotting, the divers take the precaution of rubbing in an astringent called *Zift* (pine resin) every night before retiring. Every diver suffers from earache, and water pressure ruptures the eardrums of many of the men so that deafness is common. Water pressure also may break the blood vessels of the lungs, and the diver often comes from the water bleeding from the nose and ears. Sooner or later because of the pressure and salinity of the water many divers go blind. Bad teeth, rheumatism, and neuralgia are common, as well as the more serious acute bronchitis and heart trouble, to say nothing of the risk of being killed or maimed when attacked by dangerous fish. However, even divers who have lost an arm or a leg, or have been blinded, often continue to work. 229 164

It may not be out of place to recall here the beautiful verses of Matthew Arnold and to add "if the diver has a hut":

> *"And dear as the wet diver to the eyes*
> *Of his pale wife, who waits and weeps on shore,*
> *By sands of Bahrein, in the Persian Gulf;*
> *Plunging all day in the blue waves, at night,*
> *Having made up his tale of precious pearls,*
> *Rejoins her in their hut upon the shore."*

The economic status of the divers is as desperate as their physical hardships. Their houses are huts which they build for themselves of woven palm leaves. Wages are paid in advance through the ship owners and financed by merchants who take profits in advance of ten or twenty per cent, according to the season. In the best diving season—from June to September—the divers have little more than enough for the barest necessities; but in the winter months when cold weather and high winds seriously impede and eventually halt their work; in order to keep alive the men have to resort to borrowing at high rates of interest, and so never get out of debt. As a consequence, condemned to a difficult, unhealthy and probably short life, the pearl diver is an inveterate gambler.

Since the abolition of the ancient Tribunal of Salifah in 1926, the captain of the boats has been required by law to keep an account of expenses and of the advances made to the divers, the taxes on which are fixed. The divers do not receive set wages, but after expenses have been deducted and the captain has taken his share of twenty per cent, the remainder is divided among the crew. The diver (*gawās*) receives twice as much as the hauler (*sib*) since his work is more dangerous. The second in command of the boat receives three parts of the profits (i.e. an amount equal to that of one diver and one hauler). He is called the Thursday, from a Persian word, probably because he is in charge of the boat on Thursdays, the captain's day off.

A comparatively recent traveler in the Near East has stated that there are occasional strikes for higher pay, though not the kind to which we are accustomed. It is the Sheik who declares the strike—and pockets the proceeds.

The diving season starts the middle of April and ends the middle of October. It is divided into five periods, the first of which, the *Ghaws al Bard*, begins the middle of April and lasts about a month. Deep sea fishing is not attempted and the divers relieve each other every half hour or so on account of the cold. The workers' share of the profits for this period is divided equally among the divers and the haulers because the latter have to

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work harder than in the summer. Between the *Ghaws al Bard* and the great season, or *Ghaws al Kabir,* is the period called *Kanchi-yah,* which lasts about two weeks. Then the fishing season *par excellence,* the great *Khaws al Kabir,* begins at the end of June, after the season of the northwestern wind, and lasts until the middle of October. This period is inaugurated by a proclamation of the Sheik setting the dates of the opening and closing of the season. The two week period of *Raaba* follows and finally, with the coming of cold weather, the *Mujannah,* a period of indefinite length, when fishing is carried on mainly in the shallow coastal waters.

There are two methods commonly used to finance the diving. The best known is for the captain of the boat to borrow money from a merchant on shore in order to advance the men's wages and equip and provision the boat for the season. At the end of the season, after the pearls have been sold, the loan is repaid; the captain takes one-fifth of the profits, and the remainder is divided among the divers and haulers. Since the captain charges interest to the men on the money he has advanced, their pay is quite small and they are constantly in debt.

Another and more efficient system has little by little begun to replace the one just described. The shore merchant, as before, finances the expedition but charges no interest. In return, he has the right to purchase the pearls at 20% below the prevailing market rate and also to collect a share of the profits equal to that of five divers.

Bahrein has long had to compete with the pearl fisheries of Ceylon, but much more serious, at least until the outbreak of World War II, was the invasion of the market by the Japanese growers of cultured pearls. The cultured pearls can be told from "natural" ones only by means of delicate X-ray and specific gravity tests and differ essentially only in the way they are produced. The oysters are grown in beds and irritating objects are inserted in the shells to force the formation of the pearls. The contrast in method is essentially that between agriculture and random hunting for food in the forest.

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228 Because of the vastly more economical methods involved in the production of cultured pearls, the Japanese industry threatened to flood the market, and not only brought down the cost of the pearls but also dissipated some of the glamour which has been for so long associated with them. As a result of this competition the fisheries of Bahrein began to suffer and the income of the Sheik to decline. In turn, however, royalties from oil concessions in some measure supplemented his income.[1]

## FISHING

226 [262] Fishing is a major occupation of the Bahreinis and an important source of income. Cooked with dates, onions, and a small quantity of rice and barley, fish, fresh or salt, constitutes the national diet of Bahrein. Indeed, fish which have been dried in the sun form the staple food of the majority of the inhabitants of the Persian Gulf, not only of human beings but of dogs, horses, and camels. Besides the local use of fish, there is also a flourishing trade between the Gulf regions and Mauritius, India, and elsewhere in salt and dried fish, shark fins, fish scales, and fish oil.

The most important fish found in this region are:

Cuttlefish, or sepia octopus (*Tankah* or *Khatak*). Eaten in large quantities by the Arabs, who consider it a great delicacy. It is also the most popular bait for hook and line fishing.

Muraena (*Metut*). Known in Oman as *Kasha.* A small fish-like eel which, dried in the sun, is used as human food, feed for horses and cattle, and as fertilizer.

Porpoise (*Dukhs* or *Dughs*). The oil is used for commercial purposes.

Rock Cod (*Hamam*). Found in shallow waters.

Sardine (*'Oom*). Caught in enormous quantities and used both for food and fertilizer.

Scad, or horse mackerel. (*Sewah*). Salted in large quantities for both home consumption and export.

Seer fish (*Kan'ad*). The *Shirmahee,* or Indian Salmon.

1. See below, p. 45.

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Salted for export to Mauritius, India and elsewhere. Very abundant. 226

Shark (*Jurjur* or *Yuryur*). The dried flesh is known as Awal. Sharks are caught in large numbers and are very profitable. The dried fins and tails are exported to Bombay for reexport to China, and the flesh is used as fertilizer. It is eaten by the Arabs, who believe it to have aphrodisiacal properties; the Shiites do not eat it.

Shrimp (*Rubian*). Caught usually in March, April, and May. They are eaten either salted and dried in the sun, or steam-boiled.

Skate and Ray (*Tabak*). Very plentiful. Both fish are eaten by the Sunnites, who believe them to be aphrodisiacs; the Shiites do not eat either of them.

Turtle (*Hamas Gheylam*). The most common species is the Hawksbill. Another, the Carapra, is exported as tortoise shell. The flesh and the eggs are eaten by the Sunnites.

White Pomfret (*Zobeydre*). A plentiful fish, which makes excellent eating.

Barracuda (*Kut*), tunny (*Ghobart*) and ground shark (*Sus*) are also abundant.

The most important fishing seasons are from February to June, and from the end of August to November; during the great pearl diving and date producing seasons, fishing occupies a less important place. Nets, stakes, baskets, hook and line, and spears or harpoons are all used by the Bahreini fishermen, and instead of live bait, a peculiar kind of weed is used. A brief description of each technique follows.

The *net.* Various types and sizes are used. Some are stationary and are gathered in when the tide is out; others are taken out in boats and dragged along, scooping up whatever fish come along. One of the most popular type is the *saliyah,* a circular net weighted with lead, which is cast from the fisherman's shoulders in shallow water, then drawn up by means of a string attached to the center.

The *stake,* or *hadrah,* is a trap constructed usually of palm

226 branches tied together with a string. It is fixed upright by means of ropes and stones and is set out near the shore or on banks which are dry at low tide, with the opening facing landward. At low tide the fish left stranded in the trap are collected.

The *basket,* or *gargur,* is usually constructed of palm branches, split bamboos, or twigs, with funnel shaped holes opening inward in such a way that the fish, once in, cannot get out again. The basket is weighted with stones, and five or six are placed near together in deep water, connected by a stout rope, the last basket with a rope and buoy attached. They are left for two or three days before they are pulled up and the fish removed.

## TRANSIT SHIPMENTS

439 Bahrein is an important center of distribution for the commerce of Nejd and Qatif, and a trading place for merchandise from Persia and India. In fact, the islands re-export a third of all imported merchandise, including rice, cotton, sugar, coffee, cattle for slaughter, and pearls from other parts of the Gulf. Trade is carried on principally with India, the Arabian coast, Persia, and Iraq. In 1928 the total value of transit shipments exceeded £3,000,000.

651 439 The customs is an important source of income, and the customs office is controlled by a British Director of Customs. General merchandise, in accordance with the provisions of the Convention of 1861, is subject to a 5% ad valorem tariff and luxury items are taxed 10%. Included in the category of luxuries are: carpets, bicycles, clocks, watches, electrical appliances, motor cars, tires and tubes, typewriters, and perfumes. Alcohol, tobacco, and cigarettes are taxed 15%.

There is no general tariff on exports with the exception of hides and dates, on which the duty is ten rupees per bundle of hides and two rupees per basket of dates. A duty of 2% is charged on all goods re-exported to Saudi Arabia, and 1¾% on those re-exported to other countries on the mainland.

439 Principal imports besides agricultural products are: broadcloth, cotton, woolen and silk goods, and wood, which is used

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in the making of boats, houses, and other construction. A special permit is required to import arms and ammunition; alcoholic liquor is restricted, and cultured pearls forbidden. 439 [656]

The following table shows comparative figures on Bahrein imports and exports from 1941 to 1947. Figures are in rupees.

Table 6. **IMPORTS**

| Product | 1946-47 | 1944-45 | 1943-44 | 1941-42 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rice | 35,82,420 | 13,45,370 | 9,67,870 | 32,48,800 |
| Wheat | 51,96,490 | 45,40,270 | 62,38,560 | 96,410 |
| Wheat flour | 41,960 | 8,22,380 | 17,88,220 | 7,67,420 |
| Coffee | 18,49,240 | 6,63,900 | 11,51,820 | 3,61,630 |
| Dates | 10,78,740 | 10,24,820 | 19,64,820 | 2,17,420 |
| Sugar | 9,48,580 | 15,14,500 | 11,28,170 | 7,74,190 |
| Spices | —— | —— | 7,05,050 | —— |
| Tea | 13,54,330 | 26,11,210 | —— | 5,50,260 |
| Cotton piece goods | 32,31,060 | 48,00,250 | 35,20,260 | —— |
| Silk piece goods | —— | —— | 18,350 | 20,70,680 |
| Cement | —— | —— | 34,280 | 90,100 |
| Other building materials | —— | —— | 670 | 1,09,110 |
| Woolen piece goods | 9,13,440 | 1,21,000 | —— | —— |
| Cigarettes | 13,80,680 | —— | —— | —— |
| **EXPORTS** | | | | |
| Pearls | 6,76,290 | 7,37,890 | 4,79,720 | 2,53,510 |
| Sugar | 9,31,020 | 11,89,710 | 20,20,440 | 5,58,410 |
| Tea | 13,10,890 | 14,73,500 | 2,16,080 | 3,58,100 |
| Wheat flour | —— | 5,34,930 | 14,21,810 | 4,21,700 |
| Cotton piece goods | 9,10,970 | 32,69,390 | 24,94,070 | 23,19,420 |
| Rice | 3,74,440 | 3,01,960 | 1,07,710 | 22,81,880 |
| Wheat | 22,76,390 | 25,00,860 | 29,97,480 | 59,130 |
| Silk piece goods | —— | —— | 7,650 | —— |
| Coffee | —— | —— | —— | 1,01,550 |

## BAHREIN-U. S. TRADE

In 1931 the United States ranked fifth among countries importing goods from Bahrein but in 1933 she began to play an important role in Bahrein trade. The chief factor in bringing this about was the holdings in Bahrein oil by American interests through the Bahrein Petroleum Company.

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439 In 1944 U. S. imports from Bahrein amounted to $30,859, most of which was classified in Group 9 (Miscellaneous) by the Department of Commerce. Of the total imports the New York Customs District received $27,551, or almost 90%. The total of the exports to Bahrein from the United States in the same year was $12,369,647, of which lend-lease materials accounted for $293,786.

The following table shows the principal articles which Bahrein imported from the United States for the year 1944.

Table 7. IMPORTS FROM UNITED STATES—1944

| Item | Value (in U.S. Dollars) |
|---|---|
| Animals and Animal products | 323,846 |
| Vegetables and Vegetable beverages | 320,318 |
| Vegetable products (except Wood and Fibers) | 155,188 |
| Textile fibers and manufactures | 104,808 |
| Non-metallic minerals | 545,221 |
| Metals and manufactures (except Machinery) | 3,823,521 |
| Machinery and Vehicles (Electric pumps, Engines) | 5,434,105 |
| Chemicals and Related products | 1,023,226 |
| Miscellaneous | 188,129 |

## OIL

471 The oil concession on Bahrein Island is held by the Bahrein Petroleum Company, which is Canadian registered but owned by American companies, 50% by Standard Oil of California and 50% by The Texas Company.[1]

3815 After a geological survey the company began drilling in 1931 in the Jabal Dukhān region, and oil was discovered in June 1932 at a depth of 2,009 feet.

382 By 1935 there were sixteen producing wells and six more drilling. At that time more than 10,000 acres had been proved oil bearing and potential production was estimated at 20,000

1. For a detailed account of the history of oil development in the Persian Gulf, see History, p. 103.

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barrels a day. At present there are sixty-seven producing wells each with an average output of 432 barrels a day.[1] Previously, in February 1932, the company had started the construction of a marine loading terminal with three miles (19,000 feet) of twelve inch pipeline leading from the small island of Sitra out into the harbor.

On the same island, construction was also begun on three crude-oil working tanks with floating roofs, with a capacity of 250,000 barrels, and on 7,500 barrel tanks for ships ballast water. At present, thirteen oil lines varying in size from six to eighteen inches connect the shipping tank farm on Sitra Island to a deep-water pier. Recently a new four-berth wharf situated in six to seven fathoms of water was added to the original two-berth island wharf and connected to the shore by a two-way-lane causeway and trestle. Using both wharfs, six tankers can be accommodated at one time, with a possible loading rate of about 5,000 barrels per hour.

In November 1934 Standard Oil announced the erection of a refinery to the terminal requiring a fill, or trestle, 1200 feet long. A drawbridge was built across the channel between Sitra and Bahrein, and the refinery went into operation in July 1935.

The yearly production of crude oil increased from 902 barrels in 1932 to 1,264,807 in 1935, more than 7,309,135 in 1945 and 8,009,925 in 1946.[2] Production of crude oil for 1947 amounted to 9,410,710 barrels, an all time high, bringing the cumulative total of oil produced through 1947 to 87,965,025 barrels. The 1949 production amounted to 10,985,484 barrels.[3]

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1. Compare with 440,000 oil wells in the United States averaging 11.5 barrels a day each.

2. Oil production of Near Eastern countries (in thousands of barrels), according to the *World Oil Atlas*, June 1947, was as follows:

| Country | 1944 | 1945 | 1946 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bahrein | 7,000 | 7,308 | 8,009 |
| Saudi Arabia | 9,000 | 21,310 | 60,340 |
| Iran | 102,000 | 127,407 | 144,890 |
| Iraq | 29,000 | 31,349 | 32,777 |
| U. S. production | 1,678,000 | 1,712,000 | 1,732,000 |

3. One barrel = 42 U. S. gallons.

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382 The Bahrein refinery had been conducted for several years in a balanced crude oil distillation, thermal cracking and refinery operation. Because of the strategic location of the fields, the Petroleum Administration for War recommended in 1942 the erection of a 5800 barrel aviation gasoline plant on Bahrein. In April 1943, the American-British Petroleum Board approved an expansion program which included the building of a new crude distillation unit to raise the total crude intake capacity of the refinery by 33,500 barrels a day. The building of a reformer and additional tankage were authorized in December 1943, to provide an additional 700 barrels a day of aviation gasoline and increased production of 80-octane gasoline, Navy Diesel oil, and Navy Special fuel oil.

Building of a 100-octane refinery started early in 1944. The new crude oil unit went into operation in November of the same year, and the alkylation unit and catalytic cracking plant in March and April of 1945 respectively. A construction force of 750 Americans and 4,000 Bahreinis was engaged on the project for a period of eighteen months. Bechtel-McCone of San Francisco were engaged to design a substantial portion of the equipment; Universal Oil Products Company of Chicago designed the fluid-type catalytic cracker and reformer, and Chemical Construction, the acid manufacturing and acid recovery plants. The final cost of the project, originally estimated at $18,430,000, amounted by June 1945 to over $27,650,000; it was financed by the RFC through its Defense Supplies Corporation.

The output of the plant consists at present of 100-octane gas, 67 to 80-octane motor fuels, illuminating kerosene, power kerosene, Diesel oils, and fuel oils. By the end of 1947 the refinery was processing crude oil at the rate of 145,000 barrels per calendar day, double the rate of 1945.

Since the crude oil production of Bahrein is about 30,000 barrels a day,[1] the refinery receives the rest, some 120,000

1. Daily average production for December 1949 was 30,310 bbls. against 29,986 bbls. in December 1948.

barrels, from Saudi Arabian oil fields through a twelve inch, thirty-four mile pipeline. The pipeline, which was completed March 2, 1945, is under water for almost two-thirds of its length, (23.6 miles), making it the world's longest commercial submarine pipeline. During 1947 an additional twelve inch pipeline was hooked up to the portion on land bringing the total capacity to 126,000 barrels per day. To provide more flexible operations, a new 55,000 BPCD atmospheric crude unit is scheduled to be completed in the fall of 1950. However, an increase in throughout capacity (56,059,700 in 1949) is not anticipated.

At the end of 1947 the oil company employed 6,078 persons in the islands. The Bahreinis numbered 4,650, or 76.5% of the total. The rest were 11.6% British; 10.5% British subjects, Indians and Iraquis; and the remaining 1.4% Americans, Canadians, South Africans, and Europeans. Of the last, half were Italians.

The oil company pays to the Bahrein government a royalty of 3 rupees 8 annas plus 1 shilling per long ton. There is no taxation. The revenue which was to be returned to Bahrein from oil concessions amounted in 1945 to more than 26 lakh of rupees, or approximately $780,000, almost half of the total revenues of the Sheikdom.[1] For the year 1949, the amount of "oil royalties" was evaluated at $1,200,000. One-third of the royalties go to the Sheik and his family and the remaining two-thirds, to a fund held in London in the name of the Government of Bahrein.

In 1945 the Bahrein Petroleum Company estimated that its consolidated net profit for the year, after taxes and all other costs, would come to approximately $10,500,000. No dividends were declared during the year, earnings being applied to further expansion of operations. Profits in 1946 were estimated at $23,000,000. This was on a total investment of probably not more than 65 million U. S. dollars.

1. The total revenue of Bahrein amounted in 1944 to Rs. 55,90,000.

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## WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

804 The unit of measure employed in Bahrein is the *Dhrā*, equivalent to a cubit, or 19 inches. 4 Dhrā=1 ba', or fathom (6 feet, 4 inches).

The chief weights are:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Habba | | | 1 grain, Brit., U.S. |
| Mithqual | = 70 Hal | | 70 grain, Brit., U.S. |
| Bar | = 10 Mithqual | | 700 grain, Brit., U.S. |
| Ruba | = 40 Bar | | 4 lbs. avoirdupois |
| Man | = 14 Ruba | | 56 lbs. " |
| Rufa | = 10 Man | | 560 lbs. " |

Before the adoption of the new standard the Mithqual had a weight of 72 grains, corresponding in the Persian scale of weights to 24 *Nokhods* of 4 grains each (1 Persian grain = 0.75 Brit., U.S. gr.). Correspondingly, the Ruba was equivalent to 4.114 lbs. However, if the weights have "shrunken" in the operation, the Bahreinis have had the consolation of seeing their Dhrā grow a quarter inch.

In the pearl trade two units of weight are used, one real and the other nominal. By the former they are weighed, and by the latter they are sold. The real weight is the Mithqual, as shown in the table, corresponding to 70 U. S. grains. The nominal weight is the *Chow*, corresponding to 0.212 U.S. grains. The table of equivalents is as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 Mithqual | = 330 Chow | |
| 1 Chow | = 4 Quarters | = 100 Ducra |
| 1 Quarter | = 25 Ducra | |

The general rule for reducing the real to the nominal weight is as follows: Multiply the square of the number of Mithquals by 330 and divide the number of pearls, the quotient being the number of Chows.

If $M$ represents the number of Mithquals, and $n$ the number of pearls, the formula

$$\frac{330M^2}{n}$$

gives the number of Chows.

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804 The Chow is also used as the nominal weight in Bombay by the pearl traders, but the Bombay Chow weighs only one-fourth the Bahrein.

## CURRENCY

436 Indian money is the national currency. The rupee, a silver coin about the size of a United States half-dollar, is the basic unit and is worth about thirty cents, its sterling equivalent being ls. 6d. The rupee is divided into 16 *annas* (sing., *anna*).

Other silver coins are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Half rupee | = 8 annas |
| Quarter rupee | = 4 annas |
| Eighth rupee | = 2 annas |
| Pice | = ¼ anna |
| ½ Pice | = ⅛ anna |

Copper coins less than one anna in value are also in circulation. There are 12 pies to an anna, or 192 pies to a rupee.

Indian paper currency is also in general use.[1] Besides the rupee the Persian *rial*[2]; (about $0.29), the Saudi Arabian *riyal*,[3] the Maria Theresa Thaler, (about $.45), and the Turkish pound, or *lira*; (about $3.60), are also in limited use.

## STAMPS

205 Up to 1947, the stamps of Bahrein were the old stamps of British India, with the word "Bahrain" over-printed across in black ink.[4] However, since the division of Indian colony into Dominions of India and Pakistan, the stamps used in Bahrein are those of United Kingdom with the word "BAHRAIN" and values in rupees over-printed in black ink. The Sheikdom has [648] adhered to the International Postal Union and its membership in that organization is the only international agreement signed by Bahrein.

1. One hundred thousand rupees is called a *lakh*, and is written Rs. 1,00,000.
2. The Persian rial is fixed by the law of 1932 at a value of 0.07322382 grammes of gold.
3. The Saudi Arabian riyal was declared in 1940 to be equivalent to the Indian rupee.
4. The British and American differ in spelling the name of the island. Throughout the book we have followed the American use.

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STAMPS OF BAHREIN

[facing page 47]

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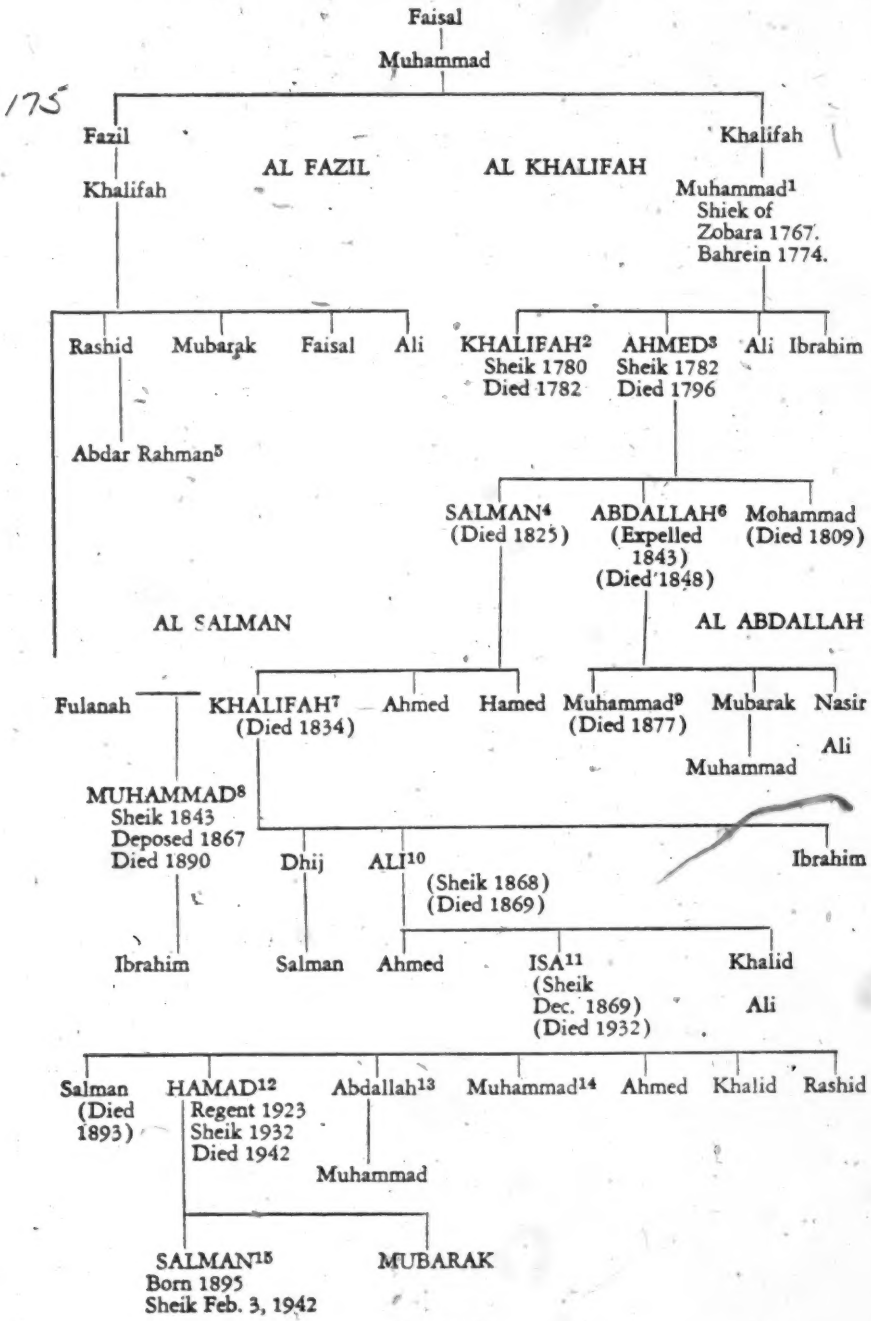
# GENEALOGY OF THE SHEIKS OF BAHREIN



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## LEGEND

1. Moved from Koweit to Zobara and became Sheik about 1767. Ruled Bahrein for the Governor of Bushir, 1774. Died at Makka 1782. / 75
2. Sheik of Zobara, 1789.
3. Sheik, 1782. He is called the "Conqueror."
4. Ruled jointly with his brother Abdallah.
5. Chased the Wahhabi from Bahrein with the help of Persian recruits, the expedition being financed by the Iman of Mascat (1810).
6. Ruled jointly with his brother Salman, then with his nephew Khalifah and his son Muhammad. He chased the latter from Bahrein in 1842 and ruled alone for 9 months. Expelled from Bahrein by Muhammad in 1843, he died at Mascat in 1846.
7. Ruled jointly with his uncle Abdallah.
8. His mother was the sister of Mubarak ibn Khalifah. Chased from Bahrein in 1842, reestablished himself Sheik in 1843. Deposed by the British in 1867, he returned to Bahrein after the defeat of his brother in 1869, where he ruled for three months. After the British intervention he was exiled first to Bombay, then to Makka where he died in 1890.
9. He continued his father's war against Bahrein. In 1859 he was declared a public enemy and expelled from Damman by a British force. In 1869 he declared himself for Muhammad ibn Khalifah, then put him in jail and declared himself Sheik. Deported by the British shortly afterwards, he died at Chunar in 1877.
10. Became Sheik after the flight of his brother from Bahrein. Treated with the English who recognized him as Sheik. He was defeated and killed in the war with Muhammad in 1869.
11. He was declared Sheik by the British at the age of 21 in 1869. His mother was the daughter of Isa ibn Tarif, Sheik of Kish and of the Al Ibn Ali tribe. Isa was "persuaded" in 1923 to relegate his power to his son Hamad.
12. First as his father's Lieutenant 1923, then as Sheik after the death of his father in 1932. He died of a heart attack in 1942.
13. On February 1, 1915, he was decorated by the Viceroy of India at Koweit and received the Cross of the Order of the Indian Empire.
14. Visited the United States in 1939 and was the guest of President Roose[illegible] at Hyde Park.
15. Present Sheik was born in 1895. He became Sheik on February 3, [illegible]

[pp. 50 and 51 contain no textual material]

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## ANCIENT HISTORY

175 According to Arab tradition the inhabitants of Bahrein belong to the tribe of Thamud, who, driven out of Yemen at the beginning of the second millenium B.C., crossed the desert and settled in the islands.

Recent archaeological discoveries, however, show that in the second or third millenium Bahrein was already inhabited by a people of tall stature with mesocephalic heads. In Babylonian inscriptions we find the island of Tilmun, or Dilmun, mentioned, along with the corresponding Sumerian term *Nituk-Ki* ("The Place of Taking Oil"). Records show that Sumerian ships visited the island from earliest times, buying dates, bronze, spices, wood, etc., and place the island in the middle of the Lower Sea, or Persian Gulf. That the island of Tilmun, or Dilmun, is probably identical with the island of Bahrein has been demonstrated by a number of orientalists.

We know that Tilmun was the capital of an important empire ruled by a king called Uperi, who had extended his authority throughout the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf. The annals of Sargon II (722-705 B.C.) tell us that Uperi, King of Dilmun, "who has his abode in the midst of the sea like a fish . . . brought his gifts"—meaning that he recognized himself vassal of the Assyrian King. This submission does not seem to have lasted long, for Bahrein soon became independent, or perhaps recognized the authority of Babylonia—the records are not clear. The terrible destruction of Babylon in 689 B.C., "the dust of which reached Tilmun" (being sent by Sennacherib as a "reminder") filled the islanders with such terror that they hurried to send tribute and submit themselves again to the Assyrians. Since that time Bahrein has followed the political destiny of Mesopotamia and Iran. In 538 Babylon fell into the hands of Cyrus the Great, and Persia became the paramount power in this part of the ancient world.

With the rise of the Persian Empire and the extension of its maritime commerce, Bahrein, because of her strategic position, became a Persian naval base. The far-ranging Persian vessels,

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making for the ports of India and the Red Sea, used to take on fresh water from the springs of the island. With the fall of her empire, however, Persia's maritime power disappeared and the inhabitants of the Gulf were left to themselves.

The wealth of the Gulf Regions, acquired through a flourishing commerce, attracted the Arab tribes of Yemen, who were searching for *Lebensraum* to the north. The great Persian historian, Tabari, places the earliest arrival of these tribes in Iraq near the time of the last Parthian Kings of Persia, that is, toward the beginning of the third century A.D. They came from the regions around the Red Sea—from Hejaz and Yamama,[1] the capital and most important city of which was Hajar—and from the province of Bahrein at the border of Iraq.

The Arabs were stopped temporarily in their northward march by the Parthians. However, the might of the Persian kings began to decline following their incessant wars with Rome and a period of internal trouble, and the Arabs once more moved northward and established themselves in Iraq, where they founded the little kingdom of Hira.

Al Isfahani, the chief authority on Arab folklore, tells the story in the following way:

> The emigrants from Yemen, with Malik, his brother Amr and their nephew Zuhair at their head, invaded Bahrein, which they took from the Nabataeans, who then ruled it.
>
> Before the invasion, however, they consulted the famous sibyl Kahina (or Zirka), the sister of Malik. The woman prophesied: "This place will be for you a *tannukh* (station) until there comes a raven with rings on its feet. It will sit on a palm tree and fly off croaking. Follow it." The people therefore took the name of *Tannukhites*. Little by little, other emigrants joined them. After they had sojourned several years in Bahrein there appeared a raven with rings on its feet which sat on a palm tree, then flew off croaking *Hira, Hira*. The Tannukhites, remembering the prophetess, set out after the bird, which led them toward Iraq. On the way to the conquest of new lands Malik founded the city of Hira, which later became the seat of an important Arab principality, tributary to the Persian Empire.

1. According to the Arab geographer, Yakut, this province was formerly called Jawa. During the Middle Ages a town of that name existed on the mainland and the little village of Jau on Bahrein Island still bears the name.

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175 From Tabari we learn that at the time of the founding of the Sassanian dynasty (early third century) the King of Bahrein, called Satirun, had entrenched himself in a fortress. Following his conquest of the countries around Fars (the province of Persia proper), Ardashir sent an army into Bahrein and after a year's siege took the fortress, seized its treasure, and returned with it to Persia. The Crown Prince, the future Shapur I, was given the regency over the reconquered territories. Following this conquest, the Persians founded the city of Batn Ardashir (Bīt Ardashir) on the coast of Khatt opposite the island of Bahrein, and constructed canals for the city.

In the early part of the fourth century, during the minority of Shapur II (309-325), Arab tribes from Bahrein, which at this time comprised Hasa and Qatif, and Yamama, raided Persian territories and sacked the Port of Rām Ardashir (Rishahr), near the present-day Bushir. The Persian army, under the command of Shapur, attacked and massacred the Arabs in large numbers. Some of the survivors took refuge in Mesopotamia, while those from Bahrein retired to their own country. Wishing to get hold of the Bahreins, Shapur embarked with his army, landed at Qatif and put them to the sword in great numbers. He seized Hajar, exterminated the greater part of the tribe of Abd al Kais, wreaked a terrible vengeance on the Bajila Khatham, and fell upon the Tamim. He ordered his men to pierce the shoulders of the captives, tie them together with ropes, and bring them to him. This treatment earned for Shapur the nickname in Arabic of Dhu'l Aktāf, or Lord of the Shoulders.[1] Bahrein again became a dependency of Fars and later was annexed to the dominion of the Kings of Hira who ruled these regions as vassals of the Persian emperors. Once again, the island of Bahrein followed the fate of the Arab mainland, and it is interesting to note that the famous Arab poet, Tarfa, who came originally from Awal (the ancient name of Bahrein Island), was put to death about 560 by the Governor of the island on orders from the King of Hira.

1. According to Hamzah of Isfahan, the Persians gave him the title of Hūya Sunbā from huyā (*shoulders*) and sūnba (perforated).

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Soon thereafter, the failure of the collectivist experiment (Mazdakism) in Persia created a strong tendency to a more centralized form of administration, and the Persians took a direct hand in the affairs of the Gulf. They reorganized their fleet, garrisoned several places along the coast of Arabia, including a number of the cities of Oman, Yemen, and Ethiopia, and reoccupied the positions they had formerly lost or abandoned. Under the guidane of Cosroes the Just, who was a great lover of the sea,[1] the Persians undertook successfully the exploration and discovery of the African coast and the island of Madagascar. The province of Bahrein, with its capital at Hajar, became the newly created Satrapy of Mazun and was governed by an Ispahbad (Marshal) of the Empire. Bahrein Island, the capital of which was then at Shirin, or Darin, became an important naval base and a port of call for the Persian ships which (probably making use of the compass), were trading with Ceylon and the Orient, or the eastern coasts of Africa.

This situation lasted until the rise of Islam in 622 A. D.

## ISLAM

The year 8 of the Hijra (630 A. D.) is recorded in the annals of Islam as the Year of Deputation, for it was at this time that Mohammad sent representatives to various sovereigns of the ancient world to invite them to become Moslems. Among those who answered the Prophet's appeal was Jarud, the chief of the powerful Christian tribe of 'Abdal Kais, who visited Medina, accepted Islam, and was sent to Bahrein to carry the Prophet's message.

At this time, the civil administration of Bahrein was in the hands of local chiefs and princes who paid tribute, and the Persian viceroy had charge of military affairs only. Jarud, accompanied by Ala, the envoy of the Prophet, succeeded in converting to the Moslem faith the Satrap of the province, and

1. Procopius tells us that in the year 540 A.D., when the King reached Saleucia on the Mediterranean coast, "he bathed himself alone in the sea water."

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175 a number of Persians, as well as several tribal chiefs, notably the Prince of Hajar. However, much of that prosperous community, composed mostly of Jews, Christians, and Hindus, refused to be converted and agreed instead to pay tribute, which was fixed at one dinar per capita.

The newly made Moslems submitted to the payment of the *dime* and undertook their new religious duties. These, however, were apparently difficult to conform to and perhaps were stricter than the people had anticipated, for less than two years later, upon learning of the death of the Prophet, most of the Arabs who had adopted Islam renounced it and apostasized. In order to cut all political ties with Medina, they elected as their king a descendant of the Kings of Hira, whose surname was *Al-Ghurur* ("Conceited").[1]

The majority of inhabitants, the Zutts, Hindu halfbreeds with Negro and aboriginal mestizo mixture, joined the insurgents and seized Hajar, the capital. The position of the tribes which had remained faithful was becoming untenable. Then Alā, at the head of troops sent by the Caliph, invaded the province and, after a bitter struggle, succeeded in putting down the rebellion and pacifying the country. The young king, who actually had played a puppet rôle, was taken prisoner. He saved his life by adopting Islam, but lost his throne and also his nickname, for he was known thereafter as *Al-Maghrur* ("the Dupe").

Except for having to pay tribute, Bahrein seems to have suffered little in the war. The tribute which was levied is said to have been the enormous sum of 500,00 dirhams. To enable the Caliph to comprehend the size of this amount, we are told that it was described to him as "one hundred thousand, five times." The possession of Bahrein was of the greatest value to the Arabs, and the armies of the Caliph used the island as a springboard in their invasion of the southern provinces of Persia.

Following the assassination of the third Caliph and the coming to power of the Omayyads, a large party of rebel Khawārij found refuge in Oman and Bahrein, preparing the

1. The arabic root *Ghurr* also means "to deceive."

way for the Karmats. Under the Omayyads, Bahrein was 175
separated from the province of Iraq and was governed from Basra. In spite of their very severe administration, the Omayyads seem to have had many partisans in the province who stood by them at the change of dynasties.

In 750 Abul Abbas ("The Shedder of Blood"), founder of the dynasty of the Abbasides, entrusted the government of Basra, together with its dependencies of Bahrein and Oman, to his uncle, Suleiman, to whom he gave the task of driving out the refugee Omayyads. Bahrein was reconquered and again paid tribute. In the year 160 of Hijra (782 A. D.), the government of Fars, Ahwaz, Bahrein and Oman was given to Muhammad, son of Suleiman. Seven years later these same regions were under the governorship of the famous Yahya, the Persian, vizier of the Caliph Mahdi and the tutor of Harun ar-Rashid. The government was held by the family of Yahya until their disgrace in 798, when the Caliph decided upon a stronger personal rule and the hegemony of the purely Arab element. However, the authority of the Caliphs of Bagdad was never consolidated, and Arab chauvinism hastened the disintegration of the Empire. By the end of the ninth century they had lost even their control over the Arabian Peninsula, and Bahrein became the dominion of the representatives of the Shiite sect, the Karmats, whose rise to power began at this time.

In 899 the Karmats seized Hasa, bordering the Persian Gulf, and a short time later, Hajar, which they renamed al Mu'minya ("The City of the Faithful"). They initiated customs at Bahrein and forced all vessels that traded in the Gulf to go there to pay the *dime*.

In 930 the Karmatian chief, Abu Tahir, in an audacious raid pillaged and profaned the holy city of Mecca and took with him to Bahrein the famous Black Stone, which according to tradition was brought to Abraham by the angel Gabriel. The stone remained in Bahrein for twenty-two years until in 951, in return for a large ransom, it was restored to its rightful place at Mecca.

To enforce their customs regulations, the Karmats raided

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175 and destroyed a number of the cities of the Persian littoral. These expeditions provoked a war with the Bowid dynasty of Persia, whose army was able to occupy Oman and a great part of the southern coast of the Persian Gulf and drive the Karmats out. But the latter, though terribly weakened, succeeded, despite Persian efforts, in maintaining themselves at Hasa. When the Moslem traveler, Nasir Khosrow, visited the Gulf in 1050, Hasa and the island of Bahrein belonged to six Karmatian chiefs, who ruled it jointly with their six advisory ministers. The capital of Bahrein was even then an important city. Date plantations flourished and pearls were fished, half of the pearls found going to the chiefs.

Serious trouble resulting in the fall of the Karmats began on the island of Bahrein shortly after the visit of Nasir Khosrow. The Bahreinis refused to pay additional taxes demanded by the Karmats, and revolted. Their leader, Abul Bahlul, defeated the Karmat forces and declared himself Emir of the country. He did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory, however, for in 1076 the island became a tributary of Yahya, a chief of Qatif on the mainland of Arabia.

It was at this time that the expeditions of the Seljoucids took place, resulting in the complete annihilation of the Karmats. The disappearance of Karmat power left the chiefs of the little tribe of the Uyunis[1] as masters of Hasa. Abdallah, the founder of this dynasty, conquered Bahrein in 1081 and his heirs assumed the powers of the family of Yahya.

These new conquerors, like their forerunners, did not long remain in power, for they were forced to recognize the sovereignty of the rulers of Kish, who policed the Gulf in the name of the Caliph.

The little island of Kish (or Qais) had belonged since the twelfth century to a local dynasty of merchant origin, the Beni Kaisar, who had extended their influence over the coast of the Persian Gulf, and whose fleet controlled the trade with

103 1. The Uyunis took their name from the district of Uyun, in the north of Hasa. *Uyun*, which means "the springs," is so called because of the large number of springs (nearly four hundred) that water its date plantations and fields.

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India. The Beni Kaisar paid half their income to the Caliph of Bagdad, who maintained a fiscal agent at Kish. 175

Idrisi, who wrote in the first half of the twelfth century, tells us that although Bahrein was governed by an independent chief, the Governor of Kish was "entitled" to collect taxes on the pearl fishing in the island. He speaks of the capital city as well populated, with fertile outlying regions producing abundant grain and dates. There was also a flourishing trade in guano, which was both exported to Mesopotamia and used as a fertilizer for the palm groves.

By now, the Persian Gulf, which was the natural passage for the transport of goods from India and the Far East, had become the principal artery of traffic between the merchant cities of Europe and Asia.

If the size of the Jewish population of a city is an indication of its commercial importance—as it invariably was in the Middle Ages—then the ports of the Persian Gulf must have been extremely prosperous. The Jewish merchant, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, Spain, who visited the Gulf about 1171, estimated the Jewish population of the city of Qatif alone at 5,000. The majority of the Jews were traders, and the greater part of their commerce was in pearls, fished in and near the island of Bahrein. Sixty years later Ibn Mujavir speaks of Bahrein as an important commercial center. At that time the island included more than three hundred sixty villages, inhabited by "fanatical Shiites."

It was about this time that the dynasty of Kish fell. Briefly, the events attending its fall were these:

The tribute of Kish was sent to the treasury of Fars and the authority of the sovereign of Kish came from the Sulgharids who ruled that Persian province. With the ascendance to the throne of Abu Bakr Kutluk in 1226, the sovereign of Kish refused to pay tribute, or to renew his submission to the throne. Abu Bakr, having no fleet, allied himself with the King of Hormuz, another little merchant kingdom of the Gulf and a commercial rival of Kish, in the hope of reducing the rebellious kingdom.

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175 In return for his aid, the King of Hormuz was promised sovereignty over Kish and its dependencies, notably Bahrein, on condition that he pay to Abu Bakr two-thirds of the revenues of those territories. Hormuz agreed, and placed its fleet at the disposal of Abu Bakr.

In the naval engagement which took place, Malik Sultan, the ruler of Kish, was killed (May 9, 1229) and the island fell into the hands of the King of Hormuz. Thus the latter was able to avenge the terrible fate that had befallen Hormuz when Malik Dinār, with the help of the rulers of Kish, had pillaged the coast of the Gulf in the year 1190.

Once in possession of the island, the King of Hormuz refused to carry out his agreement to pay two-thirds of his revenues to Abu Bakr. The latter was able to use the fleet of Kish which had just returned from India, and recaptured the island in 1236. The same year Bahrein Island was taken and annexed to the Province of Fars. Seven years later he extended his rule to the peninsula of Qatif and annexed the neighboring regions to his dominion. The local sheiks recognized themselves vassals of Abu Bakr and promised to live in peace with one another. In return they received an annual subsidy of 12,000 gold Dinārs paid to them by the treasury of Fars. After these victories, Atabak added to his already pompous titles of "Heir to the Kingdom of Salomon, the Justice of the World, the Glory of the Faith and the Earth," the words, "Sultan of the Land and the Sea."

After the death of Abu Bakr (1261), his kingdom fell prey to disorders, and the Mongol Emperors of Persia decided to participate more directly in the administration of the province of Fars, and the province soon lost its special political status. Beginning in 1290, the Mongols "farmed out" the government of Kish and its dependencies to the brothers Tībi, in return for a fixed annual revenue of 70,00 gold dinārs and 200 *man*[1] of the pearls fished on the island. The prosperity of the commerce of the Gulf at this time was so great, that in the six year period

1. A man weighs between five and six pounds (avoirdupois).

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from 1291 to 1297, revenues from the region are said to have been more than ten million gold dinārs and 1,500 man of pearls. 175

This state of affairs lasted until 1320, when Izzed-Din Tibi was executed by order of the Mongol Emperor, Abu Sa'id, and the power of the family curtailed. For fifteen years Bahrein and the other ports of the Persian Gulf were farmed out or paid direct tribute to the Treasury of Fars. On the night of December 1, 1335, the Emperor Abu Sa'id was poisoned by his vengeful Queen—he had paid too much attention to her rival—and the assassination was the signal for a general disintegration of the Mongol Empire. The King of Hormuz, Qutb ed-Din Tahmtan, invaded and annexed Kish, Bahrein, and its dependencies of Qatif and Kalhat on the coast of Oman. For the next 260 years Bahrein was ruled almost without interruption by the Kings of Hormuz (themselves tributary of the Persian Empire), and followed the fate of Hormuz even after its invasion by the Portuguese in 1515.

## THE PORTUGUESE

The entrance of the Portuguese on the scene changed the status of the Gulf and complicated the political situation of Bahrein. The Kings of Hormuz, though they still paid allegiance to the Persian Empire, became in fact Portuguese vassals. This curious situation was the result of the Shah Ismail's negotiations with Albuquerque, in view of contracting a military alliance against the Turks. Persia, engaged in a mortal war with the Ottomans, was unwilling to create new conflicts on her southern borders. Furthermore, the Court of Tabriz was hoping that the Portuguese fleet in the Mediterranean would engage the Turks to relieve their threat on Persian provinces. Indeed, it was not the right time to antagonize the Portuguese. However, despite their promises, the Portuguese did nothing to help the Persians, and finding the Persians busy, they installed themselves at Hormuz. Their domination of the Gulf continued for more than a century.

The acquisition of Hormuz was justly valued by the Portu-

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guese, who had a saying that if the world were a ring, Hormuz would be the stone. The pearl trade of Bahrein which, through Hormuz, was carried on principally with Europe and with Surat, in India, was valued at this time at more than £3,000,000 yearly. A sixteenth century Portuguese writer tells us that the isand of Hormuz paid to Persia an annual tribute of 80,000 "patacas" (piasters).[1]

The conquest of Bahrein, however, was not undertaken immediately and it was only in 1521 that a Portuguese expedition, under Antonio Correa, landed for the first time on the island.

The Governor of Bahrein in person commanded his troops, which included a detachment of four hundred Persian archers and several musketeers. In the engagement which took place, the Governor was wounded and a few days later died. Correa intercepted the Bahreini vessel which was transporting the body of the slain chief to the mainland and, recovering the corpse, cut off the head and carried it back to Hormuz. This exploit caused the King of Portugal to issue an edict authorizing Correa to add a king's head to his coat of arms and to assume the title of Bahrein after his name.

Portuguese historians boast of the conquest of Bahrein, but in reality it was a "commando" operation, having as its principal aim the destruction of the Bahreini fleet. Even in this, the Portuguese were not wholly successful and the Bahrein fleet escaped destruction.

The Bahreinis were soon to revenge themselves by the massacre of the Portuguese garrison to the last man and by hanging the commander from a palm tree. They continued in their relationship with Hormuz and paid tribute to that kingdom, which, of course, was under the authority of the Portuguese. When in 1529 the Portuguese deported Rais Sharaf, the vizier of Hormuz, to Portugal, the Bahreinis revolted and refused to pay the annual tribute, and the Portuguese failed to establish themselves in the islands.

1. This is equivalent to sixty million rials.

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The position of Portugal in Hormuz, and especially in Bahrein, was precarious indeed. Insurrections occurred with astonishing regularity, and almost yearly. In this connection, the scarcity of information left by the Portuguese historians concerning Bahrein is significant. Aware of their military weakness, the Portuguese were satisfied with holding Hormuz and never really intended to occupy Bahrein permanently. Despite the erection of a factory and a fortress, the ruins of which still stand near Manama, their authority was more nominal than real, and the role played by the "capitan" was probably not very important. Even in the defense of the fortress on Bahrein, the Portuguese relied to a great extent on the good will of the Persian forces. For example, when in 1559 the newly formed Persian Gulf units of the Turkish fleet attacked Bahrein, Rais Murad, the Governor of the island, asked for and obtained the help of the Portuguese vessels from Hormuz, but the victory was achieved only when a corps of 300 Persian soldiers was brought into action.

In 1585 the Portuguese repaired the fortress of Bahrein but their power was declining. In 1602 the Persian elements in the island revolted against the Portuguese rule and called in the Persians, the coup d'etat being organized by Rokn ed-Din Mas'ud, brother of the Vizier of Hormuz and a distant relative of the Lord of Fāl, Mu'in ed-Dīn. A corps of Persian arquebusiers, under Mu'in ed-Dīn, invaded the island and reduced the Portuguese garrison.

As soon as victory was assured, the forces of Rokn-ed-Din treacherously attacked their Persian allies and the situation seemed serious, when Persian reinforcements which had been delayed en route reappeared before the island. The forces of Rokn-ed-Din were beaten and he himself seized and executed. Now the Persians had to face another menace, for the Portuguese had landed in force.

In the course of operations the Persian general was wounded and afterward died, but the Persian forces succeeded in recapturing the fort and holding the island against several attempts

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by the Portuguese and Hormuzis to recover it. The Portuguese continued to protest verbally but, being unable to interfere militarily, they were unwilling, merely for the sake of Bahrein, to disturb the new cordiality of the relations between Persia and Spain, and face alone the power of the Turks, who were a real threat in the Mediterranean. In 1622 the island of Hormuz itself was taken over by the Persians, who put an end to the Portuguese domination.

## SAFAVID

Despite manifestations of energy from time to time, the bell had tolled for Portugal's maritime power and she soon had to concede her place, first to the Dutch and then to the British. The power of the latter began to equal and later to surpass that of all rivals, and the English fleet became the only one with which the inhabitants of the Gulf had to reckon.

The eclipse of Portugal and the fall of the kingdom of Hormuz created a new situation in the Gulf. In the absence of a Persian fleet, the dependencies of Hormuz were left alone to become independent and each local sheik to aspire to power. Among those who profited by the decline of Hormuz was Nasir, who made himself Imam of Mascat in 1624. He succeeded in imposing his authority, drove the Hormuzis out of Sohar, and extended his dominion over a large part of the country, creating a new political entity: Oman.

Nasir was not yet strong enough to challenge the Persian power and he hurried to submit to the Court of Isfahan. Gradually, as his successors grew more and more powerful, Mascat was taken from the Portuguese, and the forces of Oman challenged the latter even in their own colonies.

The Omanis showed themselves still more enterprising with regard to the Persians. In 1700 the island of Bahrein was attacked and taken by the forces of Imam Seif. They were, however, unable to keep it for long, and they revenged themselves by systematically interrupting Persian navigation, maltreating Persian subjects, and plundering the towns of the Persian lit-

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toral. Since Persia had no fleet of her own to cope with this danger, she had to rely upon whatever help she could get from the European companies trading in the Gulf. However, these companies were not especially eager to help Persia recover Mascat, or to consolidate her naval supremacy.

In 1707, a Persian envoy, Mirza Nāsir, was sent to Bombay and another mission was prepared to visit Batavia. The English, "knowing well that if the Dutch complied with the Shah's request they would undoubtedly obtain a preference in the Persian market" did all in their power to forestall it. The English agent in Persia was instructed to "promise that as soon as the war in Europe should cease, a naval force would be sent to operate against the Mascat Arabs." The promise had the desired effect, and the Shah's intended deputation to Batavia was never dispatched.

In the meantime, the trade of the Persian Gulf was left to the fancy of the Mascat pirates. However, these were not the only pirates who operated in these parts of the world. Many Europeans, especially English nationals had chosen the lucrative business of piracy as their occupation. Among those sea captains, the most outstanding names are the Frenchman Misson, and Englishmen: Avory, William Kidd, Cornelius, and the sinister Plantain helped by Mulatto Tom.[1]

From the base of St. Mary, pirates infested the entire Indian Ocean, and in the Persian Gulf Mascat pirates were getting whatever ships had escaped, thus rendering the trade with India almost impossible. Something had to be done.

Unable to obtain the help of the British or Dutch, Persia turned to the French. Sieur Michel, representing France, readily accepted the offer and consequently a Treaty of Friendship and Commerce was signed between the two powers (September 7,

1. Tom was Avory's son by the Indian noblewoman whom he had kidnapped from the ship "Gunjsawee" (1696), in company of 100 other girls "from 12 to 18 years of age," who were also carried away to "Libertatia." This settlement of Libertatia on Saint Mary Island (off Madagascar), was founded by Misson in 1694, and fortified by Avory, and was where the European Pirates had their numerous wives. The main body of the colony was formed by freed Negro slaves who manned the piratical squadron ships.

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1708). By a secret clause, France was to provide naval transportation and assistance to Persia for the occupation of Mascat. Furthermore, to insure secrecy, that "clause" was formulated in a separate memorandum consigned to a "sealed envelope", and by Article 14 of the treaty France simply took the engagement of executing the "provisions contained in the memorandum."

However, the French were slow in executing the terms of the treaty. Mascat pirates were left free and unpunished to interrupt trade and participate in raids on ports and cities. The Court of Isfahan decided to press the matter, and a Persian Ambassador, Reza Kuli Beg, was sent to this effect to Louis XIV. During his stay in France, the Ambassador negotiated a new Treaty of Commerce clearly favorable to France, but in exchange, the Persian demanded an alliance against the Imam of Mascat. Persia was to furnish 30,000 troops and provide for the arming of the fleet. The spoils of war would be divided equally between the two countries, and after the occupation of Mascat, France was to be given possession of a fort. Furthermore, the French were to participate on equal footing with the Persians concerning the pearl fisheries of the Bahrein Islands.

Despite these favorable terms, the French were unwilling to engage in the new venture, as the extent of French naval power was very limited after the war of the Spanish Succession. Furthermore, the French were nursing the idea of an alliance with Mascat.

While the Franco-Persian negotiations were ineffectually being carried on, Sultan II, with the help of the East India Company, invaded the Bahrein Islands, and succeeded in taking the fort and the government house of Manamah, where they slaughtered hundreds of Persians. The matter was urgent and Persia had to look for another ally.

A Persian mission was dispatched to Goa in 1718 and offered the Portuguese an alliance against the Omanis with the purpose of reoccupying Bahrein. Accordingly, a Portuguese fleet sailed from the port of Kong and engaged the Omanis, who had been supplied by the British and Dutch with "powder and shots".

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175 The Portuguese did very little in fighting, and even for that, they formulated conditions unacceptable to Persians who preferred to negotiate with the invaders. Bahrein was finally recovered against a payment of 8,000 tomans, and the Persian troops occupied and fortified it (1718).

The government of Bahrein was given over to Sheik Jabbara of Tahiri (a port on the Persian coast), who was chief of the Huwala and Persian Admiral of the Gulf. The chiefs of Tahiri governed Bahrein for a period of fourteen years.

This turn of events coincided with the death of the Imam of Mascat and the succession of his nephew, and Oman was ravaged by a Civil War, making its conquest relatively easy. Persia, mistrusting Portuguese designs, refused to lay siege to Mascat and the Portuguese fleet, after a winter stay at Kong, returned to India.

Shortly afterwards, however, a great number of Persian troops were concentrated around Bender Abbas for the projected invasion of Mascat. The Persian Army was to be transported either by the French royal fleet, or on board ships belonging to the French East India Co. Sieur Padery, the French Consul at Shiraz, and the promoter of this project, visited the Shah in Isfahan (1721), and during a private audience with the King and his Prime Minister, it was agreed that in exchange for the help being given Persia, France was to receive full ownership of the pearl fisheries of the Bahrein Islands.

Once again, Persia became prey to internal troubles and the insurrection of the province of Afghanistan started a Civil War which set the entire country aflame. The Persian troops were called back for the defense of the capital and the invasion of Mascat was abandoned. It was not until 1736, after the ascent to the throne of the famous Nadir, that the Persians were able to turn their attention toward Oman. However, Persia did not possess a national fleet to enforce her authority, and the lack of fidelity on the part of the local sheiks, whose vessels formed the bulk of the Persian Navy, had deprived Persia of her maritime power more than once in time of emergency. The English and

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175 Dutch, too, almost invariably procrastinated when asked to lend their ships or to coöperate with the Persian land forces. Nadir therefore decided to organize a Persian Navy. His Admiral, Latif Khan, tried to purchase British ships at Bender Abbas but the British were reluctant to sell. He was advised instead to get them at the great shipbuilding center of Surat, in India. This he was able to do, though not without some difficulty, and in addition, to acquire a few foreign vessels which visited the Gulf. In this way, the Persians were able to arm a fleet of four ships (two purchased from British merchants, including the former *Northumberland,* bought for 50,000 tomans), two grabs, and some small craft. For the first time since the fall of the Sassanian Empire, the flag of the Persian Navy, a red Persian sword centered in a white ground, made its appearance in the waters of the Persian Gulf. The Persians were on the move again.

The first naval operation on schedule was the conquest of Bahrein and Kish. These islands were under the authority of Sheikh Jabbara who was the Commodore of the Persian Navy. However, Jabbara had refused to recognize the coup d'etat by which Nadir had become king, and refused to pay him allegiance.

The new fleet set sail for Bahrein in May 1736 with some four thousand men aboard. The time was well chosen as Sheikh Jabbara had gone in pilgrimage to Mekka and the island was defended by a small garrison. The expedition easily destroyed the forces of Jabbara, and the government of Bahrein was given to Sheik Nasir, the head of the Abu Muhair tribe of the Persian littoral. The following year the Persian forces occupied Oman. However, neither the local sheiks nor the European traders were happy about the existence of a strong regular Persian Navy and worked against it.

There were frequent mutinies among the crews, the main body of which was composed of sailors subject to various sheiks from whom they secretly received orders. Such mutinies not only made it possible for the local sheiks to retain their independence, but also favored the existence of pirates who, profit-

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ing by the momentary disorder, made commerce impossible. There is reason also to believe that in most cases the mutinies were supported by European powers, which carried on the main trade of the Persian Gulf. An illustration was the mutiny of 1740, in which the British East India Company openly favored the mutineers, and the Dutch, who at first backed the loyalist troops, suddenly made a *volte face* and supported the rebels. It is certainly strange that negotiations between the loyalists and the mutineers were carried on in English, and that an Englishman served as spokesman for the mutineers, while the Persian Admiral had to use an interpreter to deal with his own men.

Despite the difficult situation, the Persians were strong enough to keep peace and order in these waters until 1747, when the assassination of Nadir started another Civil War and the fleet was forgotten amid other cares. Naturally, the local chiefs or tribal shieks profited by the turn of events to recover their lost strength and consolidate their independence. Among those who bid for power were the Utūb.[1]

## THE UTUB

The Utūb, one of the clans of Jumailah, a subdivision of 'Aniza tribe, were originally from the province of Aflaj in central Arabia. Following the general pattern of the nomadic Arab migration, they naturally looked towards the regions of the Persian Gulf where the prosperous pearl fishing and trade offered them the opportunity for better living.

Unlike the invasion of the great tribes, the Utūb had infiltrated in small groups and with the consent of the actual occupants, the Beni Khalid, they had settled on several points of the Persian Gulf littoral, the territory of Kishm and Zobara, with the main center at Grain (now Koweit), all of which were under the sovereignty of Persia.

They had formed a confederation in order to protect themselves against the economic and political pressure of other tribes. This confederation of the Utūb was led by three families: Al Sabah, Al Khalifah, and Al Jalahimah. Special duties were

1. "Geneology of Sheiks of Bahrein," p. 48.

175 assigned to each family. Al Sabah performed administrative functions (generally their Sheik was the head of the confederation.); Al Jalahimah were to superintend and control the maritime affairs, while the Al Khalifah headed the mercantile activities.

As time went by, the Utūb reached a high degree of commercial prosperity, and Al Khalifah accumulated a great fortune, apparently at the expense of their associates. This fact motivated Sabah to put Muhammed, the head of Al Khalifah, under arrest. But Muhammed, with the help of his brother, escaped to Zobara where he was rejoined by other members of his clan.

The head of Al Khalifah was the son of Faisal, and was originally from Zafra, a village in the territory of Bu Dhabi. Muhammed had two sons, Fazil and Khalifah, whose descendents became known respectively as Al Fazil and Al Khalifah. These two brothers moved at an early age to the newly founded settlement of Grane, and entered the pearl fishing trade. Both were enterprising and soon prospered, becoming leading merchants. It was with this background that Muhammed became head of Al Khalifah.

After their escape to Zobara, Al Khalifah fortified this town by building a stone wall around it, provided a fort with watch tower to guard the sea shore, and prepared for defense. The timely death of Sabah (1762), relieved them from the threat of revenge by their kinsmen, and they were able to carry on undisturbed their commercial activities.

Soon it was the turn of Al Jalahimah to secede from the federation. They left Koweit and settled at Roweisah on the Arabian mainland. Thus there were now three distinct groups: the Al Sabah at the original settlement at Koweit, the Al Khalifah at Zobara, and the Al Jalahimah at Roweisah.

As the prosperity of Zobara depended on the trade of Bahrein,[1] Al Khalifah persuaded the Sheik of Bushir, who had

1. Raynal, a contemporary writer, estimates the annual amount of pearls fished in and around Bahrein at 3,600,000 French livres (tournois). (Livre Sterling = 22 10 livres tournois (1776).

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authority over Bahrein, to lease them the island. As Governor of Bahrein and Sheik of Zobara, Muhammed exercised his authority under Persian protection with the obligation of paying taxes to the treasury of Shiraz, in Fars.

Under Muhammed and his son Khalifah, the taxes and tribute were paid regularly. Upon the death in 1799 of the Shah of Persia, Karim Khan, the new Sheik, Ahmed, became recalcitrant. He refused to pay tribute, arrested the Persian representative, and looted the Persian gallivat that had been sent to Bahrein to collect taxes. A unit of the Persian fleet appeared in short order off Zobara (1782) and the Sheik hurried to pay the tribute that was due and to renew his allegiance to the throne.

Not long afterward, however, taking advantage of the Civil War raging in Persia, Ahmed again refused to pay tribute and the Governor of Bushir had to send a fleet to recover the island and punish the Sheik. At the news of its approach, the Al Khalifah plundered the island and took refuge at Zobara on the mainland. The Persian fleet started a systematic blockade and the Sheik offered to negotiate, restore the loot, and pay all damages. This offer was refused, and the Persian troops landed near Zobara and inflicted severe damage on the settlements of the Al Khalifah along the coast. Its mission completed, the Persian army re-embarked for Bahrein, which was put under the direct control of the Sheik of Bushir, who named his son Governor of the island.

During these military operations, the Al Khalifah were aided by the Al Jalahimah, who attempted several diversions against Bahrein and interrupted Persian shipping. To procure the help of the Al Jalahimah seamen, the Sheiks of Zobara had promised them "grants of land, money, and exclusive privileges of tenure". As soon as the Persians left they refused to keep their pledges, and their kinsmen retired to Khor Hassan where, under the leadership of their chief, the famous Ramah ibn Jaher, they allied themseves with other divisions of their tribe (known in

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the annals of the Gulf as the Jawāsim,[1] and started a feud with the Al Khalifah.

Despite the accession to power of the founder of the Kadjar Dynasty, wars of succession were still raging in southern Persia and several years passed before he could pacify the maritime provinces. The time was ripe for the Utūb to take their revenge.

The Al Khalifah invaded Bahrein and routed the Governor, Nasir al Mazkur, who fled to Bushir to ask for the aid of the Persian Army. The Provincial Governor, seeing an excellent opportunity to reduce the power of the already too influential Sheik of Bushir, refused to send the Persian troops.

On the other hand, to forestall a punitive expedition from Persia, the Al Khalifah had declared their readiness to pay tribute. Under these circumstances, they were authorized to hold the island and govern it in the name of the Persian Governor of Fars. This was consistent with the Persian tradition of power politics. Lacking a strong fleet, they usually dealt separately with each sheik, according him internal autonomy, and contenting themselves with receiving homage and tribute. In the event of a persistent refusal on the part of a sheik to pay taxes and tribute—and the word "persistent" is important because taxes generally were not paid at regular intervals—the Persian fleet, or the fleet of a subject sheik paid a visit to the island and called the errant chief to order.

For example, in 1799 the Imam of Mascat attacked the forces of Bahrein, which had discontinued payment of taxes levied upon all vessels passing from India through the Gulf. Accordingly, the Imam on board his frigate *Ganjawa,* with a fleet of three square-rigged ships and sixty bughlas, headed for Bahrein. The battle that took place resulted in the capture of three of the Utūbi vessels, but the Bahreinis were successful in defending the island. Immediately thereafter, the Utūbi Sheiks hastened to renew their allegiance to Persia by paying the tribute due from the preceding year and the Imam suspended his attack.

1. From Qasim, the common ancestor of the tribe. In the Gulf region, the guttural Arab Q is softened and pronounced as "J" in English.

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Three years later, however, the affairs of Bahrein again 175
necessitated intervention, and again the forces of Mascat attacked Bahrein and succeeded in driving out the Utubi, who fled to Zobara and sought the help of the Wahhabi Emir. By now the Wahhabis had extended their power to the Arab coast of the Persian Gulf, and the Sheiks of the mainland were either their allies or their vassals.

Bahrein was occupied by Seif ibn Ali, sent by the Imam of Mascat as Governor and Commandant of the island. Shortly afterward, with the help of the Wahhabis, the Utūbi Sheiks surprised the Imam's garrison in Bahrein and invaded the island. Seif ibn Ali fled to Mascat, and the Imam once more had to dispatch a strong naval force to Bahrein which occupied the island without difficulty.

The Sheik of Bahrein, Salman, agreed to pay tribute to the Imam who acted under authority of the Persian Government. Furthermore, to guarantee his good faith, he dispatched his brother Muhammed to Mascat as hostage.

As vassals of the Imam, Bahrein forces participated in the British naval operations against Ras-ul-Khayma. As reward for attacking the Jawāsim, the Sheik approached the British and required that Great Britain "lend him such support as will enable him to remain undisturbed at Bahrein," but the Bombay Government was friendly with the Imam of Mascat and "abstained from all interference."

The Sheik of Bahrein then complotted with the Wahhabis who were fighting the Imam. Their combined forces invaded the island and chased the Mascat Governor. The uprising was well timed because Muhammed, who was hostage at Mascat, had died recently, thus freeing Sheik Salman of any apprehension concerning the well being of his brother.

As the Wahhabi soldiers gained control of the island, they proved themselves real oppressors, and tried by force to convert the inhabitants to their own faith. When Sheik Salman protested this unjust treatment, his brother Abdallah, and sev-

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 eral other members of his family were carried away as hostages to the Wahhabi capital Dar'yah (1809).

In Bahrein, resistance to Wahhabi domination continued and the remaining Sheiks, under the leadership of Abdar Rahman ibn Mubarak, carried on the struggle. When the Wahhabi threatened to execute their hostages, the young Sheik replied: "Go back and tell the Amir that we have forgotten our relatives, and if our sails could carry us to Dar'yah, we would raze it to the ground." However, despite their bravery, they could do little against the Wahhabi without outside help.

The Imam, busy fighting on other fronts, was not able to help directly, and had to appeal to the forces of the Shah of Persia, in whose name he ruled the island. To this end, his representative, Sheik Ali, "bearing costly gifts," was sent to Shiraz to secure the cooperation of the Prince-Governor of the province. At the same time he wrote a letter to his friend, Sheik Nasir of Bushir, requesting him to use his influence in securing the assistance of the Prince and "enclosing a blank sheet bearing his seal, to be filled in with the conditions and the amount of tribute which the Persian Government wished to impose." His appeal was favorably received and "a body of two hundred Persian horsemen and 2,000 foot soldiers' embarked at Bushir to join him. Bahrein was invaded, Wahhabi forces expelled, and the island once more given back to the Utūbi. As the Persian forces were threatening the invasion of Wahhabi territory, the Bahrein hostages were released and were permitted to return to the island. Salman and his brother reaffirmed their submission and renewed their allegiance to Persia.

Thus at the end of the first decade of the 19th century, Persia's foothold on Bahrein seemed strong and secure, and the old equilibrium of the Gulf reestablished. However, a new factor was soon introduced in the old game, changing the equilibrium of the Gulf.

This new factor was the direct intervention of the East

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India Company. As we have seen previously, the English became active in this part of the world at the beginning of the 17th century, but so far, except for a few instances, their main purpose was the trade of silk and draperies, and they very cautiously kept themselves from nursing any desire to annex, or to hold militarily, ports in the Gulf.[1] However, the events in Europe—struggle with French—and in India—wars with Tippoo Sahib and the planned invasion of Afghan ruler, Zaman Shah—, had changed the conception of the security of the Indian Empire. 175

It is true that two centuries after Armada, once more the "Wooden walls of England" had stopped a foreign assault and saved the country. However the "Corsican Master of Europe" was not easily discouraged, and it was generally believed that the French Army would try to reach India by crossing Persian territory, provisioning themselves en route. In the so called Bonaparte's plan of 1798, the supplies were to come from the Ile de France (Mauritius) and were to be landed at Bassorah, Bender Abbas, and other Persian ports. To forestall the French design, an East India's envoy, Malcolm, was sent to Persia in 1800 in order to negotiate a Commercial Treaty. Under cover of the Commercial negotiations, Malcolm demanded the cession to the Company, of the Island of Kishm, Hanjam, and Khark in the Persian Gulf. This raised strong opposition from the Persian Government; even the accepted bribe by the Minister of Records[2] did not overcome his opposition, and the intended article had to be withdrawn. Despite this set back, the British were successful in renewing their agreement with the Imam of Mascat (concluded in 1798), by which the Imam promised to expell the French from his possessions and authorized the English to fortify their Factory at Bender Abbas. "mounting guns thereon, as many as they list, and to forty or

1. Raynal who writes in 1776 is amazed that the English "had not even thought of establishing themselves in Bahrein Island"; and adds "we do not know why."
2. Mirza Shafi who later became Prime Minister.

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175 fifty English gentlemen (officers) residing there, with seven or eight hundred English Sepoys."

Subsequently, the Bombay Government tried to line up other alliances with the Wahhabi rulers of Hasa and with the Sheiks of Bahrein. However, these were emergency measures; the alliance with Persia remained the main purpose, and the Indian Government had kept "the Pashalik of Baghdad as a lure" to detach this country from the French.

Persia, faced with necessities of war with Russia, could not neglect the possibility of the French alliance, and consequently the Treaty of Finkenstein (May 4, 1807) was signed between the two countries. By Article 8, Persia takes the engagement to cease all political communication or commercial intercourse with England, to declare war on that Power, and to expell the Consuls, factors, or other agents of the East India Company residing in Persia and in the ports of the Persian Gulf. Article 11 stipulates "in case of a French fleet arriving in Persian Gulf or in the port belonging to H. M. the Emperor of Persia, she would be given all facilities and help that she might need." The following Article speaks clearly of the possibilities of a joint invasion of India by combined land and sea forces of Persia and France.

As soon as the treaty was signed, the East India Company planned the occupation of principal islands in the Persian Gulf. Furthermore, they contemplated setting up a friendly king in Persia by restoring to the throne an obscure pretender of the deposed Zand Dynasty, Najaf Ali, who was already receiving a pension of 400 rupees a month. This alarmed Persia, and she sought the help of France in the Persian Gulf. The French agreed to provide their fleet, but in exchange they were granted "forever and in full property the island of Khark," (Article 17 and 18, Commercial Treaty January 1808). However, the inability of the French to help the Persians in the war with Russia, changed the picture, and the British were able to conclude with Persia the preliminary Treaty of March 12, 1809.

Article V and VI of that treaty assured the Persian Govern-

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ment of the good intentions of the East India Company, and affirmed that British troops sent to the Persian Gulf would be at "the disposal of His Majesty the King of Persia," and would remain at Khark or any other port if H. M. so desired. The extent of the forces stationed in the Persian Gulf was to be settled in the Definitive Treaty. 175

The Definitive Treaty was signed on November 25, 1814. Article XI reads as follows:

> Should His Persian Majesty require assistance from the English Government in the Persian Gulf, they shall, if convenient and practicable, assist him with Ships of War and Troops. The Expenses of such Expedition shall be accounted for and defrayed by the Persian Government, and the above Ships shall anchor in such Ports as shall be pointed out by the Persian Government, and not enter other Harbours without Permission, except from absolute Necessity.

By the stipulation of the above Article, the British were to assist Persia in policing the waters of the Persian Gulf and act as a Persian naval force whenever their help was required. By implication, this clause created a legal basis for England's intervention in the local affairs and from the role of partner, they assumed little by little, that of arbiter, and at the end of the 19th century, the Persian Gulf became for all purposes, a British lake.

However, to understand the importance of the Persian Gulf to Great Britain, one should always bear in mind the great events in European history, and particularly the antagonism between Russia and England since the defeat of Napolean's armies. To stop Russian forces from reaching the warm waters of the Persian Gulf, the policy of Britain was, on one hand, to strengthen the hands of Persia and Afghanistan by allying herself with them, and on the other hand to temporize, by satisfying the appetite of Russia even at the expense of her allies.

These two contradicting axioms characterized the policy pursued first by East India Company and then by Great Britain in the Persian Gulf. To each Russian increase of influence—political, military, or commercial—in Persia proper, there cor-

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175 responds on the part of England, an increase of activities in the Persian Gulf.

To strengthen her position in these waters, it was important for the English Navy to hold possible operational bases and strategic ports or islands. Bahrein by its geographical location was best suited to afford such a position, and England did all in her power to keep it in friendly hands.

It is in the light of these remarks that the contemporary history of Bahrein should be read.

In 1814, Captain William Bruce, the British Resident at Bushir, went to Bahrein and assured the Sheik of British neutrality in the invasion of Bahrein which was being threatened by the Imam of Mascat. The price of this neutrality was the promise by the Sheik that "his ports were ever open, and should continue so to [the British], and every aid at all times rendered to [British] vessels, whenever they should arrive." To convince the Sheik of Britain's "friendly dispositions," Captain Bruce said that he was ready, "although not authorized by the Government, to draw up a few articles of agreement, which we would exchange, and [that he had] no doubt but that they would be approved of, and be sanctioned by the British Government. [The Sheik] was highly satisfied with this."

Actually, when the forces of Mascat attacked Bahrein, Bruce offered his good offices, which were rejected by the Imam. The Imam's claim over Bahrein was based on a firman he had received from the Persian Government with investiture over the Islands of the Persian Gulf. A difference of interpretation developed, and the Governor of Fars held the view that the Government of Bahrein was relieved of his direct authority.

In 1816, while promising military aid to the Imam of Omam against Bahrein, and fixing the annual tribute of the island group at 10,000 tomans in the event of its conquest, the Governor of Fars secretly negotiated with the Sheik of Bahrein, received tribute from him, and even presented him with a "robe of honor." The attack carried on against Britain

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by the forces of Imam failed, probably due to the intervention of the Persian forces in the island, for in April 1818, we see the Imam sending a messenger to Teherah protesting to the Shah the duplicity of the Governor; the messenger was not permitted to proceed to the capital, however, and was instructed to send his message by courier. 175

About this time (1817), Bruce represented the Sheik of Bahrein as affording the fullest and most effective aid in his power, in grain and stores of all kinds, to the Jawāsim pirates. He added that it was "impossible under these circumstances to look on Bahrein in any other light than that of a piratical port."

Britain had decided to destroy the forts and the Arab warships that had survived the expedition of 1809 against Ras al Khayma, and Sir Evan Nepeau, Governor of Bombay, in the spirit of the Treaty of 1814 with Persia, sent a letter to the Prince of Shiraz explaining the object of the British expedition, and requesting the collaboration of the Persian Government. An expedition under the command of W. G. Keir was sent to the Persian Gulf (1820) to act against pirates. The expedition did not confine its operations to the southern coast of the Gulf and against the pirates, but also destroyed trade ships belonging to the Arab chiefs on the Persian side. It is true that, upon the protest of the Persian representatives, the Government of India paid compensation to the injured parties, but lack of wood and construction facilities prevented the chiefs from replacing their losses, and so the aim of the British was accomplished.

The truth of the matter is that the expedition hid behind its humanitarian mask the desire to eliminate competitors. Sir John Malcolm wrote in 1833:

> I have conversed with some of the most intelligent European agents on the trade with the Gulf of Persia, who informed me, that a great portion of the piece goods, before sent in English vessels from Calcutta, are now conveyed in small Arab and Indian craft from Bombay, and being at cheaper freight, the sale of such articles is increased. . . . This fact, which is satisfactory as showing a cause for increasing sale of British manufacture, and as tending to change the habits of lawless men, is completely contrary to the interests of the owners of British ships formerly occupied in this trade . . . who had formerly all the freight which is now carried on by Arabs.

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175 Another tangible result of this expedition was the signing of a General Treaty with the chiefs of the Gulf, with the exception of Rahamah, the "faithful servant" of the Persian Government. The Treaty is commonly known as the Flag Treaty from Article 3 which stipulated that all "friendly Arabs" should carry "by land and by sea" the "White pierced Red" flag of the British Navy.

To overcome the objections of the Persian Government, Article 4 specified that the Sheiks should continue their "former relations, except that they shall be at peace with the British Government and shall not fight with each other; and the flag shall be a symbol of this and nothing further."

Article 5 gave British vessels the right to stop Arab ships and to exercise "register and clearance"; Article 6 provided that each of the chiefs should send "an envoy for the transaction of [his] business" to reside near the British Residence at Bushir; and Article 7 provided for future collaboration against those chiefs who should not conform to the spirit of the treaty. The remaining Articles were humanitarian and commercial clauses, providing, among other things, for the amelioration of the condition of prisoners of war, prohibition of the export of slaves, and permission to friendly Arabs to enter the ports controlled by England.

The duration of the pact was described in Article 1 as "forever," and it was stated that it should not concern "an acknowledged war which is proclaimed, avowed, and ordered by Government against Government" (Article 2).

The treaty was signed in February 1820 by the representative of Bahrein in the name of the brothers Salman and Abdallah ibn Ahmed, who ruled the island jointly.

The signing of the treaty did not give the chiefs independence; its avowed purpose was merely to maintain the status quo in the Gulf.

To give further proof of the good intentions of the East India Company, its representative, Bruce, in a draft of a Treaty concerning the slave trade signed in 1820 with the Prince Gov-

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ernor of Fars, guaranteed the "historical rights of Persia over the Bahrein Island." 175

The treaty was not ratified by the Shah, however, on the ground that the Prince had no right to negotiate directly with a foreign power, which would create a dangerous precedent, and Bruce shortly afterward left for India.

Bahrein at that time was under the Government of the Imam of Mascat, to whom the Sheiks of Bahrein paid an annual tribute of 40,000 thalers. Now the central government of Persia directed the Governor of Fars to occupy Bahrein militarily, but the help of the British fleet could not be secured, and the small fleet of Persian crafts gathered for the expedition were not able to leave ports on time due to stormy weather prevailing in the Gulf.

However, soon the Sheik of Bahrein, Salman, died, and the new Sheik, Abdallah, received the Persian Supervisor, Iskander Khan, with due respect and in the letter sent the Governor of Fars, he reaffirmed his submission and renewed his allegiance to the throne.

Soon war broke out between Russia and Persia, and two years later the latter was beaten and the Treaty of 1828 established Russian influence at Teheran.

The British were seriously alarmed at the turn of events and the Bombay Government, contemplating the occupation of Khark, intensified its activities.

Once more the Imam of Mascat attacked Bahrein, and although the expedition of 1828 was not a military success, an agreement was reached and a tribute of Bahrein was payed to the Imam. This became possible by the marriage of the Princess, a sister of the Governor of Fars to the Imam of Mascat.

Soon trouble started in Bahrein, and in 1831 the Imam of Mascat made overtures to the Wahhabi, hoping to receive permission to rule the islands of Bahrein as the tributary of the Emir. The Emir, however, preferred to receive tribute from the Utūbi Sheiks with whom he had just signed a Treaty of Alliance by which they had agreed to pay him an annual tribute

175 of 2,000 thalers in return for aid against Mascat. It should be noted that at this time the whole line of the coast was dominated by the Wahhabis. In 1834, however, the Sheik of Bahrein threw off allegiance to the Wahhabis, and even ventured to blockade Qatif and Ojair.

Despite the fact that the East India Company kept an agent at Bahrein, their influence was not important since the Company had to send several of its cruisers to blockade the island after its agent there had been bastinadoed and a considerable sum of money taken from him.

The Government of Bahrein was shared at this time by the two Sheiks, Abdallah and Khalifah, who were uncle and nephew. The death of Khalifah (1834) created a series of incidents which troubled the countries of the Gulf for many years, for the old Sheik did not want to share either revenue or power with his nephew, Muhammad, who succeeded his father. Quarrels and intrigues followed, and the powers principally interested in Bahrein either failed to intervene, or interfered less actively in favor of one or the other. In this display of power politics, Persia sided with Abdallah, while England supported Muhammad. In 1838, Khorshid Pasha, who conquered Nejd for Egypt, was preparing to invade Bahrein. Abdallah openly declared his submission to the Persian Government, and the following year a Persian agent, Haji Kasim, with an escort of Sarbaz (Persian regular troops), came to reside in the island. At this point the British Government, backing Persia, intervened, and intimated that any attempt of Egyptians in that direction would be met by force.

Shortly afterwards, war broke out between England and Persia, and an English naval force occupied the island of Khark in 184[illegible]. Bahrein, under the authority of Abdallah, remained on the side of Persia. Muhammad, nephew of the Sheik of Bahrein, addressed a letter to British authorities offering his services in exchange for assistance against his uncle. With the blessing of the British and the help of the Wahhabi, Muhammed was, in 1843, able to arm a strong fleet and drive

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the old Sheik from Bahrein, establishing himself at Manama. Abdallah took refuge at Bushir, where he was received with a salute of three rounds of musketry by the Sarbaz garrison, who were on parade for the occasion.

Abdallah proposed to pay tribute to Persia and to leave his son as hostage at the Court if the Shah would agree to help him recover his Sheikdom. Meanwhile, playing both sides, he addressed the English Resident and, assuring him of his friendship, told him of the proposition made to him by the Persians; he added that he had made a "convenience" of them to suit his own purposes. However, Britain had decided not to permit the return of Abdallah, and the Persian Government, informed of Abdallah's transactions with the British, did not believe it wise to help him.

Shortly after in 1848, Abdallah died, and his son continued the struggle until 1859, when he was proclaimed a public enemy and expelled from Damān by British forces. Thus, Muhammad was left to govern his island as a reward for the treaty he had signed three years before with England, according to which, as "chief of Bahrein," he had "engaged and bound himself, purely out of friendship" to suppress slave trade in the Gulf.

In 1851 a quarrel arose between Muhammad and the Wahhabi Emir, in consequence of which the latter appeared in Qatar, and having drawn the tribes of that district away from the Utūbi cause, threatened to occupy Bahrein. This was prevented by the appearance on the scene of British warships, and an agreement was reached by which the town of El-Bidā was restored to Bahrein.

In 1855-56 correspondence passed between the Wahhabi Emir and the British representative as a consequence of the reassertion by the Emir of his claim to suzerainty over the Bahrein Islands, a claim which was not recognized by the British Government because of their engagements with Persia.

The second Anglo-Persian War and the Treaty of Paris (1857) had made England the undisputed mistress of the

175 Gulf, and local sheiks turned more and more toward Britain. In her ultimatum to Persia on November 22, 1856, for example, Britain had demanded that "Persia . . . make an arrangement respecting Bender Abbas, satisfactory to the Imam of Mascat, the friend of England." By the Treaty of Paris, she succeeded in forcing Persia to sign the convention concerning slave traffic in the Gulf.

In 1861, Muhammad, as the "independent Ruler of Bahrein," signed a Perpetual Treaty of Peace and Friendship with England, the most important provisions of which were the following:

> The Sheik agreed to refrain from all maritime aggression, slavery, piracy, or war, as long as he should receive the support of the British Government in maintaining the security of his possessions against "similar aggressions directed against them by the Chiefs and tribes" of the Gulf. (Article 2.)
>
> The Sheik promised that "no act of aggression or retaliation shall be committed at sea by Bahrein" without the consent of the British Resident, who would play the role of arbiter. (Article 3.)
>
> British subjects would be permitted to reside and carry on lawful trade in Bahrein and would be granted "most favored nation" status. Their goods were to be subject only to an ad valorem duty of 5% in cash or in kind. In addition, settlement for "all offenses which they may commit, or which may be committed against them, shall be reserved for the decisions of the British Resident, provided the British Agent, located at Bahrein, shall fail to adjust them satisfactorily.
>
> "In like manner," the article continued, "the British Resident will use his good offices for the welfare of the subjects of Bahrein in the ports of the maritime Arab tribes of this Gulf in alliance with the British Government." (Article 4.)

The treaty thus established special relations between the two parties, but the Sheik continued to declare himself a vassal of Persia.

About this time, the followers of the exiled Muhammed Ibn Abdallah created some difficulty in Bahrein for the Sheik, and a Persian official was sent by the Governor of Fars to cope with the situation. The instigators of this movement were chased from Bahrein, and took refuge in Turkish territory asking Ottoman protection. Ali Pasha, Grand Visir, sought to interfere on behalf of the exiled chief. The Persian Government protested

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by backing the ruling Sheik, and on April 28, 1861, its Ambassador in Istanbul submitted to the porte the following note: "Mascat and Bahrein are two places which for thousands of years up to the present have belonged to Persia. It has been customary in the last 200 years for whoever was the chief or the head of the region, to write first a letter of allegiance to the King of Persia requesting a firman of investiture,, and only after securing it would he start his governorship." 175

Muhammad Ibn Abdallah, from his base of Damān, with the help of Wahhabi continued to molest and interrupt the Bahrein shipping. In 1861, Muhammed decided to put an end to these acts of piracy and he embarked with six armed boats against the Imam. This proceeding was censored by the British, who brought pressure to force him to withdraw his ships to his own waters. The Sheik then sought through his envoy, Khalil Mirrikhi, the help of the Governor of Fars, and requested an expedition of Persian regular troops and gunboats. The British prevented the expedition by offering to expell Muhammad ibn Abdallah from Daman, which they promptly did.

Under these circumstances, the Treaty of 1861, despite its pretensions to being perpetual, could last only a short time. The failure by the Sheik to seek the advice of the British Resident alienated the British who decided to replace him with someone more docile, because, in the words of Lord Curzon, "no form of words . . . or signature could bind the crafty old fox." An English expedition landed on the island and Muhammad fled to Qatar. The fortress of Mahur, near Muharraq, was destroyed and the warships of Bahrein burned. Ali ibn Khalifa, brother of the Sheik, was put in Muhammad's place, and on September 6, 1868 signed an agreement recognizing the validity of the treaty made by his predecessor and promising to pay a fine of 100,000 Maria Theresa dollars. Muhammad was declared a pirate and forbidden to return to Bahrein.

This action by Britain and the signing of the Treaty of 1868, provoked a protest from the Persian Minister in London against the violation of their country's sovereign rights in

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175 Bahrein. In his answer, Lord Clarendon, British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, assured the Persian envoy that "the British Government holds the Sheik to these engagements solely for the purpose of preventing piracy and slave trade, and of maintaining the policing of the Gulf." He added that if the Persian Government was prepared to police the Gulf, the British Government "would be relieved of a troublesome and costly duty, but if the Shah is not prepared to undertake these duties, Her Majesty's Government cannot suppose that His Majesty [the Shah] would wish that in these waters disorders and crimes should be encouraged with impunity."

He promised that "whenever it is practicable to do so, Her Majesty's Government will cause the Persian Government to be informed beforehand of any measures of coercion against himself, which the conduct of the Sheik of Bahrein may have rendered necessary." The British position was consistent with the term of the Treaty of 1814.

The exiled Sheik obtained permission to return to Bahrein, whereupon he began to intrigue against his brother. He was exiled again, this time to Koweit, but succeeded in gathering together a small force, and with the aid of his partisans, invaded Bahrein in September 1869. In the engagement that followed, Sheik Ali was killed, and Muhammad regained his Sheikdom. But one of his Lieutenants, Muhammad ibn Abdallah, subsequently rebelled, imprisoned him, and declared himself Sheik.

In the general turmoil that followed, property belonging to British subjects was damaged. This furnished a pretext for intervention, and the British fleet bombarded Manama and the neighboring regions. Muhammad and his adversary were deported to Bombay where they were imprisoned, and were later removed to Aden. Isa, a son of the deceased Sheik Ali, was installed as Sheik of Bahrein (1869).

The turn of events in Bahrein alarmed Persia, and diplomatic conversations were engaged with France in view of obtaining the help of the French fleet. A French envoy, Bouray,

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visited Teheran and proposed that in exchange for the eventual aide, France be given a 99 year lease on the island of Khark. 175

These Franco-Persian negotiations motivated the British Government to propose to Persia, through their Ambassador at Teheran (June 15, 1870), that they lease Bahrein Islands. Negotiations were carried on simultaneously at Teheran and London. The main difference of view separating the two Governments was the term of the lease. Persia was considering a short term of three to five years, while the British were asking a longer period. Negotiations were soon abandoned, but the status quo was maintained.

By now, the Turks, who had previously extended their power over the Coast of Hasa, were coveting Bahrein, and by creating different incidents, they were trying to justify their actions.

At the end of 1870, the custom officials of Baghdad suddenly decided to consider the Bahreinis as Ottoman subjects and extend to them the same duties as their own nationals. The Persian Embassy at Istanbul protested strongly, and after a rather lengthy period of negotiating, the Porte sent special instructions to the Wali of Baghdad, to the effect of considering the Bahreinis as Persian subjects and not to demand more from them than they had previously paid.

In 1871, a British man-of-war went to Qatar to demand certain taxes from the Sheik for the benefit of Bahrein. The Sheik, however, under the pretext of being a Turkish vassal, refused to submit to the British. This conduct induced Midhat Pasha, then Governor General of Baghdad, to protest to the English Consul against the interference of British warships in the territorial waters of Qatar. The Consul denied that there had been interference. The Turks then dispatched two of their warships to Qatar to protect the province against the anticipated aggression of Bahrein.

At the same time, the Turks made a representation to the English Government complaining of the British encroachment upon territory belonging to the Sultan.

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175 In his answer of August 8, 1872, addressed to the Turkish Minister, Lord Granville, the British Foreign Secretary, wrote that "pending the result of these inquiries, the Government of the Sultan can be assured that it is not the desire of Her Majesty's Government to interfere in the affairs of the Persian Gulf unless they concern matters prescribed by the treaty concluded in view of maintaining peace in these waters."

Two years later, however, a new incident took place. A few Bahreinis residing at Baghdad were drafted into the Turkish Army. The British Consulate protested to the Governor, but the incident was settled to the satisfaction of the Ottomans because the persons involved were found to have been born in Baghdad. The British Ambassador, however, made a point of saying that the British Consul "does not see any reason to treat the Bahreini as the natives of an Ottoman possession." The Ambassador then received assurances that "the Porte does not nurse any intention of considering Bahreini as his own subjects." Despite that, the Ottomans continued to claim sovereignty over the island. In a note addressed on April 14, 1874 to the Turkish Ambassador, Lord Dudley stated: "The renewal of this claim by the Sublime Porte obliges me to refer Your Excellency to the notes sent to your Government in 1851 and 1870, declaring distinctly that Her Majesty's Government did not admit any Turkish pretension considering Bahrein Island as a part of the Ottoman Empire, and if some natives of the Island in question referred to the British Consulate in Turkey for protection, it is because the latter could not refuse their good offices to the subjects of a Chief with whom Her Majesty's Government is in friendly relations."

The intensification of Turkish activities in the coastal regions opposite Bahrein had serious repercussions in the internal affairs of the island. It should be recalled, that previously the Sheik of Bahrein controlled several localities in the Qatar peninsula, and especially the township of Zobara. After the events of 1870, one of the refugee Sheiks, Nasir ibn Mubarak, with the help of his father-in-law, Qāsim, the Sheik of El Bidā,

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had deprived Bahrein of its possessions on the mainland. Now Qāsim was under Turkish protection, and Nasir claimed to be the rightful Governor of Bahrein where he had many followers. In his pretension, Nasir was encouraged by the Turks who saw a good ground for their intervention in the affairs of Bahrein. 175

To counteract the Turkish activities, Persians had to rely more and more on the British who had given themselves the task of guaranteeing the status quo.

Neither of the two principal powers interested, (Persia, Turkey) was willing to precipitate a showdown. The Turks were satisfied with creating local incidents, then protesting to London against the British interference.

Thus, in 1875, the Porte protested against the intervention of British authorities in the affairs of Qatar. The British, backing the Sheiks of Bahrein, had bombarded the town of Zobara and attacked some of the tribes of the Qatar Peninsula, notably the Beni Hajar who were sent by the Ottomans to collect taxes.

Qāsim refused the propositions offered by the Sheik of Bahrein, who intended to reconquer Zobara and establish a Bahreini colony there. The British Ambassador to Turkey, declared that the British man-of-war which had attacked Zobara had "probably been carrying on shooting exercises with the intention of intimidating and dispersing the Arabs."

Three years later, Nasir ibn Mubarak, assembled a force of Bedouins and attacked and destroyed Zobara. The Resident and Senior Naval Officer visited Qāsim's camp near Zobara and ascertained that no attack on Bahrein was contemplated. During the period of alarm, in order to guard the Island of Bahrein, armed ships belonging to the chief and commanded by British naval officers, were stationed to watch specified points within the limits of Bahrein waters. The threatening attitude of Nasir alarmed the British, to the point, that in February 1879, Captain Durand, First Assistant Resident, judged it necessary to take up his residence temporarily at Bahrein, with an escort of native infantry.

In June 1880, rumors began to reach Bahrein that Nasir

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175 meditated an attack on the islands. Toward the end of the year he gathered a force of a few hundred Bedouins, and took up a position at Ru'ais and Abn Dhuluf on the Qatar coast, opposite Bahrein. The Arabs, however, failed to assemble a fleet, and abandoning the idea of a raid, dispersed. Nasir returned to El-Bidā.

In January 1881, Nasir wrote to the Resident, stating that he was constantly urged by persons in Bahrein to come there, and that although he had long refrained from taking this step out of deference to British authority, his forbearance had not been profitable for him. Therefore, to improve his circumstances, he now intended to proceed to Bahrein, and he hoped for the support of the British Government. He would, of course, inform the Resident of his arrival in the island.

To avoid further complications, and to assert her authority in the Gulf, Persia at this time determined to build a war fleet. The idea, however, was "discountenanced" by the British, who suspected hidden designs against "the independence of the islands and pearl fisheries of Bahrein." Despite the promise that the flotilla would be commanded by British officers and manned by Arabs and Indians, the British refused to help, and outwitted Persia by signing with the Sheik of Bahrein the Agreement of December 2, 1880.

Isa, on behalf of himself and his successors, agreed to "abstain from entering into negotiations or making treaties of any sort with any State or Government other than the British, or establishing diplomatic or consular agencies or coaling depots" in his territory, "unless with the consent of the British Government." Thus by this Agreement, Bahrein became de facto a British protectorate, although officially, with wonderful euphemism, it was, and still is, called "an independent Arab State under British protection."

All was not well for the British however. Conditions in the Gulf soon began to change. In 1885, the *Persepolis*, a screw steamship of six hundred tons and 450 horsepower, carrying four 750-mm. Krupp guns, was turned out from the dockyard

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at Bremerhaven and arrived at Bushir. The terror inspired by that first Persian vessel was such, wrote Lord Curzon, "that immediately upon her appearance any disturbance as a rule ceased. 175

Subsequently, Persian and Russian officers of the Cossack regiment paid visits to the south of Persia, notably to Bushir, Bender Abbas, and Hormuz. Hormuz was visited and surveyed by a military engineer; there was a rumor that a Russian coaling station was to be established on the island in the near future.

In August 1886, a messenger arrived in Bahrein from Fath Ali Khan, Persian Governor of Lar, bearing presents for Sheik Isa.

By now the Persian Gulf had attracted international interests, and in October 1891, a Mr. Strasburger was sent to the Gulf by an Anglo-French syndicate to report on the possibilities for investment of the pearl banks. He visited Bahrein and other ports with a view to obtaining information as to how the industry was conducted. The result of his inquiry did not encourage the introduction of European capital. In December 1891, the Sheik granted a concession to a British firm at Bushir for the exclusive rights to export shells, but withdrew it, on the understanding that it would not be granted to anyone else, and that the purchase and sale of shells should be free to all. The Sheik, however, imposed a heavy export duty on shells.

Recrudescence of Persian authority and foreign interests in the Persian Gulf alarmed the British. To forestall any change of heart on the part of Isa, whose desire for independence, and Persian sympathies were well known, they forced him to sign on March 13, 1892, what is known as the "Exclusive Agreement." In substance, it was a confirmation of the Agreement signed with him twelve years before.

However, besides agreeing to restrictions in Bahrein's foreign relations and to the interdiction of foreign consular agents, both of which had been previously agreed to, the Sheik bound himself "on no account to cede, sell, mortgage, or otherwise give for occupancy any part of his territory save to the British Government."

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175 In March 1894, serious dissentions troubled Bahrein. Khalid ibn 'Ali, a brother of Sheik Isa, insulted Ahmed ibn Salim, one of the Sheiks of Al-i-'Ali. Sultan ibn Salamah, the head of the tribe, complained to Isa, but the Sheik neglected to give him satisfaction. Al-i-'Ali then decided to migrate from Bahrein. Isa forbade them to do so, and serious riots took place during which four persons were killed. Al-i-'Ali were successful in leaving the island, and they found refuge in Katar. Through the intervention of Sheik Qāsim ibn Muhammad, they received permission from the Ottoman to establish themselves at Zobara and to hoist the Turkish flag over their pearl fishing boats.

Zobara was claimed as an hereditary possession by Sheik Isa, but as a matter of policy, and in order to obviate conflicts on the mainland, he had left it unoccupied. Isa complained to the British, who protested to the Porte the hospitality given to "pirates." In its reply, the Porte suggested that the matter should be settled locally with Qāsim. British Resident Wilson visited Qāsim, and requested the extradition of Al-i-'Ali from Zobara, but Qāsim refused to acquiesce to the British demand.

The British ship, *Sphinx,* accordingly seized 19 boats belonging to the rebellious tribe, and conducted them to Bahrein. The Al-i-'Ali in retaliation, seized a number of boats sent from Bahrein to Zobara to bring over one of the leading members of the tribe who had made his peace with the Sheik of Bahrein.

A few Turkish troops with minor officials at their head, had some time previously been stationed at Zobara and the Ottoman flag hoisted. A small Turkish warship had also appeared on the scene and remained anchored for some time off Zobara. The situation became threatening, and in 1895, the Mutassanif of Hasa addressed a letter to the Resident reasserting Turkish pretensions, and intimating that upon failure to restore the boats seized by the *Sphinx,* an attack would be launched by the tribes of the Qatar Peninsula on Bahrein; British subjects should be removed from the island within seventeen days. The British man-of-war, *Pigeon,* which had shortly before proceeded to Bahrein and been dispatched thence

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to Zobara, was ordered by local officials to depart under threat of an attack, and it was intimated that the large fleet of Arab craft lying near by was prepared for an attack on Bahrein. The two British ships opened fire on the Arab fleet, and bombarded the town of Zobara. The following morning, Sheik Qasim offered full submission, and in compliance with Captain Pelly's demands, some 120 more of the ships at Zobara were surrendered and removed to Bahrein. The Al-i-'Ali, with the exception of Sultan ibn Salamah and a few adherents, returned to Bahrein.

Sheik Qāsim was informed in February 1896 of the decision of the British Government, that as the main instigator of these disturbances, he should be fined 30,000 rupees, failing payment of which, the captured boats would be destroyed. He repudiated responsibility, asserting that he had followed the orders of the Turkish authorities. The British offered the tribes that had been involved a chance to redeem their boats by paying a proportionate share of the indemnity. The offer was taken advantage of to the extent of one-third of the total. The remaining ships were destroyed a few days after the close of the year.

In December, Sultan ibn Salamah, leader of the Al-i-'Ali, in accordance with his custom, crossed over to the mainland to hunt. A group of men of the Ammamerah tribe fell in with him at sea off Ras Tanurah, near Qatif, and murdered him with his son, nephew, and twenty-three of his followers. Since Salamah had led the rebellion against Bahrein, the Sheik naturally was somewhat reluctant to punish the Ammamerah, and was the target of some of the ill feeling aroused by the assassination.

Ali, son of Sultan ibn Salamah, supported by a Bedouin following, tried to incite some of the Al-i-'Ali to aid him in reprisals against the Ammamerah pearl banks. The Sheik, however, warned them against taking part in the venture, and the attempt failed.

Some of the Al-i-'Ali, sympathizing with the feeling of their late Sheik's son, and dissatisfied with the immunity per-

175 mitted to his murderers, crossed over to Qatar, where they joined Ali at Qarya. They subsequently attacked and plundered a Bahrein boat, carrying off pearls and monies amounting to over 1,000 rupees. Sheik Isa accepted the accomplished fact, and consented to the departure of the disaffected elements, later on authorizing the families of the men to join them on the mainland.

To prevent the local Sheik from disturbing the peace of the Gulf, the Persian and British Governments had recently signed the International Convention on traffic of arms. The two Governments in their partnership of policing the Gulf, had instructed their Navy to cooperate by tracking down the smuggling of arms between their respective territories. Consequently, the following proclamation was published by the Sheik of Bahrein:

"Be it known to all who see this that British and Persian vessels of war have permission to search vessels carrying their and our flags in Bahrein territorial waters, and to confiscate all arms and ammunition (weapons of war) in them, if those arms and ammunitions are intended for Indian or Persian ports or the Island of Bahrein. . . ."

## 20th CENTURY

648 At the end of the 19th century and the opening of the 20th, the Persian Gulf became the main center of international intrigue. The Russians opened a series of consulates, and organized and subsidized steamer services.

In 1901, the German firm of Prins und Sturken, of Hamburg, opened a branch in Bahrein. In February 1902, two Frenchmen, Dumas and Castelin, arrived in Bahrein to open a business, and a German assistant to Woenkhaus and Company, of Hamburg, arrived later in the same year.

Three years later, Woenkhaus who was already dealing in [228] mother-of-pearl, transferred their main center of business from Lingah to Bahrein, where they asked a concession from the Sheik for the exploitation of pearl fisheries.

Prevented by the British, they then applied to Constantinople

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648 for a lease over the island of Halul. With commercial competition, came political rivalry which caused Britain to hasten her Indianization of Bahrein.

The first step had already been taken after the incidents resulting from the departure of Al-i-'Ali, when as the price for their aid, the British established in Bahrein a Political Agent, subordinate to the Persian Gulf Political Resident at Bushir. The Bahrein Agent obtained jurisdiction over British subjects in the island, and the right to supervise their claims.

The second step occurred in 1903. Some German and Persian subjects were maltreated and beaten by the nephew of the Sheik. The Germans complained to Bushir and demanded retribution. This necessitated intervention by the Political Agent, and the Sheik's nephew was deported to Bombay for five years. To avoid a repetition of the incident, the Political Agent at Bahrein was charged with jurisdiction over all foreigners. To compensate the Sheik for the loss of prestige, his personal salute was increased from five to seven guns.

The measures taken by the British in Bahrein provoked strong protests from the Persian Government, which in a note to the British Minister, affirmed their sovereignty over the islands. The note was answered in 1906 by the English Minister in Teheran, and declared:

His Majesty's Government consider the Island of Bahrein and its inhabitants under British protection and they refuse to accept any new representations on this subject.

In answer to this, an official protest was sent by the Persian Government declaring that the claims were based on the Agreement of October 30, 1822, between Captain William Bruce, "special commissioner of the British Government," and the Prince Governor of Shiraz. The British Government, in its answer of January 2, 1907, and again on February 23, of the same year, maintained that that Agreement had been filed without the necessary authorization and had been immediately "disavowed by competent representatives of His Britannic Majesty." The English note maintained that, since "His Majesty Fath Ali

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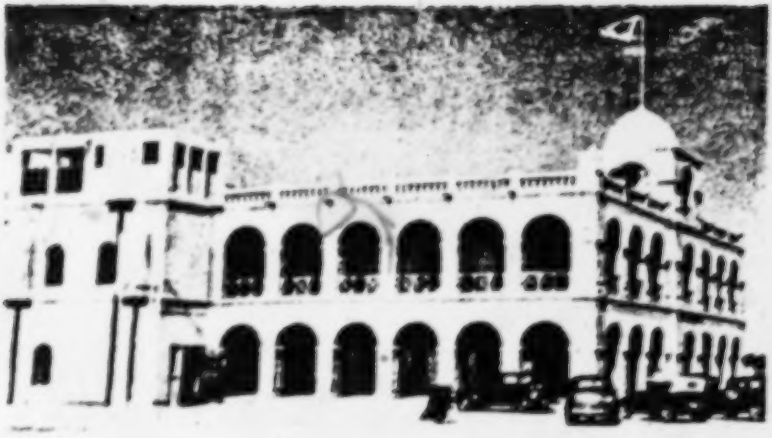

PALACE OF THE SHEIK OF BAHREIN

[facing page 95]

648 Shah has equally refused the stipulation of this accord, and has manifested his displeasure that the Prince of Shiraz had taken engagements with the British Government without previous approval of His Majesty, and without receiving specific instructions . . . that Agreement could not be considered as ever having been binding."

However, due to the internal situation in Persia — the Revolution of 1906, followed by Civil War and the intervention of British and Russians acting after the Agreement of 1907 —claim over Bahrein was momentarily forgotton.

However, the position of the British in Bahrein was challenged by the Turks, who, in 1909, occupied the island of Zakhnuniyeh which belonged to the Dawāsīr tribe, subject of Sheik Isa.

The British Ambassador protested to the Porte, and the Turks answered that the presence of their gendarmes was necessary to maintain order among the Dawasīr fishermen from Bahrein who frequented the island. In the spring of 1910, however, the Turkish soldiers returned, and the Turkish flag was hoisted every Friday.

Soon the situation in Europe necessitated an attempt by Turks and British to settle their differences, and in a confidential memorandum to the Turkish Government on July 29, 1911, Sir Edward Gray wrote that in the opinion of his Government "any lasting settlement between the two Powers [Great Britain and Turkey] must provide for the definite renunciation by the Ottoman Government of Bahrein and adjacent islands and of the whole of the Peninsula of Qatar (including El-Bidā) where the Sheik of Bahrein has important rights."

On this basis, negotiations took place between the two Powers, and finally a Convention was concluded on July 29, 1913. The outstanding provisions of the Convention were:

1. The Ottoman Imperial Government renounces to all claims concerning the Bahrein Islands, including the two islets, Lubainat-al-Aliya and Lubainat-es-Safliya, and recognizes the independence of that country. In turn, the Government of His Britannic Majesty declares that they have no intention of annexing the Bahrein Island to their territories. (Article 13.)

2. The British Government guaranteed to the Turks that the Sheik of Bahrein would not perceive from the Ottoman subjects engaged in pearl fishing, taxes higher than those perceived from interested persons of the most favored nations. (Article 14.) 648

3. The subjects of the Sheik of Bahrein would be considered aliens in Ottoman territories and could claim the protections of the British consuls. This protection, however, should be exercised in conformity with the general rules of European international law, excluding the subjects of Bahrein from the privileges accorded by the capitulations to subjects of specific powers. (Article 15.)

4. Turkey also renounced sovereignty over the Qatar Peninsula, which "Would be ruled as in the past by the Sheik Qasim ibn Thāni and his successors." (Article 11.)

5. The British Government declared that it "would not permit the Sheik of Bahrein to interfere in the internal affairs of Qatar, to jeopardize the autonomy of the country, or to annex it." In return, however, Turkey wanted the island of Zakhnuniyeh, opposite the coast of Nejd, but was ready to compensate the Sheik of Bahrein for its loss. The British government "takes notice of the decision of the Imperial Ottoman Government to pay the sum of 1,000 British sterling to the Sheik of Bahrein in compensation for renunciation of all its claims over the Island of Zakhnuniyeh situated near the littoral of Ottoman Nejd and belonging to that Sanjak, and offer their good offices to remit that sum to the Sheik against written renunciation which would be sent to the Ottoman Imperial Government."

This last was a secret clause, and the Turks, as it turned out, had not driven a good bargain, for they soon had to give up the whole of the Nejd to Ibn Saud, who had occupied the coast of Hasa in May 1913.

As far as the guarantee for pearl fishing was concerned, (Article 5), neither the British Government nor the Sheikdom of Bahrein had the right to grant preferential position to the Turks, or forbid their subjects to use the fruit of the seabeds, as the pearl banks of the Gulf have always been open to all the inhabitants of the littoral.

The eclipse of the Turks permitted Great Britain to expand its power over Qatar and Trucial Oman. On December 26, 1916, a treaty was signed by Ibn Saud and the British Resident in the Persian Gulf, acting for the Government of India, by which Great Britain recognized Ibn Saud and his successors—so long

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648 as they were not antagonistic to Great Britain—as independent ruler of his territories, dependencies, ports, and coasts, and absolute chief of the tribes inhabiting them. (Article 1.)

Other provisions were:

1. Ibn Saud agreed to refrain from aggression against the territories of Koweit, Bahrein, and the Sheiks of the Oman Coast who were in treaty relations with the British Government. (Article 6.)
2. The limits of the other independent Arab principalities (Mentioned in Article 6), as well as those of Ibn Saud's own territories and dependencies (Article 1), would be discussed and determined at a later date, and that the two parties at that time would conclude a further and more detailed treaty. (Article 7.)

This agreement constituted no departure from traditional British policy in the Gulf, but rather confirmed their position in maintaining the status quo against internal disorder or foreign menace.

At the end of the World War, Britain decided to strengthen the ties which already connected Bahrein with her Indian Empire.

In 1913, the Bahrein Order in Council establishing the civil and criminal laws of British India, had been promulgated, but because of the outbreak of war, its application had been postponed.

Now Britain decided to put it in execution. However, they met with opposition, and this created a tension which was to disturb Bahrein for many years to come.

The main opposition to this third and last step in Indianization of Bahrein, came from the Persian elements of the population. The party of liberation of Bahrein, which was a branch of the Persian Democratic party, carried its activities against the British intervention; meetings were organized, and cables sent to Persian Parliament requesting the intervention of the Majlis for holding elections in Bahrein and admission of Bahrein deputy to Persian Parliament.

The tension grew between the Persians and the Arabs, encouraged by the British, and from the beginning of 1922, a series of minor clashes took place between the two elements.

Little by little, the clashes became more frequent, and from 648
the end of April 1923, fighting took place almost every day.

On the fourth of May, a regular fight took place between the inhabitants of the two villages of Badaiya' (populated by the Arabs of Nedj and Sunni), and that of Ali (inhabited by Persians of Shiah creed).

On the 9th of May, a band of armed Arabs attacked the Persians, killing three and wounding thirty-seven. Persian houses were sacked and occupants maltreated. The local government was unable to cope with the situation, and again the Arabs from Nedj received reinforcements from the mainland, and attacked Persian houses, stores, and villages. In this act of vandalism, 10 Persians were killed again, but the intervention of the local police, who were under the authority of the Persian Major, Muhammad Sharif, prevented further disaster by shooting on the assailants.

To reestablish order, the Political Agent had to call on British naval units which arrived on May 12th and 13th. Sheik Isa was held responsible and was asked to abdicate, but he convoked the council of his family, and they decided to refuse the demand. Confronted by the threats of the British Resident, however, he was "persuaded" to relegate his power to his son Sheik Hamed, who was declared Lieutenant of the Realm.

After his forced abdication, Isa, as a protest against the action which violated the rule of friendship, refused for more than five years to receive his son. Eventually, however, a reconciliation took place.

The Persian Mayor was sacrificed and his office suspended. 648
The national and foreign tribunals gave way to a Divan 652
formed by the Sheik and the Political Agent. An office of Ad- [692]
ministration of Finance was created, with a Briton at its head. Civil and military lists were established for the Sheik and his family. The English Bank of Manama, the Eastern Bank, was assigned to function as the Government Treasury. The legal provisions of the Bahrein Order in Council of 1913 were enforced.

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692 Since the Order in Council is so important as to have changed the social as well as the political status of Bahrein, it is worth while here to give a summary:

In matters relating to criminal and civil cases, the laws of British India and the United Kingdom are applied. By provision of Article 12, "the enactments described in the first schedule to the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890 shall apply to Bahrein, as if it were a British Colony or Possession, with the difference that the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf is substituted for the Governor of a Colony or Possession, the Chief Court for a Superior Court or Supreme Court, and the District Court for a Magistrate or Justice of the Peace of a Colony or Possession. In criminal matters, the laws of British India are applied, and the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf shall form a Chief Court with power invested in a High Court of Judicature; the Political Agent at Bahrein is the equivalent of the District Magistrate and Sessions Judge. The Judicial Assistant to the Political Resident corresponds to the Additional District Magistrate and Additional Sessions Judge.

If both plaintiff and defendant are Moslem and agree to such procedure, the Political Agent may order the case to be tried by a Qazi (a Moslem judge having both civil and criminal jurisdiction). But his verdict must be ratified by the Political Agent, who is empowered to revise the findings and sentence "as if the Qazi were a Subordinate Magistrate."

The powers of the Court (that is, of the Political Resident, the Political Agent, or the Judicial Assistant) are almost unlimited. The Political Agent can condemn to exile or jail any person under his jurisdiction or can "require him to give security to the satisfaction of the Court for his future good behavior." (Article 20.)

Articles 21 and 22 are still more restrictive in spirit. Limited at first to British subjects, the provisions of these articles, by the Amendment of 1924, were extended to "any person to whom this Order applies"—that is to say, to all British subjects, all foreign subjects who by virtue of an accord with the Sheik are under British jurisdiction, and finally all subjects of Bahrein who are listed on the Register of the Political Agency. These articles, therefore, place in the hands of the Political Agent a powerful weapon.

In fact, the Political Agent as District Court, can "under its seal exile any person who has committed or is about to commit any offense against the Order, or otherwise is conducting himself so as to be dangerous to peace and good order," during a time not exceeding two years.

In civil matters, the Code of Civil Procedure and other

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Indian enactments relating to the administration of civil justice, and so on, are applied "as if Bahrein were a district in the Presidency of Bombay."

However, if the two parties accept "a question of local custom," they can be sent to the Majlis of Urf for consideration or report, and a dispute over accounts between pearling masters and divers may be sent to the Salefah Court for adjustment. Finally, Article 70 gives to the Political Resident the power of issuing regulations (called King's Regulations), having for their object "the peace, order, and good government of persons to whom this Order applies," and relating "to any native or local law or custom, whether relating to trade, commerce, revenue, or any other matter."

To summarize, any difficulty of a civil or criminal nature arising between a subject of Bahrein and a person to whom the Order applies, is regulated by a kind of collaboration between the Political Agent and the Sheik of Bahrein. The Political Agent, according to the nature of the case, can judge it himself with the help of the Sheik, or send it to a Joint Court, submit criminal cases to the Qazi, if the two parties are Moslem, refer civil cases to the Majlis of Urf, or submit cases relating to pearl fishing to a Salefah Tribunal.

The application of these measures provoked a local spirit of nationalism. Protests were organized in many places. The principal of Bahrein adopted the following resolutions and urged twelve of their number to try to enforce them by use of "all legal means".

1. Continuation, as before, of local government without intervention by the Political Agent;
2. Re-establishment of the laws based on religious principles (*Shar'*) and in conformity with their instructions;
3. Election of a representative chamber to insure the rights of the people;
4. Creation of a tribunal for pearl fishing (*Qaus*) composed of persons familiar with the problems relating to the industry;

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668 5. Efforts to bring the Political Agent into conformity with the treaty between England and Bahrein, and to prevent his intervention in the internal affairs of the island.

The British considered the resolutions to be an act of rebellion against Sheik Hamad, and acted vigorously. Several people, among whom, Ali, nephew of the Sheik of Bahrein, and Ziani, the leader of the liberation party, were exiled to India, and coercive measures were taken against the others. The insurrection was put down, and the nationalist movement strangled. Since then, a number of the measures called for have been put into practice, but Bahrein, *de facto* if not *de jure,* has become a British Crown Colony.

1918 Differences between Persia and England, regarding Persian sovereignty over Bahrein arose in the same year. The pretext was a clause in the Treaty of Jaddah signed May 20, 1927, between England and Ibn Saud, which read as follows: "Ibn Saud undertakes to maintain friendly and peaceful relations with—Bahrein, who is in special treaty relations with His Britannic Majesty's Government."

Persia, in a note addressed on November 22, 1927 to the British Minister at Teheran, affirmed her rights over Bahrein, declared that "the article is contrary to the territorial integrity of Persia," and asked that the British Government "promptly take necessary measures to relieve its implications."

In a note sent the following day to the General Secretary of the League of Nations, she invoked Article 10 of the Covenant, guaranteeing the territorial integrity of all member states. Persia asked the League to "guarantee her undisputed rights over Bahrein."

In a reply dated January 18, 1928, England tried to repudiate the Persian claim, and confirmed her own position, which was "to insure that the pacific development of the island and the prosperity of its Arab inhabitants are not troubled by unjustified advances coming from her neighbors and having in view the subordination of the inhabitants to foreign domination."

The British reply was followed by a new Persian note on

August 2, 1928, which developed in detail the matters discussed in the preceding note and affirmed Persian sovereignty over Bahrein. England answered on February 18, 1929, developing the arguments in her first note and reiterating her previous contentions.

Meanwhile, the Bahrein Government instituted visa regulations and established a land registry office. Since the promulgation of the decree of December 21, 1927, all real properties had to be registered, but no one except "a subject of Bahrein" had right to own property in the island.

Obviously this was to deprive Persians of their rights of ownership in Bahrein. Many sold their land and migrated to Persia, and those who stayed behind had to accept Bahrein citizenship.[1]

Also, previously passports had not been required from Persians travelling to Bahrein, and Persia protested against the change. According to the Persian note, the change "was the explicit recognition by the English authorities of the indisputable right of Iran [Persia] over Bahrein."

Publication of the news of oil concessions obtained previously by Major Holmes from the Bahrein Government, provoked on July 23, 1930, another note from Persia, in which she declared the concession invalid and "reserved—the right to reclaim or to demand restitution of all profits resulting eventually from that concession, without prejudice of all damages relating to it." This strong protest did not deter the English syndicate from ceding its rights to the Standard Oil Company of California, which began systematic exploitation.

The concession to prospect and explore for oil in Bahrein had been obtained on December 2, 1925, to Major Frank Holmes, representing Eastern and General Syndicate, a British company headed by Edmond Davis. For two years, the syndicate tried without success, to interest first British, and later American concerns, in the development of the Bahrein concession. Finally, on

1. This decree was still stiffened by the decrees of 1930 and that of May 23, 1941.

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471 November 30, 1927, an American corporation, the Eastern
648 Gulf Company,[1] acquired the option which was scheduled to expire January 1, 1929. Under the terms of the option, Eastern Gulf started preparatory work and made a surface geological map of Bahrein Island.

Gulf, however, which at that time was a member of the American Group[2] of the Turkish Petroleum Company,[3] signed the Group Agreement of July 31, 1928. This Agreement incorporated the restrictive clause of the Foreign Office Agreement of 1914, which prohibited the signatories from acting independently "directly or indirectly in the production or manufacture of crude oil" in an area bounded on the map by a red line.[4] In order to hold on to its interests in Iraq Petroleum, and also because it held an option on a concession for Koweit, Eastern Gulf, with the consent of the Syndicate,[5] on December 28, 1928, assigned its Bahrein option to the Standard Oil Company of California for the sum of $50,000. Under the terms of the option, the syndicate was to secure from the British Colonial Office a one-year renewal of the concession, due to expire December 2, 1928.

In the meantime, after the payment of the rent due in October 1928, the Colonial Office, now aware of the transaction, made the renewal of the lease "contingent upon insertion in the agreement of a clause providing, among other things, that the managing director and a majority of the other directors should be British subjects, that the Concessionaire Company should be

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1. A subsidiary of the Gulf Oil Corporation of Pennsylvania, which was controlled by Andrew Mellon.
2. This group owned 23.75% of Turkish Petroleum. The other four members of the American Group were: Atlantic Refining Company, Pan-American Petroleum and Transport Company, Standard Oil Company of New York (since 1931, Socony Vacuum Oil Company), and Standard Oil of New Jersey.
3. Iraq Petroleum Company since 1929.
4. For this reason, the Group Agreement is commonly referred to as the "Red Line Agreement." The restricted area includes most of the pre-World War I territory of the Ottoman Empire, the islands of Rhodes, Cyprus, Kamaran, and Bahrein, excluding Farsan Island and the Sheikdom of Koweit.
5. After consultation with its partners in Iraq Petroleum.

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British registered, and none of the rights and privileges which the Sheik had granted in the Concession would be controlled directly or indirectly by foreigners."

These conditions seemed contrary to the Open Door policy and to the equality of commercial opportunity advocated by the United States since the first World War. Secretary of State Kellogg, on March 28, 1929, instructed the American Chargé d'Affaires "to discuss this case informally" with the British Government.

The British, in their answer declared themselves to be "prepared in principle to consent to the participation of United States interests in [the Bahrein] concession, subject to [their] being satisfied as to the conditions on which U. S. capital will participate and in particular as to the nationality of the operating company, of its chairman and directors, and of the personnel who will be employed in the Islands." The note suggested "direct discussions between representatives of the Eastern and General Syndicate, as the existing Concessionaire, and the Colonial Office."

The negotiations which took place in London were successful, and Standard Oil of California nominated its fully-owned subsidiary, the Bahrein Petroleum Company,[1] as the company to which the concession should be transferred. On August 1, 1930, in agreement with the Sheik of Bahrein, formal assignment of the concession to the Bahrein Petroleum Company was concluded.

September 19, 1930, British authorities had arrested a number of important Persian residents in the island who had been accused of inviting the Bahreinis to send a petition to the League of Nations against the projected union of the Arab Principalities of the Persian Gulf, a movement patronized by the British Government. After some disturbances, calm was restored when units of the British fleet started "maneuvers" in plain view of the island.

By now, the Bahrein oil companies had started their exploita-

1. Incorporated in Canada (Ottawa, January 11, 1929).

471 tion of the island, and in a note to the United States Minister at
648 Teheran dated May 22, 1934, Persia denounced the concession as having been granted by "legally incompetent authorities," thus rendering it null and void. As in the British note, she "reserved all . . . rights . . . to all profits realized by the said concessions", and stated that she regarded the United States liable for all damages sustained by the Persian Government.

The American Department of State was reluctant to recognize Persia's claim over the Bahrein Island. It should be recalled, that the Reservation sponsored by Senator King of Utah, and approved to the Convention for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War, which the Senate passed on June 15, 1934, was strongly opposed by the Administration. This Reservation was to prevent the United States Government undertaking steps which would "deny any right of sovereignty which Persia might have, in, and to, the Persian Gulf." Finally the Senate approved the Convention without the King Reservation.

Soon these exchanges of diplomatic correspondences were terminated by Sir John Simon, the British Foreign Secretary, who in a note addressed on July 23, 1934 to the General Secretary of the League of Nations, declared that his Government "did not intend for the moment to add anything to her former notes." This was a dead end, and the "Bahrein Affair" became another of the forgotten cases of the League.

The Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs prepared yet another note, but for some reason it was not sent.

On December 29, 1934, the Sheik of Bahrein granted the Bahrein Petroleum Company a mining lease to extend for fifty-five years from January 1, 1935. This lease covered approximately 100,000 acres selected by the company in one block on the main island of Bahrein.

The Bahrein Petroleum Company, however, did not have facilities to market its production. The Texas Corporation, on the other hand, had extensive marketing facilities, both direct and through agents, in the areas east of Suez. Therefore, Stan-

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dard Oil of California and the Texas Company therefore, 471
consolidated their interests "east of Suez", and in July 1936 648
created Caltex (the California-Texas Oil Company, Ltd.), incorporating in the Bahamas. The Texas Company transferred to the Bahrein Petroleum Company, (sole owner of Caltex), its five wholly-owned subsidiaries with marketing facilities in eastern and southern Africa, eastern and southern Asia, the Philippine Islands, the East Indies, Australia, and New Zealand. In turn, the Texas Company acquired a 50% interest in Bahrein which doubled its capitalization, and issued the newly created shares to The Texas Company. Standard Oil of California continued to hold the remaining 50%.

The rivalry between Britain and Italy, and the Italo-Ethiopian 648
War, motivated Great Britain to strengthen her defenses in the Persian Gulf. Since 1930, the Baghdad-Karachi route, which had passed over the Persian mainland, had been detoured southward to pass over Koweit, Bahrein, and Sharjah (in Oman), then follow the coast to the Persian Gulf to Gwadar, in English Baluchistan, and thence to Karachi.

The British Government purchased from the Sheik of Bahrein, the vast promontory on the northeastern point of the island at Manama, in order to transfer their naval base from Henjam and Basidu, to Bahrein. The Bahrein Government agreed to undertake the construction there of the necessary buildings for lodging officers and men, and a military airport was built for the R. A. F., as well as a base for hydro-planes.

The British Naval base at Basra was abandoned, and Bahrein became the strategic center for Britain in the Gulf. It is the seat not only of the Political Resident, but also of the Political Agent for Bahrein, the Assistant Political Agent, the Political Officer for the Trucial Coast, and the Publicity Officer for the Persian Gulf. These officials are to be distinguished from the technical advisers to the Sheik, who, although they are also British subjects, are state servants of Bahrein, and thus not subordinate to the Persian Gulf Residency. Chief among these are: the Political Adviser to the Government of Bahrein, the

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Collector of Customs, the State Engineer, and the Superintendent of Schools.

On November 16, 1935, the Governments of Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom, acting on behalf of the Bahrein Government, entered into an Agreement regarding the "treatment of goods destined for or exported from ports in Saudi Arabia and carried in ships calling at Bahrein." The economic provisions were as follows:

1. Duty at the rate of 2% ad valorem shall continue to be levied on goods consigned to ports in Saudi Arabia or exported from ports in Saudi Arabia, which are landed at Bahrein in order to be re-exported.
2. Duty at the rate of 1-¾% ad valorem shall be levied on goods consigned to ports in Saudi Arabia, or exported from ports in Saudi Arabia, which are trans-shipped (that is, loaded and unloaded direct from ships into dhows and dhows into ships anchoring off Bahrein) without being landed.
3. In consideration of the reduction in the ordinary rate of 2%, which is provided for in the preceding paragraphs, the Saudi Government will not make any request for exemption from the above-mentioned duties in the case of goods consigned to H. M. the King of Saudi Arabia or to his Government.
4. Customs duty at the rate of not more than 5% ad valorem shall be levied on dates imported into Bahrein from the ports of Saudi Arabia, but the rate provided for in Paragraph 2 above shall be levied on dates transshipped without being landed. The above mentioned duties shall be continued on the basis of wholesale price of dates of similar quality in Bahrein market on the day on which the consignment is cleared through customs.

After the signing of this Treaty of Commerce, the eldest son of Ibn Saud, newly elected the heir apparent of Saudi Arabia, visited Bahrein, and the Sheik of Bahrein participated in the

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pilgrimage to Mecca, where he was officially received by Ibn Saud. The latter returned the visit in 1938 and stayed in Bahrein from May 2 to 7. 648

During the grandiose ceremonies at Bahrein, Sheik Hamed and his sons Abdallah (Governor of Muharraq), and Salman (Governor of Manama, and the present Sheik), pronounced speeches of welcome, sang Arabian poetry in honor of Ibn Saud, and exalted his visit as a sign of existing fraternity between Arab and Mussulman.

All this was part of a general pattern to favor the Arab unity. This unification of Arab lands which started after the first World War, was favored by the foreign office, and some quarters were favoring the unification of the Sheikdom of the Persian Gulf.

Beginning in 1937, the project of unification took on a more concrete form, especially after the journey to London of the Sheik of Bahrein and the still more noteworthy visit to Bahrein of the eldest son of Ibn Saud. (December 14-31, 1937). The final outcome was the adherence of these Sheikdoms to the much discussed Pact of Arab Alliance that had been signed by Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Iraq.

The British Consuls in the Middle East, met in 1938 to discuss the project of unification, but decided to wait for a "more propitious time." The reasons for this decision, were the difficulties between Koweit and Bahrein, the very cool reception accorded by Ibn Saud, who had always had an eye on Bahrein, and the opposition of the Colonial Office, which feared that the allegiance of the English protectorates to the Pact of Arab Alliance (the signatories to which were supposedly free countries), might diminish its value in the eyes of the public.

According to some Arab sources, the proposed unification consisted of:

1. Unification of the programs of studies in the schools;
2. Unification of postal and telegraph systems;
3. Institution of a common regular army, independent in each Sheikdom, but with a single General Staff;

648 4. Unification of judicial systems and the formation of a High Council in which each Sheikdom should be represented;

5. A Chamber whose membership would be elective or nominative by each Sheik (or having both elective and nominative members) in charge of establishing financial laws and approving the laws proposed by the High Council. The Government of each Sheik must submit to the chamber, whose members would be responsible to their respective rulers.

In the meantime, a law of citizenship hostile to Persian elements was promulgated in Bahrein.

Persia once again addressed a note to the General Secretariat of the League of Nation, protesting the intervention of British advisers in the internal affairs of the islands. Persia condemned the laws as "contempt of the right of the sovereignty of Persia over the island."

648 The arbitrary measures adopted by the Political Resident in 668 Bahrein provoked a new series of writings.

From the fifth to the seventh of November, 1938, the merchants of Manama closed their shops as a sign of protest against the Political Agent, Belgrave, who had arrested three Bahreini notables. The demonstrators advocated the formation of a native committee to direct education; the administration of justice by native Bahreinis; the creation of trade unions; formation of a Legislative Council; replacement of the British Political Agent; expulsion of unskilled foreign workers in the service of the oil companies and their replacement by subjects of Bahrein. The English declared martial law, and many persons were arrested and a few exiled. A group of these refugees, with the help of sympathizers, formed at Basra, in Iraq, in 1939, an "association to Help the Arab of the Gulf" for the purpose of propagandizing in favor of the Arabs oppressed by the British.

648 However, at the outbreak of the second World War, each of the Sheiks of the Gulf sent messages of fidelity to the British

Crown, and the King of England wrote to each to thank him for his generous offer. A typical gesture, announced proudly by BBC, was that of the Sheik of Bahrein, who declared that, although he had no men whom he could put in the service of the British, he was able to send a gift of money. This gift, which amounted to £30,000, was added to a pool organized to buy a Spitfire which was to be named *Bahrein.* In addition to the monetary gift, the Government put at the disposal of the British Admiralty "for the duration of the war", the entire pearl fishing fleet of the island, estimated at more than 3,000 units.

Meanwhile, by a Supplementary Agreement dated June 19, 1940, the Bahrein Petroleum Company received an extension of its concession, to include the area covering all lands, shoals, reefs, waters, and submerged lands of "the present and future domains" of the Sheik of Bahrein. The new concession supplants the mining lease of 1934, and the revised agreement with the Bahrein Petroleum Company covers a period of fifty-five years, dating from June 19, 1940. The present area of the concession is given as approximately 1,664,000 acres, with a proved reserve of about 200 million barrels.

The refineries and oil depots of the Bahrein Islands were bombed in October 1940 by three Italian heavy bombers—with "satisfactory results", according to a communiqué of the Italian High Command of October 20, 1940. The planes had taken off from Dodecanese bases, and the 2,500 mile raid was the longest then on record by any of the belligerents.

The results were not, according to Allied sources, as satisfactory as the Italians claimed. The planes which dropped about fifty bombs, caused very little damage to the main part of the refinery.

According to *Middle East Journal,* the Persian Government protested to Italy for this violation of its national territory.

On February 20, 1942, at the age of 70, Sheik Hamed died of a stroke and his eldest son, Salman, the Governor of Manama, succeeded him. British recognition was announced by the

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*London Times* of March 6, 1942. In July of the same year, the personal salute of the ruler of Bahrein was fixed at eleven guns.

On the occasion of his succession, Salman issued the following manifesto:

"We, Salman, have succeeded to the throne according to the promise which our father made to us, with the unanimous consent of our paternal uncles and our brothers and all of our tribe. We declare solemnly as our father ordered us, with the help of God to remain firmly attached to our religion, to be vigilant, to ameliorate the conditions of our tribe and our country, to act according to justice and equity, and, acting to reinforce the old ties of friendship which bound our country to England, to remain faithful forever to her friendship. We pray God, the All-Merciful and All-Powerful, to protect, guide, and help us."

The realities of war were brought home to Bahrein by price control and rationing system. The Government bought and imported all food supplies for the population, shops were opened in towns and in villages for rationed goods, and the queue system introduced.

There occurred a shortage of rice, staff food of the population, due to the drastic reduction of shipping facilities and the loss to the Japanese of Burma, Indo China and other producing centers. Rice was replaced by wheat, and as a result there was vast discontent among the population.

The black market flourished, and smuggling was rampant. Goods whose export was forbidden, were smuggled out of the country. At one time a bag of sugar could be bought in Bahrein for about 80 rupees; opposite on the Persian Coast, the same bag would be sold for 800 rupees. Motor tires were sold at fabulous prices in Persia and Iraq, and tea was a profitable commodity for smugglers.

The pearl industry flourished, although the fleets of diving boats were smaller because many divers preferred to earn money on the shore, and high prices were obtained for pearls in India, where people invested money in precious stones. No European

buyers visited the Gulf, and few, if any pearls were sent to Europe.

Owing to important developments in the Bahrein oil industry and war time public works, there was a great demand for labour. Not only manual labourers and skilled men, but any young Arabs with slight education could obtain well paid posts.

Many Bahreini invested their money in gardens and house property which resulted in a land boom. Axis broadcasts were forbidden in public places but most people listened to them in their houses.

To prevent any disturbances, very strong security measures were taken, and the police force numbered some 700 people.

The population sympathized with the Arabs of Palestine in their resistance to Jewish immigration, and in Bahrein, serious rioting broke out in answer to American stands concerning the partition of the Holy Land. Manama synagogue and scores of Jewish shops were wrecked and the Jews were beaten. At the same time, posters appeared on the streets at night denouncing Americans as the "foreigners who steal our oil."

To forestall any trouble, a Military Government was declared in Bahrein, and extraordinary precautions taken. These measures were resented by the Bahreini who complained to Persia.

The old quarrel over the ownership of Bahrein was revived, and the Cabinet decided on April 18, 1946, to charge taxes and royalties on oil entering Iran from Bahrein. The tax was fixed at $.80 a barrel, plus 20% of the annual net revenue of the Company, that is, the equivalent of the tax collected on the production of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Iran.

At the end of 1947, a delegation from Bahrein arrived in Teheran. The delegation was headed by a very prominent Sheik who was to represent Bahrein at the Iranian Parliament. He was received in a secret session of the Parliament, but as he was not duly elected, according to Persian election laws, it was decided that Majlis could not take any step in regard to its admission. In the session of April 15, 1948, the Parliament

voted unanimouly to place at the head of its agenda, a bill to assert Iranian sovereignty over Bahrein.

The Iranian authorities announced that telegrams and letters for Bahrein would be dispatched at domestic rates, as the Islands are part of Iranian national territory.

To complicate the matter, there was talk of partnership between the English and American oil interests in the Persian Gulf.

The question of participation of Socony Vacuum and Standard Oil of New Jersey in the holdings of Arabian Oil Company, and the building of the Tap Line, were under consideration.

Then there emerged an entirely new problem. On October 2, 1945, President Truman issued a presidential proclimation, that whatever may be under the waters of the Gulf of Mexico to the continental shelf "appertains" to the United States.

His precedent was the exploitation of the guano deposits of the Navassa Island, which since 1804 had legally belonged to Haiti. The United States, however, over the protest of the Haitian government, declared that Navassa "appertained" to the United States.

This was to extend the control by the coastal states over submarine areas beneath the high seas and outside of territorial waters.

The Iranian Government in a draft legislation submitted to the Parliament on May 19, 1949, affirmed the intention to extend Iranian sovereignty to the Continental Shelf in the Persian Gulf.

On May 28, the Saudi Arabian Government also pronounced, although on somewhat different theory, on a concept of contiguity, its claim over the waters of the Persian Gulf. This was followed on June 5, 1949, by a proclamation by the Sheik of Bahrein that the "sea bed and sub-soil of the high seas of the Persian Gulf bordering on the territorial waters of Bahrein and extending seaward," . . . belong to the country of Bahrein, and are subject to absolute authority and jurisdiction."

However, the limit was to be determined "after consultation with the neighboring governments," . . . with the principles of justice, when occasion so requires."

Soon afterwards, the Bahrein action was followed by proclamations of six other Sheikdoms along the Trucial coast, in substance similar to that of Bahrein.

Since then, the extraction of oil and other minerals from the bottom of the sea, has become a relatively easy every day operation.

At present, there are several wells operating in the Gulf of Mexico at distances of ten to forty miles from the American mainland, and at various depths. Therefore, the legal problems created by these proclamations have more than academic interest.

The islands and subsoil of the Persian Gulf have been classified as Zone 8, in the Operational Agenda plans of the Iranian Oil Company, which is a nationally owned company.

On the other hand, the Arabian Oil Co. and the Bahrein Petroleum Co. are exploiting Saudi Arabian and Bahrein oil. It is obvious that the two interests are working in opposite directions.

By the signing of the Anglo-American Oil Agreement, the two Governments are acting jointly, and the partnership of the Anglo-Iranian "oil deal" has united the interests of the two Governments.

However, to the eyes of Persians, Bahrein constitutes a "terra iredenta", and the Persian Government naturally resents any attempt to neglect its claim over Bahrein which it considers an integral part of its national territory.

In the last three years, Persia has proclaimed this attitude three times.

On April 2, 1949, the International Postal Union, in a circular, represented Bahrein among its adherents. Persia protested, and affirmed that it would continue to consider Post Office in Bahrein as an office in the territory of Persia.

648 In its reply, the International Postal Union declared that the Post Office in Bahrein is working only under the supervision of the British mail office, and that this working procedure had no political implications concerning the ownership of said territories.

In November and December 1949, a meeting of Economic Conference of Asian Nations was held in Karachi, Pakistan. The host state invited Bahrein to send a representative, but the Iranian Government protested to Pakistan, and asserted that it would not participate in the conference if Bahrein, which is an integral part of Persia, were invited separately. The invitation sent to Bahrein was then called off, and Iran attended the meeting.

Still more recently in August 1950, at the Regional Conference of the World Health Organization held in Constantinople, Persian attitude was the same, and Bahrein was not invited to attend the conference.

Over this clash of interests between Persia on one side, and England backed by the United States, comes the shadow of the Russian Bear. The aim of Russian policy to reach the Persian Gulf is an open secret.

On October 13, 1940, just after the signing of the Tripartite Pact by Germany, Italy, and Japan, Russia was invited to become a fourth member. Ribbentrop wrote to Stalin, inviting Molotov to Berlin for a discussion of foreign policy, and Molotov arrived the middle of November. After some preliminary discussion, an agreement was drawn up providing, among other things, that Russia's slice of territory should lie "to the South of the territory of the Soviet Republics in the direction of the Indian Ocean." This was subsequently amended to give Russia specifically "the area south of Baku and Batum in the direction of the Persian Gulf." After the outbreak of the war, Berlin sounded out Moscow to see if a separate peace would be possible, and Russia, in a note, created the impression in Berlin that it would be, if Germany met certain stiff demands; among these was the Russian expansion south and east to Gwadar.

Supposedly because the Germans considered the demands too great, the negotiations fell through. 648

According to Cordell Hull, before going to the Moscow Conference, President Roosevelt felt that the Baltic passages—Kiel and the straits might each be set up as a free zone under international trustees, and that a similar zone might be ararnged for Russia to the Persian Gulf.

Many waters have passed under the bridge since 1943; with open antagonism between the United States and Russia following the Cold War, and with the chance of open hostilities, the importance of the Persian Gulf as a strategic area has been brought to light.

In case of war, the American oil holdings in Saudi Arabia, and the Anglo-Iranian Company installations in Southern Persia, would be the first targets of an eventual enemy.

The American military air base of Dhahran in Saudi Arabia would be of no value without the English naval military bases on Bahrein Island. [712]

In short, the future of Bahrein will no doubt prove as complex as its past, but let us hope that wisdom will prevail; that the peace which is no doubt everybody's desire will be accomplished; and that a happy solution, satisfactory to all concerned, may be established.

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# APPENDIX

## I

### Translation of Agreement signed by the Chief of Bahrein, dated December 22, 1880.

648

I, Isa bin Ali Al Khalifah, Chief of Bahrein, hereby bind myself and successors in the Government of Bahrein to the British Government to abstain from entering into negotiations or making treaties of any sort with any State or Government other than the British without the consent of the said British Government, and to refuse permission to any other Government than the British to establish diplomatic or consular agencies or coaling depots in our territory, unless with the consent of the British Government.

This engagement does not apply to nor affect the customary friendly correspondence with the local authorities of neighboring States on business of minor importance.

The above agreement is subject to the approval and acceptance of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council.

Isa Bin Ali
Ahmad Bin Ali

Signed and sealed at Bahrein on the twenty-second day of December, one thousand eight hundred and eighty in my presence.

E. C. Ross, Lieut.-Col.,
Political Resident, Persian Gulf

The above Agreement was accepted and ratified by Her Britannic Majesty's Government in 1881.

E. C. Ross, Lieut.-Col.,
Political Resident, Persian Gulf

## II

### Exclusive Agreement of the Sheik of Bahrein with the British Government, March 13, 1892.

I, Esau Isā bin Ali, Chief of Bahrein, in the presence of Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Talbot, C.I.E. Political Resident, Persian Gulf, do hereby solemnly bind myself and agree, on behalf of myself, my heirs and successors, to the following conditions, viz.:

1st, That I will on no account enter into any agreement or correspondence with any Power other than the British Government.

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648 2nd, That without the assent of the British Government, I will not consent to the residence within my territory of the agent of any other Government.

3rd, That I will on no account cede, sell, mortgage, or otherwise give for occupation any part of my territory save to the British Government.
Dated Bahrein, 13 March 1892, corresponding with 14th Shaaban, 1309.

Esau bin Ali
Chief of Bahrein

A. C. Talbot, Lieut.-Col.
Resident, Persian Gulf

Lansdowne
Viceroy and Gov. Gl. of India

Ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India at Simla on the twelfth day of May, 1892.

H. M. Durand
Secretary to the Gov't. of India, Foreign Dept.

## III

**Undertaking by the Sheik of Bahrein, regarding oil, 1914. (Translation of a letter dated the 18th of Jamadi II, 1332 (May 14, 1914) from Sheik Isa Bin Ali Al Khalifah, Chief of Bahrein, to Major A. P. Trevor, C.I.E., Political Agent, Bahrein):**

I have received your esteemed letter No. 531, dated the 18th Jamadi II 1332 (May 14, 1914), on the subject of the possibility of obtaining kerosene oil in Bahrein. Just as I informed your honor in my letter, dated the 17th Jamadi-us-sani 1332, when the time comes for obtaining it I will certainly consult the Political Agency. I do hereby repeat to you that if there is any prospect of obtaining kerosene oil in my territory, I will not embark on the exploitation of it myself and will not entertain overtures from any quarter regarding it without consulting the Political Agent in Bahrein and without the approval of the High Government.

This is what had to be said. May you be preserved and salams.

## IV

641 **Bahrein Nationality Law**

ARTICLE I.

The following are considered to be Bahrein nationals:

(a) All persons born in Bahrein before or after the date of this Law except as provided for in Article II.

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(b) Persons born abroad before or after the date of this Law whose fathers or paternal grandfathers were born in Bahrein, except persons whose fathers during the minority of such persons registered at the Political Agency in Bahrein in accordance with Article II or might have so registered if resident in Bahrein.

ARTICLE II.

Persons born in Bahrein before or after the date of this Law whose fathers at the time of those persons' birth possessed the nationality of another State shall not be considered to be Bahrein nationals:

(a) if they register at the Political Agency within one year of the date on which they attain the age of 18, if then resident in Bahrein, or within one year of the date of the commencement of the residence in Bahrein if not then resident in Bahrein; or

(b) if they register at the Political Agency within one year of the date of the Promulgation of this Law if they have already attained the age of 18 and are resident in Bahrein; or

(c) if they shall have been registered at the Political Agency within two years of their birth or if their birth shall have been registered within two years of its occurrence.

ARTICLE III.

A person who possesses Bahrein nationality shall lose it:

(a) if he voluntarily acquires by naturalization the nationality of another State, and an order cancelling his Bahrein nationality is given by the Ruler of Bahrein, either on application of that person or *proprio motu*;

(b) if he also possesses the nationality of another State, and an order cancelling his Bahrein nationality is given by the Ruler of Bahrein on the application of that person.

ARTICLE IV.

(1) A woman who marries a Bahrein national shall acquire Bahrein nationality and a woman of Bahrein nationality who marries a foreigner shall lose Bahrein nationality if and when she acquires the nationality of her husband but not otherwise.

(2) A woman who has acquired Bahrein nationality by marriage shall lose it when divorced or a widow if she acquires or possesses another nationality. Bahrein nationality may be restored to her by an order of the Ruler of Bahrein given on her application.

ARTICLE V.

The Ruler of Bahrein may grant Bahrein nationality to any person resident in Bahrein who applies for it and may subsequently cancel the grant if such persons ceases to reside in Bahrein.

Bahrein, 17 February, 1937

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V

648 **Bahrain Government* Proclamation No. 37/1368, June 5, 1949**

TO WHOME IT MAY CONCERN:

WHEREAS it is desirable to encourage any efforts to facilitate the derivation of greater benefit from the natural resources of the earth, and

WHEREAS valuable resources exist beneath parts of the Persian Gulf near the shores of Bahrain, and it has become possible to derive increasing benefit from these submarine resources, and

WHEREAS it is desirable, for the purposes of conservation, preservation, and orderly development, that extraction of these resources shall be regulated as necessity dictates, and

WHEREAS it is just that the sea bed and the subsoil extending a reasonable distance from the shore should belong to and be administered by the government of the adjacent coast, and

WHEREAS the right of any coastal government to exercise its sovereignty over the natural resources of the sea bed and the subsoil in the vicinity of its shores has been established by international practice through the action taken by other governments,

ACCORDINGLY, WE, SALMAN IBN HAMAD AL KHALIFAH, Ruler of Bahrain, by virtue of the powers vested in us in this respect, are pleased to issue hereby the following proclamation:

WE, SALMAN IBN HAMAD AL KHALIFAH, Ruler of Bahrain, hereby declare that the sea bed and the subsoil of the high seas of the Persian Gulf bordering on the territorial waters of Bahrain and extending seaward as far as limits that we, after consultation with the neighboring governments, shall determine more accurately in accordance with the principles of justice, when the occasion so requires, belong to the country of Bahrain and are subject to its absolute authority and jurisdiction.

There is nothing in this proclamation that may be interpreted as affecting dominion over the islands or the status of the sea bed and the subsoil underlying any territorial waters.

There is nothing in this proclamation that may be interpreted as affecting the character of the high seas in the waters of the Persian Gulf over-lying the sea bed and beyond the limits of the territorial waters, or the status of the air space above the waters of the Persian Gulf beyond the territorial waters, or fishing, or the traditional rights of pearling in these waters.

SALMAN IBN HAMAD AL KHALIFAH
Ruler of Bahrain

* From The American Journal of International Law, Vol. 43, Oct. 1939.

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# IRAN'S CLAIM TO THE SOVEREIGNTY OF BAHRAYN

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## I. Introduction

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The Oil Nationalization Act passed unanimously by both houses of the Iranian Parliament in March, 1951, raised once more the long-standing issue of Iran's claim to sovereignty over Bahrayn. The Iranian extremists, from both the left-wing *Tudeh* Party and the right-wing *Fida'iyan Islam* group, at first criticized Parliament for its silence about the oil of Bahrayn but, when the law for the expropriation of the Anglo-Iranian Company was enacted in April, they demanded that these laws should in like manner be applied to the Bahrayn Petroleum Company, jointly owned by the Standard Oil Company of California and the Texas Company, on the grounds that the Bahrayn Islands form a part of Iranian territory.

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The question of Iran's claim to jurisdiction over the oil of Bahrayn was first raised when the Shaykh of Bahrayn granted a concession to a British company in 1930. The Iranian Government sent a note of protest to the British Government on July 23, 1930, denying the right of the Shaykh of Bahrayn to grant a concession for exploiting the oil resources of these islands without Iran's approval, on the grounds that "the Bahrayn Islands form an integral part of Persia [Iran], and that Persia possesses incontestable rights of sovereignty over those islands. . . ."[1] This protest was followed by another to the United States Government on May 22, 1934,[2] when an oil concession was granted by the Shaykh to the Standard Oil Company of California. The note stated:

> According to information recently received by the Imperial Government [of Iran], a concession to exploit Bahrein oil has just been obtained by the Standard Oil Company of California, which has begun operations and has already extracted large quantities of oil.
>
> I have the honour to draw your serious attention to the above and to inform you that the concession in question or any other concession acquired by the Standard Oil Company or any other company whatsoever—having been obtained, not from the Persian Government, whose rights of sovereignty over the Bahrein Islands are incontestable, but from legally incompetent authorities who have no right to grant such concessions—is regarded as null and void. My Government strongly

[1] For text of the note, see League of Nations Official Journal, September, 1930, p. 1083.
[2] *Ibid.*, August, 1934, p. 969.

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protests against this concession and considers itself at liberty to claim and demand the restitution of any profit that may accrue from such concessions, as well as compensation for any damage that may result therefrom. . . .[3]

In view of the fact that Iran's claim to sovereignty over Bahrayn had been reiterated in the past on several occasions, it is likely that such a claim might be put forth again under favorable circumstances. After the second World War the issue was revived by Prime Minister Qawam as-Sultanah in 1946. He announced that all oil produced in Bahrayn and shipped to the Iranian mainland would be taxed at the same rate as that produced by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. If Iran's claim to the sovereignty of Bahrayn is valid, the Oil Nationalization Act, unless it specifically excludes Bahrayn or unless the Act by its terms applies only to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, must *ipso jure* apply to the Bahrayn Petroleum Company. While such claims have often been disregarded, they might assume a certain seriousness should the *Tudeh* Party seize power and, supported or inspired by Russia, seek excuses for intervention in the Persian Gulf by raising the question of Iran's claim to sovereignty over Bahrayn.

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Before turning to a discussion of the validity of Iran's claim, a word on the geography of the Bahrayn Islands might be useful. The term "Bahrayn" (which means the "two seas") was originally applied to the continental coast of Arabia (al-Hasa), the peninsula of Qatar, and the group of islands which separate the bay between Hasa and Qatar into the "two seas." But this term came to be applied only to those islands which form the "two seas." The Bahrayn Islands are an archipelago of coral formation (except perhaps the rocky hills in the center of the largest island) which includes Bahrayn, the largest (it is 27 miles long by 10 wide), Muharraq (second in size, five miles in length, and situated to the north of Bahrayn), Sitrah, Umm Na'san and a number of smaller islands. This archipelago was famous for its pearl fisheries from antiquity and more recently for the oil resources which have been discovered since the first World War. Its strategic value may assume an increasing importance should Communism penetrate southward towards Iran, Iraq, and the Persian Gulf.[4]

[3] The British Government had already objected to the grant of oil concessions to other Powers, but the United States State Department, pressing for equal opportunities for American interests, secured British agreement to the participation of American interests in the oil of Bahrayn. For an exchange of notes on this matter see Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1929, Vol. III (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1944), pp. 80–82.

[4] For the geography of the Bahrayn Islands, see J. Theodore Bent, "The Bahrayn Islands in the Persian Gulf," Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. XII (January, 1890), pp. 1–19; Captain A. W. Stiffe, "Ancient Trading Centers of the Persian Gulf, VII: Bahrein," The Geographical Journal, Vol. XVIII (September, 1901), pp. 291–294; Maynard Owen Williams, "Bahrein: Port of Pearls and Petroleum," The

[FOR The rest of the footnote see p. 633]

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## II. The Controversy between Iran and Great Britain over Bahrayn

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For over a century, from the time when Great Britain entered into treaty relations with the Shaykh of Bahrayn, Iran let pass no opportunity to make representations against the establishment of direct relations with the Shaykh by any foreign Power or to assert its own sovereignty over these islands. Probably the most important recent protest which Iran made was the one which it sent to the League of Nations, under Article 10 of the League Covenant, on the occasion of the signing of a treaty between King Ibn Saud and Great Britain on May 20, 1927.[5] Article 6 of this treaty[6] stated:

> His Majesty the King of the Hejaz and Nejd and its Dependencies undertakes to maintain friendly and peaceful relations with the territories of Kuwait and Bahrain, and with the Sheikhs of Qatar and the Oman Coast, who are in special treaty relations with His Britannic Majesty's Government.

This treaty caused a sharp note of protest to be sent by the Iranian Government to Great Britain on November 22, 1927,[7] in which it was stated:

> The Persian Government . . . protests emphatically against the part of the Treaty referred to, and looks to the British Government to take steps without delay to nullify its effects.

A copy of this note was communicated to the Secretary General of the League of Nations on November 23 with a covering letter[8] stating:

> This protest is communicated to you for the information of the States Members of the League of Nations, all of which are bound by the Covenant and, in particular, by Article 10, which guarantees the territorial integrity of each of them.

To this note Sir Austen Chamberlain, the British Foreign Secretary, replied on January 18, 1928, denying that "any valid grounds" exist upon which Iran could claim sovereignty over Bahrayn.[9] This reply elicited another note from the Iranian Government, dated August 2, 1928, in which the Iranian viewpoint was emphatically reiterated; but to this Sir Austen

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National Geographic Magazine, Vol. LXXXIX (February, 1946), pp. 195–210; Abbas Faroughy, The Bahrein Islands (New York, 1951); J. Oestrup, "Al-Bahrain," Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol. I, pp. 584–585.

[5] This treaty, known as the Treaty of Jidda, was based on an earlier similar treaty signed by Ibn Saud and Britain on Dec. 26, 1915, but the earlier treaty did not elicit a protest from Iran.

[6] British Parliamentary Paper (1927), Cmd. 2951. See also A. J. Toynbee, Survey of International Affairs, 1928 (London, 1929), Appendix I, pp. 439–440.

[7] League of Nations Official Journal, May, 1928, p. 605.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] A copy of this letter was sent to the Secretary General of the League of Nations on Feb. 25, 1928, for communication to Member States of the League of Nations for information.

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replied in a detailed note of February 18, 1929, in which the juridical and historical arguments of the Iranian Government were challenged. This controversy occurred at a time when the British and Iranian Governments were already in conflict over a number of other problems, such as the dispute over Shatt al-Arab with Iraq,[10] Iran's relations with the Shaykh of Muhammarah, and Iran's desire to secure the abrogation of the Capitulations.[11] Some of these problems were later settled by negotiations; but for the conflict over Bahrayn, which for a century had been the subject of controversial discussion, no conclusive settlement was expected.

The argument of the Iranian Government in its notes of November 22, 1927, and August 2, 1928,[12] was based in the main on Iran's historical connections with, and an alleged recognition by Britain of its possession of, the islands. Iran claimed that the islands had "uninterruptedly" formed part of its territory, except during the Portuguese occupation from 1507 to 1622, and that their Shaykhs, since the expulsion of the Portuguese, "have always recognized Persian sovereignty." This historical claim, to which Iran attached great importance in its controversy with the British Government, will be briefly analyzed in the next section.[13]

Apart from its historical claims, Iran declared that the British Government had recognized in the past its sovereignty over Bahrayn. This alleged recognition seems to have been implicit, as indicated in the Iranian note, rather than explicit. The note of August 2, 1928, cited two documents in support of this contention.

The first was an agreement signed on August 30, 1822, between Captain William Bruce, representing the British Government, and the Prince-Governor of Shiraz, representing Iran. Though this agreement was at once repudiated by both governments on the ground that the two negotiators had signed it without prior authorization, it was regarded by the Iranian Government as an evidence of its possession of Bahrayn. "The historical truth," stated the Iranian note of August 2, 1928, "which plainly emerges from this agreement is the assertion and confirmation by Captain Bruce of the fact that the Islands of Bahrein then formed part of the Persian province of Fars." Captain Bruce, added the Iranian note, was in "an excellent position to know the facts," as they were then known. While Captain Bruce might have been ill informed about the reality of Iran's connections with Bahrayn—a possibility which was entirely overlooked by the Iranian Government when it asserted, without giving any evidence, that Captain Bruce was in a position "to know the facts"—he seemed to have

[10] See Majid Khadduri, Independent Iraq (London, 1951), pp. 240–246.

[11] A. J. Toynbee, Survey of International Affairs, 1925 (London, 1927), Vol. I, pp. 539–543; *ibid.*, 1934 (London, 1935), p. 223.

[12] For texts of these two notes, see League of Nations Official Journal, May, 1928, p. 605; *ibid.*, September, 1928, pp. 1360–1363. [13] See section 3, below.

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had no authority to negotiate such an agreement, since it was promptly repudiated by the British Government.

The second document consisted of an exchange of correspondence between Lord Clarendon and Persia on the questions of piracy and slave trade in the Persian Gulf. In reply to Persia's assertion of its sovereignty over Bahrayn, Lord Clarendon stated on April 29, 1869, that:

> The British Government readily admit that the Government of the Shah has protested against the Persian right of sovereignty over Bahrein being ignored by the British authorities, and they have given due consideration to that protest.

Not only was this passage construed to constitute recognition, but also another, cited from the same letter (with regard to piracy in the Persian Gulf), in which Great Britain conceded certain Persian rights in policing the Gulf. Lord Clarendon stated:

> If the Persian Government are prepared to keep a sufficient force in the Gulf for these purposes, this country would be relieved of a troublesome and costly duty, but if the Shah is not prepared to undertake these duties, Her Majesty's Government cannot suppose His Majesty would wish that in those waters disorder and crimes should be encouraged by impunity.

If Persia had then been able to police the Gulf, the Iranian note concluded, then the British Government would have considered itself relieved from its "duty" and would have withdrawn, leaving Persia to carry out these duties. If the "duty" of policing the Persian Gulf had actually devolved upon Persia, in case Britain decided to withdraw from the Gulf, it does not follow, as the Iranian Government concluded, that the action would have constituted British recognition of Iran's sovereignty over Bahrayn. The Iranian Government failed to see that the right to police the Gulf (which was conceded by Britain) would not necessarily constitute recognition of its sovereignty over Bahrayn. Nevertheless, the Iranian Government contends that Britain had recognized Iran's sovereignty in the past and that there is no "justification of its refusal [now] to recognize Persian sovereignty over Bahrein."

It follows accordingly, from the Iranian standpoint, that the Shaykhs of Bahrayn have merely exceeded their power by entering "into direct relations with a foreign State without the express authorization of the central Government," and, therefore, their action lacks "juridical value in international law."

In his reply to this argument Sir Austen Chamberlain, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, sent two notes to the Iranian Government dated February 25, 1928, and February 18, 1929, in which not only the Iranian historical claim was questioned but the contention that the British Govern-

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ment had recognized its sovereignty over Bahrayn was also challenged.[14]

Iran's claim that the British Government had ever recognized its sovereignty over Bahrayn was emphatically denied by Sir Austen Chamberlain. For ever since the year 1820, when Great Britain entered into treaty relations with the Shaykh of Bahrayn, it had acted on the assumption that the Shaykh was an independent ruler. When Captain Bruce, accordingly, negotiated the agreement of 1822 with the Governor of Shiraz, the agreement was promptly repudiated and Captain Bruce was recalled. "The main reason recorded for his recall," stated Sir Austen, "and for the prompt disavowal of this tentative agreement is that 'it acknowledges the King of Persia's title to Bahrein, of which there is not the least proof.'" Further, this agreement was also repudiated by the Shah of Persia who "expressed his displeasure that the Prince of Shiraz should have entered into any arrangements with the British Government without his knowledge or instructions." Since the Bruce agreement was repudiated by both Britain and Persia, it could hardly be cited as evidence of recognition by either party.[15]

With regard to Lord Clarendon's note of April 29, 1869, to which the Iranian Government attached greater importance, Sir Austen stated that the Iranian Government was "under a complete misunderstanding" in its interpretation of this note as meaning that "any recognition" of the Persian claims to sovereignty in Bahrein "was at that time intended."

The full text of the Clarendon note, however, was never published, which makes it indeed difficult to discover what Lord Clarendon's precise position was. But even if we analyze the meaning of the quotation apart from its context, it would seem that the British Government merely stated that the Iranian protest was duly considered.[15a] Due consideration of the protest could hardly be regarded as an admission that the claim was legally valid. As Sir Austen Chamberlain rightly stated in his note of January 18, 1928:

> . . . the whole tenor of the note should have made it clear that Her Majesty's Government maintained their right to enter into direct treaty relations with the Sheikhs of Bahrein as independent rulers; and while, at the same time, it indicated that Her Majesty's Government would gladly transfer to Persia, if she were able and willing to perform them, certain duties in the Persian Gulf towards the performance of

[14] For the text of the Chamberlain notes, see League of Nations Official Journal, May, 1928, pp. 605–606; *ibid.*, May, 1929, pp. 790–793.

[15] The Bruce agreement, it seems, had been cited by the Iranian Government in a number of former exchanges of letters, such as those of 1906 and 1907, but the British Government had invariably stated that the Bruce agreement under no circumstances implied recognition, since it was promptly repudiated by both parties. See League of Nations Official Journal, May, 1928, p. 607.

[15a] This conclusion has been confirmed by an examination of the full text of the correspondence, which was made available to the writer by the British Foreign Office after this article went to press.

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which the treaty relations in question contributed, and offered, in view of the friendly feelings entertained by Her Majesty's Government to be informed beforehand, when practicable, of any measure of coercion which the conduct of the Sheikhs might have rendered necessary, it is evident that no recognition of the validity of the Persian protest, or of the Persian claim to suzerainty, was thereby intended or implied.[16]

Probably greater emphasis is laid in the Iranian note on the general principles of international law which are invoked in its various sections. The general rule is stated at the beginning of the note as follows:

> A territory belonging to a sovereign State cannot be lawfully detached so long as the right of ownership has not been transferred by this State to another State in virtue of an official act, in this case a treaty, or so long as its annexation by another State or its independence have not been officially recognized by the lawful owner of the territory.

Since the Iranian Government has never transferred or renounced its sovereignty over Bahrayn nor recognized its annexation by another state, it must therefore, according to the Iranian note, belong to Iran. International practice, however, could hardly support this rule, and its validity would actually permit any state to advance a claim to territory on the ground that its loss in the past had not been confirmed by an express approval of the owner. The effective establishment of the independence of a territory seems to supersede any previous connections. If the recognition of such independence was given by the Powers, even if the owner was not among them, the territory would be regarded as an independent sovereign state.

An Iranian writer, Mr. Malek Esmaili, in defending the claim of his country to sovereignty over Bahrayn,[17] cited the *Clipperton Island* case,[18] submitted by France and Mexico to the arbitration of the King of Italy in 1909, to prove his case. The following quotation from the arbitral award is given as pertinent:

> There is no reason to suppose that France has subsequently lost her right by *derelictio*, since she never had the *animus* of abandoning the island, and the fact that she has not exercised her authority there in a positive manner does not imply the forfeiture of an acquisition already definitively perfected.

Mr. Esmaili's case is weakened by the fact that Clipperton Island was an uninhabited territory. Further, Mexico failed to prove any actual exercise of sovereignty over it after it was discovered by France in 1858. Thus it was decided that the island must belong to France, since in the uninhab-

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 606.

[17] M. Malek Esmaili, *Le golfe persique et les îles de Bahrein* (Paris, 1936), pp. 200–204.

[18] See translation of the arbitral award in this JOURNAL, Vol. 26 (1932), pp. 390–394.

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ited character of the island "occupation" need not necessarily be more than the mere announcement of an intention to take possession and the continuous assertion of title.

In an inhabited territory such as the Bahrayn Islands the mere assertion of title by Iran could hardly be regarded as sufficient, if she failed to establish in the territory an organization capable of making its laws respected. For this reason, accordingly, the Bahrayn case would be analogous to the *Palmas*, rather than the *Clipperton*, case, in which the principle of "continuous and peaceful display of the functions of State" was deemed necessary to determine the title to a territory. "Territorial sovereignty," stated the Permanent Court of Arbitration in the *Palmas* award,[19] "involves the exclusive right to display the activities of a State" and that "without manifesting its territorial sovereignty in a manner corresponding to circumstances, the State cannot fulfill this duty." The same principle was asserted in the *Eastern Greenland* case [20] in which the Permanent Court of International Justice endorsed, in 1933, the principle of "the peaceful and continuous display of State authority" which the Permanent Court of Arbitration applied in 1928 in the *Palmas Island* decision.

The Iranian claim, lacking any valid legal ground, seems to depend, in the last analysis, merely on Iran's historical connections with the islands which have often been reiterated in its notes to the British Government. How significant this historical claim may be and whether it could confer title to sovereignty calls for a brief consideration.

## III. Iran's Historical Claim

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The early history of Bahrayn is obscure, but the islands have been inhabited from a very early time on account of the pearl fisheries. They witnessed a number of conquerors from the time of the Babylonians in antiquity to the proclamation of British protection in the nineteenth century.

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The Persians seem to have dominated the islands before the rise of Islam in the seventh century of the Christian era, but even before this time the Arabs had already migrated into the Persian Gulf coasts and settled in Bahrayn. The rise of Islam afforded a fresh opportunity for the Arabs to gain more permanent and complete control of the islands which lasted from the seventh to the opening of the sixteenth century.[21] From Arab rule the islands passed into the hands of the Portuguese at the opening of the six-

[19] Publication of the International Bureau of the Permanent Court of Arbitration (1928), reprinted in Scott, Hague Court Reports (second series), p. 84; also in this JOURNAL, Vol. 22 (1928), p. 867.

[20] Publications of the Permanent Court of International Justice, Series A/B, No. 53.

[21] Tabari, *Tarikh al-Rusul wa al-Muluk* (ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1879–1901), Series I, Vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, pp. 213, 745–747, 1630, 1952–1953.

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teenth century.[22] The Portuguese rule, which lasted about a century, came to an end as a result of their waning power in the Persian Gulf, when Portugal was annexed by Spain, and diverted the Portuguese forces from the East to be used in Europe. These favoring circumstances permitted the Persians to revive their interests in the Persian Gulf.

But Persian intervention in the affairs of Bahrayn, we are told by Arab historians, was prompted by internal conflict between the two rival Islamic sects.[23] For long the tribal chiefs of the two main Sunni and Shi'i sects of Bahrayn—a sectarian quarrel which wrought havoc in the Islamic countries—sought outside help against each other. Just as the Ottoman Empire had become the center of Sunni power, so Persia was looked upon by the Shi'i world as the defender of Shi'i rights.[24] During the reign of Shah Abbas (1587–1629), a great protagonist of the Shi'i cause, power in Bahrayn was then in the hands of a Sunni chief. The Shi'is appealed to Persia, and the Shah, assisted by the British, who were then pursuing the Portuguese, expelled the remaining Portuguese forces from Bahrayn and Hormuz in 1622.

From 1622 the Bahrayn Islands remained predominantly under Persian domination until 1783; but even during this period Persian rule was not an uninterrupted one, for the islands became the target of attack by neighboring rulers. In 1717 and 1720 the Arab chiefs of Muscat twice attacked the islands and wrested them from Persia; and it was not until 1737 that the islands were restored to Persian rule under the able command of Nadir Shah. Persian rule, however, remained unstable, for Nadir Shah's immediate successors became involved in a contest of supremacy over the islands with the chiefs of the Utubi tribes, who were then ruling the coast of Arabia across the bay from Bahrayn. The Utubis came originally from Najd and settled in Kuwayt, but later, with the help of the chiefs of al-Sabah tribe, rulers of Kuwayt, moved to al-Hasa and established themselves at Zubara, a town situated in the peninsula of Qatar opposite to the Bahrayn Islands.

In 1783 Shaykh Ahmad al-Khalifa, then chief of the Utubi tribes and ruler of Zubara, attacked Bahrayn and annexed it to his territory; but when Zubara was overrun by the Wahhabi forces a few years later, the Khalifa chiefs moved their seat of government to Bahrayn, abandoning their Arabian dominion.

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While Bahrayn was freed from Persian rule, it never ceased to be the bone of contention among neighboring rulers, such as the Sultans of Muscat

[22] Oestrup gives the date 1507 as the beginning of Portuguese rule (The Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol. I, p. 585) which seems to be the source of the date given in the Iranian note of Aug. 2, 1928 (League of Nations Official Journal, September, 1928, p. 1. 1).

[23] Al-Nabhani, *Tarikh al-Bahrayn* (Cairo, 1924); Amin Rihani, *Muluk al-Arab* (Beirut, 1929, 2nd ed.), Vol. II, Chs. 5–6.

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[24] For a discussion of this schism in the Islamic society of the thirteenth century, see A. J. Toynbee, A Study of History (London, 1934), Vol. I, pp. 346–402.

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B 125 and the Wahhabi Amirs. It was partly owing to this threat of neighboring rulers, but mainly to internal feud among members of the Khalifa family (chiefs of the Utubi tribes) that Great Britain found ample reasons for intervention.

In 1820, when Great Britain had already made her appearance on the scene in the Persian Gulf, the chiefs of Bahrayn sought British support for security from outside attack as well as for internal stability. This coincided with Britain's interests in the security of her trade relations and in the suppression of piracy and the slave trade in the Persian Gulf. It was in pursuance of this objective that Britain signed the first of a series of treaties with the Shaykhs of Bahrayn without encroaching upon their independence; but these treaties resulted later in the gradual change of the islands from independent to dependent status.

The foregoing brief sketch shows that Bahrayn, during its long and checkered history, was able to maintain a large measure of internal independence even when it had fallen under foreign control. Apart from its uncertain status in antiquity, which is hardly necessary to determine for our purpose, the islands passed under Arab rule at the opening of the seventh century and remained, either as an integral part of the Arab Empire or as a semi-independent entity, until the sixteenth century. Arab rule, accordingly, may be said to have lasted for more than eight centuries. The B Portuguese rule roughly lasted for a century (*circa* 1507 to 1622), and the 177 Persian rule (1622–1783) for a little over one and a half century. From 167 a purely historical standpoint, the Persian period has left no special impact 197 on the inhabitants of the islands, whether racial or cultural, which would 175 distinguish it from other periods. Contrary to the Iranian contention (as stated in its note of August 2, 1928), the inhabitants of the islands have either originally migrated from Arabia or have been Arabicized under long Arab rule. They speak the Arabic language, though many of them speak Persian too, and their manners and customs are Arabian. Finally, they have been ruled since 1783 by their own Arab chiefs, even though they acknowledged British protection—a period which lasted longer than that [I of Persian rule. Iran's historical claim, based on a very limited past at- 648] tachment, seems to carry with it the air of propaganda; it could hardly challenge Arab historical claims.

## IV. British Protection

From the time when Napoleon invaded Egypt in 1798 a period of Anglo-French rivalry for the domination of Eastern waters began, and the Persian Gulf was but one portion of the field in which the struggle was fought out. When Napoleon had been eliminated, the Eastern waters, including the Persian Gulf, became an undisputed field of British influence and commerce. Britain began to prepare the way by combatting piracy and the

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slave trade, and she signed treaties with Persian Gulf chiefs by virtue of which, within a few years, she virtually became the paramount Power in the Gulf area. In a speech given to Persian Gulf chiefs on November 21, 1903,[25] Lord Curzon, in a state visit to this area, summed up the objectives of British policy and achievements during the nineteenth century as follows:

> Sometimes I think that the record of the past is in danger of being forgotten, and there are persons who ask—Why should Great Britain continue to exercise these powers? The history of your States and of your families, and the present condition of the Gulf, are the answer. We were here before any other Power, in modern times, had shown its face in these waters. We found strife and we have created order. It was our commerce as well as your security that was threatened and called for protection. . . . We saved you from extinction at the hands of your neighbors. We opened these seas to the ships of all nations, and enabled their flags to fly in peace. We have not seized or held your territory. We have not destroyed your independence, but have preserved it. . . . The peace of these waters must still be maintained; your independence will continue to be upheld; and the influence of the British Government must remain supreme.

A General Treaty for the Pacification of the Persian Gulf, the first of a series which Britain negotiated with the Gulf chiefs, was signed on January 8, 1820.[26] The treaty provided that: "There shall be a cessation of plunder and piracy by land and sea on the part of the Arabs, who are parties to this contract, for ever" [Article 1]; and that:

> If any individual of the people of the Arabs contracting shall attack any that pass by land or sea of any nation whatsoever, in the way of plunder and piracy and not of acknowledged war, he shall be accounted an enemy of all mankind and shall be held to have forfeited both life and goods. An acknowledged war is that which is proclaimed, avowed, and ordered by government against government; and the killing of men and taking of goods without proclamation, avowal, and the order of a government, is plunder and piracy [Article 2].

Article 4 required the Arab chiefs "not to fight with each other" and to maintain peace with the British Government; Article 9 prohibited slave trade and prevented the Arabs from carrying slaves in their vessels.

While this general treaty was jointly signed by the Arab Gulf chiefs, bilateral agreements were signed for its implementation in each of the chiefs' territories. With regard to Bahrayn, its agreement (February 15, 1820) provided:

> That the Sheikhs shall not permit from henceforth, in Bahrein or its dependencies, the sale of any commodities which have been procured by means of plunder and piracy, nor allow their people to sell anything

[25] Cited by A. T. Wilson, The Persian Gulf (Oxford, 1928), p. 192.

[26] See text of the treaty in C. U. Aitchison, A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads (Delhi, 1933), Vol. XI, pp. 245–247.

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175 of any kind whatsoever to such persons as may be engaged in the practice of plunder and piracy; and if any of their people shall act contrary hereto, it shall be equivalent to an act of piracy on the part of such individuals [Article 1].[27]

Article 2 required the delivery of all Indian prisoners in Bahrayn and Article 3, the final article, states the adhesion of the Shaykh to the General Pacification Treaty.

It is to be noted that there is nothing in this agreement, nor in the General Pacification Treaty, which infringed on the powers or the independence of the Shaykh of Bahrayn. Britain readily recognized the Shaykh as an independent ruler. When, accordingly, the commander of the Egyptian forces had overrun the interior of Najd in the course of his wars with the Wahhabis, and announced his intention of taking Bahrayn as part of Najd, he was informed that the British Government could not admit any claim of Egypt to Bahrayn. The British Government, it will be recalled, declined to recognize similar claims advanced by Persia on various occasions during the nineteenth century. The Ottoman authorities made overtures to the Shaykh of Bahrayn with the object of obtaining his recognition of the supremacy of the Porte. "The ministers of the Sultan," said Aitchison, "were informed that, as the British Government had had treaty relations with Bahrain as an independent power, they could not acknowledge or acquiesce in any arrangement for placing the island under the sovereignty or protection of the Porte."[28]

Rivalry among the members of the Khalifa family during the latter half of the nineteenth century was, perhaps, the principal reason which prompted Great Britain to sign further treaties with the Shaykhs of Bahrayn, with the consequential British encroachment on their independence, lest the Shaykhs should permit other Powers to control the islands. Jealousy among the chiefs, which prompted Britain to expel the ruler of Bahrayn in 1859, invited both Turkey and Persia to exploit this rivalry to their advantage. The Shaykhs began to play one Power off against another, and one of them, Shaykh Muhammad Khalifa, claimed the protection of both Turkey and Persia. The Persian flag was hoisted on the arrival of an agent of Persia, only to be pulled down and replaced by the Turkish flag on the arrival of the Turkish agent.

Great Britain made representations to both Turkey and Persia, which resulted in the disappearance of their agents, and the Shaykh's activities regarding his relations with his neighbors, as well as his powers regarding making war, piracy and the slave trade were restricted by the signing of a treaty in which a promise of British protection from foreign aggression was given. This treaty (signed on May 31, 1861), while it stated that the

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 233.

[28] Aitchison, *op. cit.*, Vol. XI, p. 191.

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Shaykh was recognized as an "independent ruler," virtually reduced the islands to the status of a protectorate. The treaty[29] stated:

> I [the Shaykh] agree to abstain from all maritime aggressions of every description, from the prosecution of war, piracy, and slavery by sea, so long as I receive the support of the British Government in the maintenance of the security of my own possessions against similar aggressions directed against them by the chiefs and tribes of this Gulf [Article 2].

And it also provided that:

> In order that the above engagements may be fulfilled I [the Shaykh] agree to make known all aggressions and depredations which may be designed, or have place at sea, against myself, territories, or subjects, as early as possible to the British Resident in the Persian Gulf, as the arbitrator in such cases, promising that no act of aggression or retaliation shall be committed at sea by Bahrein or in the name of Bahrein, by myself or others under me, on other tribes, without his consent or that of the British Government, if it should be necessary to procure it. . . .

In 1867 Shaykh Muhammad was involved in a struggle with the Chief of Qatar, the peninsular coast of Arabia, and with one of the rival chiefs of his family, supported by the Persian Government. Britain, while it tried to restrain the Shaykh from his aggressive designs on Qatar, defended Bahrayn's independence against Persia.[30] Thereupon Shaykh Muhammad was deposed by Britain and his brother, Ali ibn Khalifa, signed an agreement in which he accepted to abstain from aggression and to appeal to the British Resident as arbitrator in any quarrel with his neighbors.[31]

During the latter part of the nineteenth century the Ottoman authorities in Arabia and Iraq made attempts to extend their influence to Bahrayn; but both Britain and the Shaykh of Bahrayn protested to the Ottoman Porte that Bahrayn was an independent country. In 1880 the ruler of Bahrayn, Shaykh Isa ibn Ali al-Khalifa, signed an agreement with Great Britain in which he agreed to abstain from entering into negotiations or making treaties with any foreign Power without her consent. The agreement, dated December 22, 1880,[32] consisting of a single article, stated:

> I, Isa Ibn Ali Al-Khalifeh, Chief of Bahrein, hereby bind myself and successors in the Government of Bahrein to the British Government to abstain from entering into negotiations or making treaties of any sort with any State or Government other than the British without the consent of the said British Government, and to refuse permission to any other Government than the British to establish diplomatic or consular

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 234–236.

[30] Major General Sir Henry Rawlinson, England and Russia in the East (London, 1875), pp. 109–111; Aitchison, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

[31] Text in Aitchison, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–237. [32] *Ibid.*, p. 237.

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agencies or coaling depots in our territory, unless with the consent of the British Government. . . .

175 In 1892 this agreement was supplemented by another in which Shaykh Isa reluctantly accepted further limitations upon his powers. The text of the agreement of March 13, 1892,[33] is as follows:

> 1. That I [Shaykh Isa] will on no account enter into any agreement or correspondence with any Power other than the British Government.
> 2. That without the assent of the British Government, I will not consent to the residence within my territory of the agent of any other Government.
> 3. That I will on no account accede, sell, mortgage or otherwise give for occupation any part of my territory save to the British Government.

These two agreements seem to have placed the Bahrayn Islands under British protection by the Shaykh's acceptance of British advice in the conduct of foreign relations. When, in the following year, the Ottoman Porte claimed that the people of Bahrayn were regarded as Ottoman subjects within Ottoman territories and objected to British officials taking up the cases of Bahrayn subjects suffering from piracy, the British Government replied that Bahrayn was under "British protection."[34]

175 In 1900 a British Political Agency, subordinate to the Political Resident 640 in the Persian Gulf, was established in Bahrayn. In 1909 Shaykh Isa agreed not to allow the establishment in Bahrayn of post offices by any foreign government other than the British. In 1914 Shaykh Isa agreed that he would not himself, nor would he allow any foreign interest to, exploit the oil resources of Bahrayn without the approval of the British Government.[35]

The foregoing treaty relations, often referred to as constituting "protection," have indeed touched upon matters beyond those normally covered in treaties between the protecting and the protected states. The Shaykhs of Bahrayn have not only given up some of their powers regarding the conduct of foreign relations—an action which is normal in international practice—but they have also alienated certain attributes of their internal sovereignty which would cast serious doubt as to whether Bahrayn is a *bona fide* protectorate. The status of Bahrayn, which constitutes a peculiar juridical position, is difficult to define in terms of modern international law; but this peculiarity raises the very issue whether Bahrayn's status, the legacy of various legal transactions made at a time when the Eastern World was outside the pale of international law, should be defined merely in terms of modern juridical rules.

## V. The Juridical Status of Bahrayn

640 Under the general principles of Muslim law the Bahrayn Islands, as Muslim territory, are regarded as part of the *Dar al-Islam* (dominion of

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 238.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 196. [35] See text, *ibid.*, p. 239.

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Islam) and its ruler must owe allegiance to the Caliph, the supreme politico-religious head of the Muslims.[36] The Caliph, who derives his authority from the sacred law, is charged with the functions of maintaining the integrity of *Dar al-Islam* and the propagation and defense of the religion.[37] It follows, accordingly, that so long as there was a Caliph in evidence, all the Muslims owed allegiance to him and acknowledged his ultimate authority. The Bahrayn Islands, until the time of the abolition of the Caliphate, must be regarded as part of the Caliph's dominions. Even the Persian occupation might be regarded as a continuation of Islamic sovereignty, for the Persian Shah, whether he acknowledged the Caliph's overlordship or ruled as a rival Caliph, claimed to fulfill the same functions enjoined by the sacred law over both his country and Bahrayn.

Long before the opening of the nineteenth century, when Great Britain made her appearance in the Persian Gulf, the authority of the Caliph had declined and certain portions of his dominions had passed under foreign rule. The occupation of Muslim territories by non-Muslim Powers was never recognized by the Caliph and was regarded as an anomaly under Muslim law. It was tolerated only so long as Muslim power was not strong enough to restore those territories to the rule of the sacred law.[38]

The European Powers, on their part, when they came into contact with the Islamic world, were confronted with a civilization so different from their own that they found it more expedient to forget about their own system of international law in conducting their relations with Muslims and other Eastern people. It might have been possible to adjust the European system of international law to these lands by adopting certain rules and practices from Eastern laws. But in fact the distintegration of these Eastern societies had already gone too far to enable them to deal on a par with the European Powers.[39] In the circumstances, neither would Islam recognize Christian rule in its dominion, nor were the European Powers prepared at first to regard Eastern lands as falling under the pale of European international law. Thus the European jurists began to justify certain actions

[36] For a discussion on what constitutes an Islamic territory, see Abdur Rahim, The Principles of Muhammadan Jurisprudence (Madras, 1907), pp. 395–396; Majid Khadduri, The Law of War and Peace in Islam (London, 1941), pp. 19–20.

[37] See Sir Thomas Arnold, The Caliphate (Oxford, 1924), pp. 70–76; A. Sanhoury, *Le Califat* (Paris, 1926), pp. 3 ff.

[38] Even when the Ottoman Sultans ceded such territories as the Crimea (1774), Cyprus (1878), Egypt (1882), and Tripoli (1912), the "spiritual" authority of the Caliph was recognized by the Powers to continue over the Muslims who remained under foreign rule. See Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 163–183. This practice of the separation of the "spiritual" from the "secular" powers of the Caliph, which is not feasible in Muslim legal theory, was resorted to by the Ottoman Sultan in order to maintain sovereignty over lost Islamic territories. See C. A. Nallino, Notes on the Nature of the Caliphate in General and on the Alleged Ottoman Caliphate (Roma, 1919).

[39] See Majid Khadduri, "Islam and International Law," in Islamic Literature (January, 1951), Vol. III, pp. 19–21.

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or violations of international law in the East, which would never have been tolerated in Europe, on the ground that Eastern lands were never recognized by European nations.[40]

In the case of such dependent territories as Bahrayn and other Eastern protectorates, the jurists distinguished between a civilized protectorate of the type recognized by international law and an Eastern "protected state" by a European Power. In the former the protecting state assumes the duty of protecting the smaller or weaker state by undertaking the conduct of its external relations, but it is understood that the attributes of its internal sovereignty are left intact so long as the freedom of action of its government does not involve it with a foreign Power. In the case of Eastern "protected states" the protecting Power, in addition to its right to control foreign relations, is entitled, as stated by the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885, to the right of administering justice over subjects of other civilized states, and, by the General Act of the Brussels Conference of 1890, the right of organizing "the administration, judicial, religious and military services in the African territories placed under the sovereignty or protectorate of civilized nations."[41]

While the British practices with regard to the powers exercised in various Eastern protectorates differed radically, they were usually distinguished by two features. First, Britain maintained a certain measure of independence, which varied from that of Oman to that of the Protectorate of Aden. In the case of Oman, its Sultan has retained his internal sovereignty and has not given up any essential rights of external sovereignty, while in the case of Aden very few powers, if any, have been left to its people. Secondly, Britain does not intend to annex these territories to its empire, but rather has found it more expedient to maintain the ruling families or tribal chiefs to exercise control over their people than to assume full control of the internal administration. Britain's chief interest in extending her influence to such areas as the Persian Gulf, Zanzibar, or the Malay Islands, seems to be primarily to prevent other rival Powers from extending their influence and hence to threaten her commercial or strategic interests.

[40] "The conquest of Algeria by France," says Lorimer, "was not regarded as a violation of international law. It was an act of discipline which the bystander was entitled to exercise in the absence of the police; and the justification for the present interference of France in Tunis and our own in Egypt, must be sought in the extremely rudimentary character which still belongs to what is beginning to be called the European Concert." (James Lorimer, Institutes of the Law of Nations (Edinburgh, 1884), Vol. II, pp. 160–161.)

[41] In the same convention it was also provided that the protecting states were entitled to establish stations, roads, railways, inland steam navigation, telegraph lines, and the maintenance of restrictions on the importations of firearms and ammunition. See W. E. Hall, A Treatise on the Foreign Powers and Jurisdiction of the British Crown (Oxford, 1894), pp. 204–207.

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Professor Robbins, in his discussion on the status of Aden, uses the very convenient term "colonial protectorates" which he applied to Aden and similar Asiatic protectorates. Such territories are administered as part of the British Empire and can hardly be distinguished from colonies. Professor Robbins goes on to argue that international law recognizes only real, not colonial, protectorates, and, as such, a colonial protectorate has no international status.[43] While this term might answer the question with regard to the status of Aden Protectorate, it is doubtful whether it could define with any precision the status of Bahrayn. The Shaykh of this territory has often been referred to in his treaty relations with Britain as an independent ruler, and it is said that his country is under British protection; in the meantime his sovereign rights have been alienated beyond the conduct of foreign relations. The ruler of Bahrayn, as well as those of Oman and Kuwayt, have full control over the native administration, though they have been persuaded in the meantime to accept British advice.

It would seem that, under the foreign jurisdiction of the British Crown, the Eastern protectorates, while they are regarded as "protected states" from an international standpoint, are treated as under "tutelage" from the British constitutional standpoint. This Western concept of tutelage would satisfy Islamic law since it implies ultimate emancipation from foreign rule which is permitted under Islamic law only under *force majeure*.

It is to be noted that this concept seems to imply the principle of the Mandate System adopted by the League of Nations under Article 22 of its Covenant and of the new Trusteeship System, which is designed to replace the Mandate, under the Charter of the United Nations. Both systems are regarded as temporary, which fits the Muslim expectation of emancipation, when the territories are able to "stand alone." The period of tutelage, however, whether administered under the aegis of an international organization, or directly under Britain, is indefinite. Should this tutelage come to an end the Bahrayn Islands, under the new national life of the Islamic countries which has replaced the Caliphate, would then be free to choose whether they would join any union with the neighboring Arab countries, such as the Arab League, or remain independent. Turkey, as one of the successor states to the Ottoman Caliphate, cannot claim sovereignty over Bahrayn, should Britain decide to withdraw, since Turkey has given up all its sovereign rights over Arab lands under Article 16 of the Treaty of Lausanne of July 24, 1923.

[43] Robert R. Robbins, "The Legal Status of Aden Colony and the Aden Protectorate," this JOURNAL, Vol. 33 (1939), pp. 714–715.

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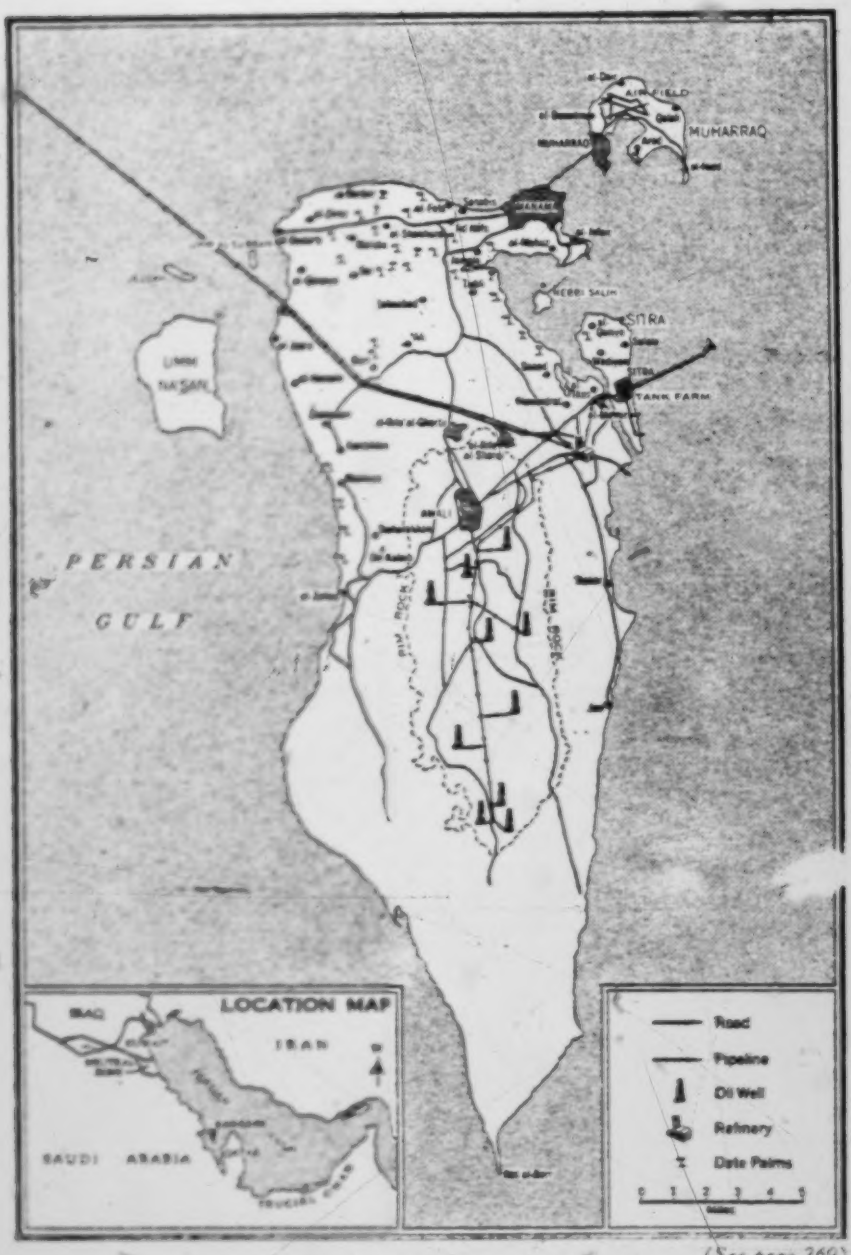


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# SOCIAL CLASSES AND TENSIONS IN BAHRAIN

*Fahim I. Qubain*

(See map, facing p. 239.)

ONE OF THE more interesting principalities in the Persian Gulf is the tiny island shaykhdom of Bahrain. Its geographical location, its maritime commerce, and its ancient pearl industry have all combined to create a multi-group society of its small population of about 110,000. On the whole, the country is well and efficiently governed, the various groups in the population have by generations of experience learned to tolerate each other, and crime in the Western sense of the word is almost nonexistent. At the same time, latent tensions exist that can be exploited if the proper circumstances arise. For instance, riots broke out between the Sunnis and the Shi'is during Muharram in September 1953. It took the use of the whole police force and the imposition of a curfew to bring peace back to the country.[1] In July of the following year, when some Shi'is were convicted for being involved in a fight with Sunnis, the whole Shi'i sect staged a demonstration, conducted an attack on a police post during which four Shi'is were killed, and finally all Shi'i workers went on strike.[2] Six months later, in December 1954, another general strike took place in support of demands made to the government for certain reforms which had already been promised by the ruler.[3] We propose, in this article, to examine the nature of these tensions and to evaluate their seriousness for the future.

## *POPULATION BREAKDOWN AND DISTRIBUTION*

Until 1941 only estimates existed regarding the population of the Bahrain cluster of islands. In that year, the government, primarily for food control purposes, conducted the first census in the history of the islands; in 1950 a second census was taken. At that time the population was 109,650.[4] (See Tables I, II, and III.)

[1] Government of Bahrain, *Official Gazette*, September 24, 1953, p. 3.
[2] *Times* (London), July 13, 1954, p. 7.
[3] *Ibid.*, December 6, 1954, p. 7.
[4] Government of Bahrain, *Census 1950* (Bahrain, 1950).

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*Table I.* DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY NATIONALITIES IN BAHRAIN

| *Nationalities* | Census 1941 *Total* | Census 1950 *Sub-Total* | Census 1950 *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bahrain Subjects | 74,040 | | 91,179 |
| Persians | 7,547 | | 6,934 |
| Indians, Anglo-Indians, Pakistanis, Goanese | 1,424 | | 3,043 |
| Saudi Arabs | | 2,526 | |
| Omanis and Muscatis | | 2,466 | |
| Qataris | | 458 | |
| Kuwaitis | | 149 | |
| Yemenis | | 105 | |
| Iraqis | | 224 | |
| Palestinians | | 28 | |
| Syrians and Lebanese | | 52 | |
| Egyptians | | 30 | |
| Others | | 268 | |
| | | | 6,286 |
| Westerners | | | |
| British | | 1,840 | |
| Americans | 6,959 | 290 | |
| Others | | 78 | |
| | | | 2,208 |
| Grand Total | 89,970 | | 109,650 |
| Bahrain Subjects | 74,040 | | 91,179 |
| Foreigners | 15,930 | | 18,471 |

Source: *Census 1950*, p. 13.

*Table II.* DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY TOWNS AND VILLAGES

| *Town* | *1941* | *1950* | *% of Increase* | *% of Population* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Manamah | 27,836 | 39,648 | 43.0 | 61.5 |
| Muharraq and Hedd | 21,439 | 25,577 | 19.0 | |
| Other towns and villages | 39,164 | 40,579 | 3.5 | 38.5 |
| Ships at anchor and Awali | 1,531 | 3,846 | | |
| Total | 89,970 | 109,650 | 22.0 | 100.0 |

Source: *Census 1950*, p. 12.

*Table III.* DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY RELIGION

| *Religion* | *1941* | *% of Population* | *1950* | *% of Population* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Muslims | 83,298 | | | |
| Shi'i | 46,354 | 93.0 | 105,401[a] | 96.0 |
| Sunni | 41,944 | | | |
| Christians | | | 2,932 | |
| Jews | | | 293 | |
| Hindus | 1,672 | 2.0 | 975 | 4.0 |
| Others | | | 49 | |

a. Sects among Muslims were not recorded because of local objections.
Source: *Census 1950*, p. 14.

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Over 61 percent of this population lives in the three towns of Manamah, Muharraq, and Hedd;[5] the rest, 38.5 percent, is scattered about in 90 villages and hamlets concentrated mostly in the northern and northeastern tip of the largest island. In the 9-year period between the two censuses the population had increased 22 percent, mainly in the three towns mentioned. The village population remained almost stationary (actually an absolute increase of 3.5 percent and a relative decrease of 5.5 percent). The concentration of increase in the towns can be explained by the better sanitary conditions existing there and the influx of foreigners. Evidently there was little local migration during this period from village to town, although in some cases it was found that villages had been deserted or greatly reduced in size.[6] It is interesting to note that the only population movement took place in some of the Arab Sunni villages.[7]

Tables I and III are in a certain sense misleading, for they give a false picture of homogeneity in the population (84 percent Bahrain subjects, 96 percent Muslims) that does not exist. Society in Bahrain is divided into several groupings, in most cases distinct and recognizable. Association with one group in many instances implies a certain occupational specialization, but the main forces that have determined social division are religion, tribal loyalties, and nationality.

### *THE SHI'IS AND THE SUNNIS*

The Muslim Arab population of Bahrain is divided into Shi'is and Sunnis, who in almost all cases never live in the same village. The Shi'is live in their own tightly-knit communities and do not intermix with the rest of the population to any considerable degree. Fighting — especially in the larger towns, when the two communities do come into contact — frequently breaks out between the two groups, necessitating the intervention of the police and even the British navy.[8] A recent index of the feeling between the two groups is the fact that for the last several years there has been no municipal council for the capital city, Manamah, for the simple reason that no agreement could be reached on the number of seats to be allotted each of the two Muslim groups.

Aside from the small minority of Persians, the Shi'is are all Baharnah. There is no agreement as to the ethnic origin of these people; however, they now speak Arabic and are regarded as Arabs. They are the oldest group among the present inhabitants of the shaykhdom and have been subjected through the centuries to successive conquests, so that although at present they equal or exceed the Sunnis in number — as the 1941 census

[5] See Table II.
[6] *Census 1950*, p. 6.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[8] Abbas Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands* (New York, 1951), p. 99.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



indicates — they constitute the poorer and lower classes of society and manifest all the markings of a minority group. Until recently they lived hardly above the servile state, their occupational specialization being exclusively the cultivation of the soil and other menial labor. The arrival of the British, which has assured them some security in person and a guarantee of minimum rights, and the development of the oil industry, which has opened possibilities of alternative employment, have had the effect of gradually raising these people from their status as second-class citizens.

The Sunnis act as the majority group. This has been especially true since a Sunni tribe established its political dominance over the islands in the 18th century. The Sunnis present a common front toward other groups; among themselves, however, they are divided into several communities and tribes. The largest Sunni community is the Huwalah. Its members are townsmen living by trade; and as townsmen everywhere, they do not manifest marked feelings of solidarity. They can perhaps be regarded as the nucleus of a future middle class.

The Utab, if not the largest Sunni tribe, is the most influential. This is due to the fact that the Khalifah family, one of its sub-tribes, has ruled the islands without serious interruption for almost 200 years. Every member of the Khalifah family has the title of "shaykh." Along with the privileges and prestige he enjoys as a result of his position, he has certain obligations and restrictions on his conduct and manner of life. For instance, in recent years many Bahrain subjects, especially among the younger city population, have taken to wearing European dress. No member of the ruling family may do so.

The two other Sunni tribes of any importance are the Sadah and the Dawasir, the first because of its alleged sacred origin, the second because of its comparative wealth.*

Unlike the Shi'is, the Sunnis are relatively mobile. They depend for their livelihood on trade, pearling, fishing, and more recently on employment in the oil industry. Boat building also used to be a fairly important industry. It is very seldom that a Sunni is found engaged in agriculture as a life occupation except as a landowner.

As has been shown, among the two main native elements social division and social tensions rest on religious foundations. Religious affiliation determines to a considerable degree the social and economic position of the individual. When mass violence breaks out it has so far been in terms of Shi'is and Sunnis, never in terms of economic groups.

An interesting development in recent years is the stress of the dominant

* Most of the Dawasir returned in anger to the Arabian mainland in the early 1920's, soon after Shaykh Hamad, whom they disliked, assumed control. For the story of their return see Government of Bahrain, *Administrative Report for the Years 1926-1937* (Bahrain, 1937), pp. 8-9.

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An interesting development in recent years is the stress of the dominant
186 group, the Sunnis, on the unity and brotherhood of all Muslims and Arabs.
659 In 1950, when the second census was made, it was planned to count the two groups separately. This proposal, however, was construed as a British scheme to divide the Muslims and set them against each other. Strong objections were made by both groups, but primarily by the Sunnis, to the government and consequently this aspect of the census was abandoned. No such objections were raised during the census only nine years earlier.

186 Two factors can perhaps account for this rather nascent stress on unity: emerging nationalism and new economic forces. The conception of nationality is a Western contribution and a new arrival in the Persian Gulf. In Bahrain it is still a vague idea and certainly has not replaced to any degree the existing loyalties. It manifests itself in two ways: first, negatively in a desire to expel the foreigner (this has considerable appeal: it is concrete, intellectually easy to grasp, can be used as a rallying cry, and above all does not conflict with established social patterns); and second, positively, in a confused ideal of a pan-Arab, pan-Islamic union. No clear distinction is drawn between the two last concepts and the terms are used interchangeably. It must be admitted, however, that the pan-Arab aspect of the ideal predominates. This new spirit of nationalism has had the effect of creating a greater emphasis on unity among the native population. Furthermore, through this intellectual device the two groups can now present a common front against foreigners to protect their rights and interests, whether real or imaginary.

565 The new economic force for unity is the oil industry. On the surface
178 things seem as they have always been. In fact a change, subtle and hard
464 to detect, has taken place. The oil industry, as indicated previously, has
186 opened the doors of employment to the Shi'is. This has resulted in bettering slightly their economic condition and consequently their relative status vis-à-vis other groups. Furthermore, such employment has meant that they are no longer restricted to agriculture. They can now sell their labor and skills as everyone else in a wider and more favorable market. On the job at the company installations, Shi'i and Sunni are brought together as laborers or artisans and placed on the same footing. For the first time in their history it has become possible for individuals from both groups to collaborate in certain areas of action, not as Shi'is or Sunnis, but as members of an economic group.

### *THE JEWS*

162 A third native religious group is the small Jewish minority comprising
563 about 250 persons. Its members are well known for their industry, their
463 higher standard of living, their higher rate of education, and their amenability to Western influences. They are exclusively engaged in trade and money changing.

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The Jews have lived in the country in comparative peace and security for centuries. Their position was clear and definite. As non-Muslims they were outside the pale of the law and could not participate fully in the life of the community; but as "People of the Book" they were a *dhimma*, a protected community. In civil matters they enjoyed the same legal rights as all other Bahrain subjects. Here again social lines of demarcation were drawn on a religious basis.

With the appearance of the Palestine problem the position of this small minority became progressively more precarious. Today the Jews are socially ostracized and economically boycotted, and there have been instances where physical violence has been employed against them. The local press of Bahrain is replete with references to Bahraini Jews, the Jews in general, and to Israel. Such references include, among other things, threats to publish the names of those who associate with Jews in Bahrain or buy from them, references to the United Nations as a Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world, and editorial protests to the government against allowing allegedly Israeli airlines to land in Bahrain, or against radio-communications with Israel.[10]

The government of Bahrain has no official policy of enmity toward Israel as have the other Arab states. Commercial traffic is not prohibited with Israel or with the Jews as a whole, but in practice it is virtually so. This boycott is due in part to social pressure and in part to the fact that a large part of the goods imported into Bahrain is re-exported to Saudi Arabia, a country which has strict regulations against traffic with Jews.

Owing to their present position, the Jews are the only native community whose interests and aspirations are at complete variance with those of the native population. It is a matter of public knowledge that many of them have either left or are in the process of leaving the country to start a new life in Israel, the United States, or Europe.

### *THE PERSIANS AND THE INDIANS*

The two major foreign elements in the country are the Persians and the Indians.[11] Their social status and relations with the native population are determined primarily by psychological, political, and economic factors rather than by religion or tribal loyalties.

The Persians are the largest foreign group, but it should be noted that they are foreigners in the legal and political sense only, for they are as much a part of the scene as the legal citizens of the country. Iran has had a long and checkered association with the islands going back to pre-Islamic times. At one period, the islands were directly controlled by it, and as late

[10] See any number of *al-Qafilah*, a weekly newspaper, or *Sawt al-Bahrain*, a monthly magazine. Both are published in Bahrain in Arabic.

[11] As used in this paper, the term "Indians" includes Indians, Pakistanis, Anglo-Indians, and Goanese.

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as the 19th century even the British recognized that Iran had some rights in Bahrain. The Iranian government has never relinquished its claims to the islands, a fact which has had a direct bearing on the position of the Persian community.

Under these favorable circumstances, Persians have been able until recently to move in and out of Bahrain without hindrance or restriction. Over the centuries a prosperous community developed, made up mostly of merchants, so that today some of the wealthiest inhabitants of Manamah are Persians. Generally speaking, this community is more enterprising, better educated, and has a higher standard of living than the local inhabitants of the land. But although the Persians grew prosperous and acquired property in houses and some land, their hearts were never in Bahrain — they were across the Gulf in the mother country. Bahrain is regarded by the Persians as an outpost for commercial activity but not for permanent settlement.

The Persians are resented by both the Arab inhabitants and the British. They are resented by the Arabs because they constitute a foreign community which is somewhat aloof from the rest of the population; in part, also, because of envy of their general prosperity and because they are regarded as interlopers who are taking the wealth of the country away. Two other serious objections to them are that they are Shi'is by religion and tend to look toward Iran rather than the Arab world for political association.

As for the British, they resent them for numerous reasons. In almost every way they constitute a threat, minor and insignificant though it may be, to the consolidation of their position in the shaykhdom. This is especially true since Bahrain has become the chief base for British naval, air, and political activity in the Persian Gulf. Specifically, the British resent the Persian community because it has always opposed what it regards as the "Indianization" policies of the British in Bahrain. It has played the double role of an opposition party and a fifth column. The recent difficulties of the British government and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Iran brought the problem of Anglo-Iranian relations to a sharp focus. The situation has constituted a threat to British prestige in the Gulf. In Bahrain Mosaddaq was regarded as a liberator — in the early part of 1953 pictures of him could be seen in many shops in Manamah.

The policies of the government of Bahrain have been detrimental to the position of the Persian community. In 1927 visas for entry to Bahrain became required of Persian subjects. In December of the same year a land registry office was established and a decree passed requiring that all land be registered; it also stipulated that only Bahrain subjects could own real property. With the passage of the decree a good many Persians had only two alternatives: either to acquire Bahrain citizenship, which many of them

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did, or sell out and return to the mother country. Those who remained are engaged either in trade or employed by the oil company or some other business establishment. In the last few years the government has been refusing to grant citizenship to Persian residents even though they may legally qualify.[12]

The Indians, the second largest foreign community, are in a certain sense in a position similar to that of the Persians. Bahrain, like other principalities in the Persian Gulf, has had a long association with the subcontinent through trade. In 1913, when the Bahrain Order-in-Council was passed, the country became administratively subject to the jurisdiction of the Governor-General of India.

The Indians constitute a prosperous and fairly well educated community. Some are engaged in trade on a big scale or as petty merchants. The rest — and they are the majority — are employed either by the government, the oil company, the British military and civil establishment, or other foreign business concerns in the country. They work mostly as clerks, foremen, cooks, waiters, and domestic servants.

Various explanations have been made as to why Indians are employed in such large numbers in preference to local Bahrainis or persons from other nationalities. In the first place, Bahrain does not have enough young men with a minimum of education and clerical or industrial training to fill these positions. Secondly, in view of British policy to tie Bahrain to India, it was only natural to look to it for the necessary labor supply. Furthermore, India could supply labor well trained by the British and used to their ways. Finally, Indian labor could be obtained at a lower rate than equally skilled labor from other countries.

The status of Indians is a rather peculiar one, for they live in a social zone all by themselves. They are resented by the native population and accepted only as subordinates by Westerners, with whom they would like to associate and with whom they would like to be classified. This is true especially of the clerical and professional group among them.

The causes of Bahraini resentment against them are psychological and economic in nature. In the first place, they constitute a community which is definitely foreign and makes a point of it, and in some respects looks down on the local population. This is especially the case among the white-collar workers.

Secondly, on the whole, the Indian community wields power far beyond its number. The people in Bahrain see Indians in government and business establishments and develop the feeling that they are being governed by them along with the British.

In the third place, clerical positions occupied by Indians and other for-

[12] Cf. Lorimer, op. cit., p. 6.

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563 In the third place, clerical positions occupied by Indians and other
578 foreigners are highly coveted by the high-school graduates of Bahrain. This
554 must be understood within the context of traditional Arab respect for the scribe and the great power wielded until recent times by government employees: clerking represents a social position as well as a source of livelihood.

641 Finally, Indians are given privileges denied to Bahrainis. They are al-
273 lowed, for instance, a monthly allotment of alcoholic beverages and certain
563 public places are open to them and to Westerners only. The problem of
578 alcohol is a delicate one in Bahrain. In accordance with Muslim law it is prohibited to all Muslims. Foreigners and non-Muslims, however, can obtain a monthly allotment at specified prices through a permit from the British Residency. The only two groups that can benefit from such an arrangement are the Westerners and the Indians, since most other foreigners are Muslims.

563 An example of the resentment felt against the Indian clerks may be
578 seen in the following letter to the newspaper *al-Qafilah* from an indignant
191 Bahraini criticizing the Post Office Department:

> I came to the post office window with a large number of greeting cards which I wanted to send to friends outside Bahrain. I inquired from the clerk whether there were any special rates? Snatching the cards from my hands, he gave me an answer in a strange language, the only part of which I understood was "three annas and a half."
>
> It is strange that this department continues to employ clerks who do not understand the language of the country. In this connection, I remember that a short time ago I sent my manservant with a piece of paper on which I had written in Arabic the quantity of stamps I wanted of each denomination. Shortly afterwards he came back very angry. He told me that the clerk threw him out of the building and ordered him to "tell [your master] to write in Indian, Persian, or English. . . . We are not Arabs." [13]

609 A factor which also has considerable effect on the attitude of the native toward foreigners is the development of the oil industry in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. In Saudi Arabia the political climate has been such that the native is truly master of his house. The moment the foreigner, and particularly the Westerner, steps on Saudi Arabian soil, government officials and civilians alike do not hesitate to remind him in a thousand ways that he is in an independent country, that he is only a temporary guest, and that his sojourn in the country depends on good behavior. The Arabian American Oil Company, as part of its public relations policy, cooperates with the government fully in this respect and it is a well-known fact that a number of its American employees have been sent home for minor infractions of the local law or for being in some way rude to the native inhabitants.

Bahrain is only a few miles away from Saudi Arabia. Stories of how

[13] *al-Qafilah*, January 2, 1953.

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609 foreigners are "kept in their place" there circulate by word of mouth — a method of communication highly developed in the Middle East — and exaggerated several times in the process. One of the central themes of the local Bahrain press is a comparison between Saudi Arabia and Bahrain in this respect. As is to be expected, this is causing a feeling of frustration among the natives and creating an atmosphere of restiveness and increasing antagonism toward foreigners.

In Kuwait a rather ambitious development program has been under way for several years, made possible by increasing oil royalties. There is an atmosphere of feverish activity, psychologically exaggerated because of its concentration in a small area. By contrast, life in Bahrain is slow and development sober but limited, in view of the comparatively small oil revenues. This causes some jealousy which finds an emotional outlet in an increasing suspicion of foreigners and increasing demands on the major companies, such as the Bahrain Petroleum Company, to do more for the country than they have been doing so far.

## *FOREIGN ARAB GROUPS*

563 167 463 A rather large number of foreign Arabs live in Bahrain. They can be divided into two main groups which in custom and social mores have little in common. The first group is composed of Arabs from Saudi Arabia, Oman, Muscat, Qatar, and Yemen. These people have always been part of the scene. They come and go as they have always done, with hardly any restriction on their movement. Many of them are related to people in [601] Bahrain by blood or marriage and are looked upon as "cousins," *awlad al-'amm*, a term which carries with it all the emotional overtones of the traditions of tribal life. Some of them are merchants; a large number, especially of those from Oman, Muscat, Qatar, and Yemen, are employed by the oil industry as common laborers, and others work with local industries. Their community life and standard of living do not vary a great deal from that of the local population; in fact they are hardly distinguishable from it.

The second group of foreign Arabs, made up of a small number of Egyptians, Syrians, Lebanese, Iraqis, and Palestinians, is comparatively new to the area. On the whole, their standard of living is probably higher than that of any other group with the exception of the Westerners. Few are engaged in trade; the majority are white-collar workers.

563 875 208 177 Although they are largely new arrivals, they already exert considerable influence on the life of the country. Unlike all other foreigners, they are genuinely welcomed and looked up to by the local population. They are the missionaries of Arab nationalism. Most of the high-school and a good number of the elementary-school teachers in Bahrain come from this group (see Table IV); in this key position, it can be truly said of them that they

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are the moulders of the new generation of Bahrainis. It is significant that all these teachers come from countries which have just emerged from British or French control.

## TRENDS FOR THE FUTURE

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Social realignment among the Sunnis and the Shi'is must be thought of in terms of the distant future. It is true that secular and technical education, nationalism, and economic forces are all operating to bring these two groups together. As a result they have begun to cooperate with each other in certain areas of common interest as nonreligious groups; nevertheless, the old loyalties and social patterns are still strongly entrenched, as is very graphically illustrated by the religious riots of 1953 and 1954. It is even conceivable that when and if religion loses the depth of meaning it has at present to both groups, it may still remain as the basis of political alignment or power, as is the case in highly literate Lebanon.

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Nationalism has replaced religious tradition as the basis of the relations of the Jews with the major segments of society. The resultant tension is being resolved through emigration, but a few will no doubt remain. All indications are that the political struggle between the Arabs and Israel will leave them little chance of reintegrating themselves on some new basis into society in Bahrain. It is possible, although highly improbable thanks to the presence of the British, that mass violence may be used against them. If this does take place, the problem in all likelihood will assume an international character. Israel, which has established itself as the protector and defender of Jewish minorities, no doubt would use every measure to dramatize the plight of this minority to the world.

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The animosity of the native population toward Persians and Indians does not arise from fundamental issues of a permanent nature. There is, for instance, no parallel feeling toward Iran, India, or Pakistan; on the contrary, warm sympathy prevails for them as combatants against Western domination. Both the causes and the issues are transitory in character, and

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*Table IV.* FOREIGN TEACHERS IN BAHRAIN

| *Year* | *Egypt* | *Syria* | *Lebanon* | *Palestine* | *Other Arab Countries* | *Other Nationalities* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1944/45 | 12 | 2 | 12 | — | — | 2 | 28 |
| 1945/46 | 10 | — | 13 | .. | 1 | 2 | 26 |
| 1946/47 | 13 | 9 | 12 | — | 1 | 2 | 37 |
| 1947/48 | 11 | 7 | 14 | — | 1 | 2 | 35 |
| 1948/49 | 22 | 6 | 14 | — | 1 | 3 | 46 |
| 1949/50 | 20 | 7 | 14 | 9 | 1 | 3 | 54 |
| 1950/51 | 9 | 9 | 15 | 10 | 1 | 3 | 47 |
| 1951/52 | 9 | 7 | 27 | 18 | 2 | 4 | 67 |

Source: Government of Bahrain, Dept. of Education, *Report on the Condition of Education in Bahrain* (Bahrain, 1952), p. 47. (In Arabic.)

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the course of development in Bahrain leaves no doubt that they will gradually be resolved. Bahrainis are receiving education at an increasing rate and are now gradually replacing these two foreign elements in clerical and intermediate positions. There will come a time when foreign labor is no longer needed. All foreign establishments in Bahrain, in response to local pressure, are now replacing foreign employees with Bahrainis, even if at the cost of some efficiency.

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Once the clerical and professional group becomes expendable, the major source of resentment will have been removed. Even if some Indians remain, the native Bahrainis will be able to compete with them on equal terms. In the case of the Persians, until the political issues primarily between the British and the Iranian governments concerning sovereignty over Bahrain are clarified, their position will stay the same.

What of the Westerners? It is my belief that the crisis is yet to come. Despite considerable talk, especially among the literate segment of the population, about exploitation, imperialism, and privileges, the Westerners' higher social status is accepted. The native population has been used for generations to think of them as a group with a special status over and above its own, and it will take some time before a mental reorientation is completed. In the second place, the native people fully realize that they need them. They may want to hate the foreign doctor but they need his medical skill; they may detest the oil company, but it supplies them with necessary royalties. The time, however, is drawing near when the problem will have to be faced. Negative nationalism and other political forces such as Communism (which at present has little influence in the Gulf) may force the issue prematurely if favorable circumstances arise.

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# GENERAL REVIEW

121

This is a condensed report on the administration of the Bahrain Government during the last eleven years, though in some subjects the report goes further back than 1926. The report is based upon the annual reports on financial and government departments which are made every year. It is an administration report dealing mainly with the activities of the Bahrain Government and it does not describe in detail the various political and commercial changes which have taken place and which have affected Bahrain during the period under review, such as the transfer of the Naval Base from Henjam to Bahrain, the inclusion of Bahrain as a port of call on the Empire air route, and the long negotiations which finally resulted in the development of the Bahrain oil field by the Bahrain Petroleum Company Limited, who have now succeeded in making Bahrain the twelfth largest oil-producing country in the world. This last decade has been an important period in the history of Bahrain: it has been a time of change and transition. During the last ten or eleven years the changes and reforms which were made by the Ruler, His Highness Shaikh Sir Hamad, when he took over control from his father have become firmly established, and the administration of the country has been developed through its people on sufficiently Western lines to keep apace with the needs of the local inhabitants and the ever-increasing important foreign population. In other Gulf States, Bahrain is considered very progressive; the wish to be progressive comes from the people themselves, it is not forced upon them by the Government.

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During the period under review the State has suffered violent financial fluctuations; first comfortable prosperity based on the pearl trade, then severe financial depression resulting in drastic curtailment of all activity and expansion, then recovery and a sudden tremendous increase in revenue which, in my opinion, would have been more advantageous if it had come gradually. This sudden change from poverty to affluence creates problems and conditions which are almost more difficult to deal with than those resulting from the need for economy. A period of great financial prosperity, provided that oil does not run dry, appears to be starting now for Bahrain, and I think it is a suitable time to make some record of the developments which the Bahrain Government carried out in the past years and which were financed from revenue produced from other sources than oil royalties. While fully appreciating the fact that if oil had not been found the financial position of Bahrain would be deplorable, it should be remembered that most of the existing improvements in Bahrain, such as electric power, sea roads, causeways, schools, and municipalities, came into being before the oil era.

C. DALRYMPLE BELGRAVE.

*December*, 1937

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

problem. The protestations of the Persian Government and its view of the concession as null and void, have broadened the Anglo-Persian controversy to include the United States, and as a side issue have created an Irano-American dispute. Considering the location and the nature of the countries involved, this has dangerous potentialities, especially in the present state of international relations.

With the above in mind, the present book was written to provide the reader with the minimum of facts essential to an understanding of the problems in this part of the world.

The author wishes to express his gratitude to Ali Aghassi for his scholarly suggestions and sincere and friendly encouragements, without which this work would have been impossible.

A. Faroughy.

New York, August 1950.

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# Part I.—GENERAL INFORMATION.

## CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

BAHRAIN is an independent Arab State ruled by His Highness Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed al-Khalifah, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E. The state consists of an archipelago of small low-lying islands situated about half-way down the Persian Gulf, some 20 miles from the Arab coast and slightly less distant from the Qatar Peninsular. In the past Bahrain owed its importance to its position as the centre of the pearl industry of the Persian Gulf; today it is better known for its oil field and refinery. 101

"Bahrain" or more correctly "al-Bahrain" means "The Two Seas" and this name, which was formerly applied to the whole coast of Eastern Arabia from Kuwait to Qatar, has long puzzled Arab philologists. Many derivations of the name have been suggested. One is that the two seas are the Persian Gulf and the pool of sweet water below the sands which irrigates the gardens of Qatif and Bahrain. Another, suggested by the writer al-Ashari, is that there was once a great salt lake near Hasa, which was the second of the two seas. A third suggestion is that the name "Bahrain" has some connection with the submarine springs (Ar. singular 'Ain) of fresh water that are found in many places along the coast of Arabia. However a serious objection to this theory is that 'Ain starts with an Arabic letter which is not present in the spelling of "Bahrain." There are other places called Bahrain in Egypt, North Africa and in Persia. 103

There are five principal islands in the group, whose total area is approximately 231 square miles; the largest is Bahrain itself, which is about 30 miles long and from 8 to 10 miles wide. A causeway 1½ miles in length, carrying a motor road, links Manama, capital of the State, which is on the north-east tip of Bahrain island, with the neighbouring town and island of Muharraq. Half-way down the east coast of Bahrain a bridge connects Bahrain with Sitra island. Among the other islands of the group are Nebih Salih, north of Sitra, whose prolific fresh water springs irrigate the date groves which cover the island and which are said to be the best in Bahrain; Jidda, a small rocky islet off the west coast of Bahrain, now used as a penal settlement; and Umm an-Nasaan, a large low-lying island to the south-west of Jidda, which H.H. The Ruler has developed as a breeding place for gazelle and black buck. 131

Some miles south of Bahrain and very near the coast of Qatar are the 16 islands of the Howar group, the largest of which is 11 miles in

131 length and a mile wide. "Howar" means "Young Camel" and the island was so called because it is similar in shape though smaller than Bahrain, and so was described as its offspring.

There are many other little islands in the Bahrain archipelago ; some contain small villages or fishermen's huts while others are deserted except during the occasional visits of migratory birds or pearl divers who come to the islands during the diving season to draw water from the freshwater springs.

311 137 Along the northern coast of Bahrain there is a narrow strip of land some three miles wide which is under cultivation. The fertile gardens containing date and loz (Indian almond or Terminalia) pomegranate, banana and fig trees are irrigated from many natural springs and artesian wells. But in the waterless areas south of the cultivation, in the centre of the island, only sparse and hardy desert flora exists. Although this desert may seem bare to the eyes of a visitor accustomed to the lush greenness of Europe or the States, it is in fact covered with a great variety of desert plants which were found, in a recent survey, to include some 200 species.

133 Beyond the cultivated area the land is barren and the landscape consists of low rolling hills with numerous rocky cliffs and dry wadis. Most of the Islands of Bahrain are surfaced with hard limestone rock, covered in many places with sand dunes, and, in the case of the main island, with pre-historic tumuli. From the shore line the topography rises gradually towards the centre where it again drops off into a basin surrounded by steep cliffs. Towards the centre of the basin there is a very pronounced rocky promontory known as "Jebal ad-Dukhan," the "Mountain of Smoke," a name given to it because of the vague and hazy appearance it often presents, particularly during the hot summer months. The Jebal is only 450 feet above sea level and 250 feet above the surrounding plain but often, when mist surrounds its base, it gives the impression of being a considerable mountain.

226 228 Although Bahrain is a small country yet it displays a very varied landscape and many surprising contrasts between old and new. It is primarily a sea faring state. The brilliant blue and green waters, studded with white sails, which surround the islands provide the people of Bahrain with fish, which they catch from boats and in traps, fresh water, from the submarine springs, coral stone for building and pearls which made Bahrain such an important trading centre in the past.

361 The coastal towns have an attractive appearance. Manama's water front is lined with high white houses and beyond the town date gardens extend in an unbroken line down to the water's edge. Roads in the northern part of Bahrain pass through avenues of tall and stately date palms, bearing great bunches of golden, red and yellow fruit during the summer months. The south of the island is a miniature desert and in the foothills around the Jebal there are many little wadis which after the rainy season are bright with desert flowers and shrubs. Even

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

## INTRODUCTION

About midway of the Persian Gulf and some fifteen miles off the coast of Arabia, lie the Bahrein Islands at the mouth of the Gulf of Bahrein, of which the Qatar Peninsula forms the western side. There are five principal islands, only two of which are of real consequence. The largest and by far the most important is variously called Awal, Al Manāmah after the principal city, or more commonly just Bahrein. The last is the modern designation.

In ancient times, the name "Bahrein" was applied to a larger area which included the Arabian mainland of Qatar and Hajar and the land situated between Mesopotamia and the Gulf of Oman (the Indian Ocean); this area took in the entire southern coast of the Persian Gulf. This has caused widespread misinterpretation of much of the writings of pre-Islamic and Medieval historians. Throughout this book we shall use the term "Bahrein" in its modern sense to refer to the archipelago of Bahrein proper or to the central island, except where the mainland province is clearly indicated.

Bahrein today has few attractions. There is not much to recommend it as a place of residence, as it is intensely hot for about seven months of the year, and for many of the native inhabitants lacking in comfortable living conditions. For tourists it is rather off the beaten track. Nevertheless, through the centuries these bits of land have been considered well worth fighting for by both European and Asiatic empires.

The reason for Bahrein's unusual and enduring importance can be summed up in two words—pearls and strategy. The pearl fisheries of Bahrein have been known all over the world since the dawn of history and, thanks to an abundance of fresh water springs, the island was a frequent stopping place for ships on the trade routes to India and the Far East.

The Portuguese, the first European power to have an Asiatic colonial empire, fought hard for possession of the islands.

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# THE BAHREIN ISLANDS

## THE NAME

103 "The name of Bahrein, which means 'Two Seas,' is derived, according to the natives of the country, from the existence of two strata of water located there. The higher film is extremely salty, whereas the deeper consists of sweet water with a very pleasant taste." So wrote Masqudi, the famous Arabian author.

Ibn Khallakan has a different explanation. He cites the Persian lexicographer Al-Ashari as follows: "Al-Bahrein ('The Two Seas') is so named because in the region where its towns are situated, near the gate of Al-Ahsa and the village of Hajar, there is a lake at ten parsangs distance from the Great Green Ocean [the Persian Gulf]. The lake is three miles long and as many broad. It does not overflow, and its waters are tranquil and salt."

101 According to Al-Jawahari, the author of *Sahah*, the inhabitants are called Bahrani rather than the more usual form Bahri, because "the latter term might be misunderstood, having as it does another meaning, namely 'Belonging to the sea.'"[1]

## GEOGRAPHY

131 The Bahrein Islands are situated at 26° latitude north and 50° longitude east on the southern side of the Persian Gulf. They are about fifteen miles from the main coast of Saudi

1. Throughout this book, however, we shall use the modern designation "Bahreini" when referring to the people.



[pp. 10, 11, 12 have no textual material]

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

131 Arabia and somewhat closer to the Qatar Peninsula. Manama, the capital, is at 26°13′ north and 50°35′ east.[1]

The archipelago is formed by five principal islands and a number of smaller ones, of which only one is of real importance. It is variously called Awal,[2] Manama after the principal city, or more commonly just Bahrein. Curiously shaped in the semblance of a sea horse,[3] the island is only twenty miles long and ten miles across at the widest point.

132 Bahrein would be totally uninhabitable if it were not for an abundance of fresh water (believed to come through channels under the sea bottom from somewhere in Arabia, probably the Tuwaik mountains) which supplies about two hundred springs and many artesian wells. It is likely that some of these springs were formerly under the sea, since the islands are surrounded by coral formations and in such places the sea always tends to become shallower and dry land to increase. In the northern part of the principal island the water is plentiful enough to produce luxuriant gardens and palm groves, and on the other islands irrigation farming is carried on extensively.

Fresh water springs are also found on the shallow ocean bottom. In former times the natives dived into the sea to collect drinking water in collapsed goatskins. Some water sellers used more scientific methods, however, sinking bamboo tubes to the level of the springs, then collecting the water as it rose above sea level.

## GEOLOGY

133 Bahrein lies on a portion of the ancient Tethys geosynclinal belt represented today by the Persian Gulf. The formation of the principal island is the result of pressure from the mountainous masses of Persia against the crystalline platform of central Asia, the thrust being absorbed by a gentle folding in the

1. The British Political Agency is at lat. 26°14′09.95″ N. and long. 50°35′00.39″ E.
2. The etymology of the word *Awal* is "fish" or "whale."
3. See map, back of book.

7:Khadduri S-4 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2
Iran M91



I 648 9 648

protests against this concession and considers itself at liberty to claim and demand the restitution of any profit that may accrue from such concessions, as well as compensation for any damage that may result therefrom. . . .[5]

In view of the fact that Iran's claim to sovereignty over Bahrayn had been reiterated in the past on several occasions, it is likely that such a claim might be put forth again under favorable circumstances. After the second World War the issue was revived by Prime Minister Qawam as-Sultanah in 1946. He announced that all oil produced in Bahrayn and shipped to the Iranian mainland would be taxed at the same rate as that produced by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. If Iran's claim to the sovereignty of Bahrayn is valid, the Oil Nationalization Act, unless it specifically excludes Bahrayn or unless the Act by its terms applies only to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, must *ipso jure* apply to the Bahrayn Petroleum Company. While such claims have often been disregarded, they might assume a certain seriousness should the *Tudeh* Party seize power and, supported or inspired by Russia, seek excuses for intervention in the Persian Gulf by raising the question of Iran's claim to sovereignty over Bahrayn.

B 101 • 131

Before turning to a discussion of the validity of Iran's claim, a word on the geography of the Bahrayn Islands might be useful. The term "Bahrayn" (which means the "two seas") was originally applied to the continental coast of Arabia (al-Hasa), the peninsula of Qatar, and the group of islands which separat. the bay between Hasa and Qatar into the "two seas." But this term came to be applied only to those islands which form the "two seas." The Bahrayn Islands are an archipelago of coral formation (except perhaps the rocky hills in the center of the largest island) which includes Bahrayn, the largest (it is 27 miles long by 10 wide), Muharraq (second in size, five miles in length, and situated to the north of Bahrayn), Sitrah, Umm Na'san and a number of smaller islands. This archipelago was famous for its pearl fisheries from antiquity and more recently for the oil resources which have been discovered since the first World War. Its strategic value may assume an increasing importance should Communism penetrate southward towards Iran, Iraq, and the Persian Gulf.[6]

[5] The British Government had already objected to the grant of oil concessions to other Powers, but the United States State Department, pressing for equal opportunities for American interests, secured British agreement to the participation of American interests in the oil of Bahrayn. For an exchange of notes on this matter see Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1929, Vol. III (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1944), pp. 80–82.

[6] For the geography of the Bahrayn Islands, see J. Theodore Bent, "The Bahrayn Islands in the Persian Gulf," Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. XII (January, 1890), pp. 1–19; Captain A. W. Stiffe, "Ancient Trading Centers of the Persian Gulf, VII: Bahrein," The Geographical Journal, Vol. XVIII (September, 1901), pp. 291–294; Maynard Owen Williams, "Bahrein: Port of Pearls and Petroleum," The

[FOR The rest of the footnote see p. 633]

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2
Kuwait M11
Saudi Arabia MJ1



companies may need to be defined now that one concessionaire seems likely to create revenue; problems may also arise if, as a result of oil developments, it is planted with a population that will need to be endowed with public services and, no doubt, with a system of taxation.

## BAHRAIN

The Bahrain Archipelago is a group of islands in the Gulf of Bahrain, which is bounded on the east by the Qatar Peninsula and on the west by the mainland coast of al-Hasa. Its total area is 213 square miles. The principal island—Bahrain itself—is about thirty miles long and ten miles wide. It is low-lying and its northern end is well watered by fresh water springs and produces good date crops. Citrus fruit and lucerne are also grown. The oilfields lie round the rocky cluster of hills known as Jebel Dukhan (Hill of Smoke), which is in the barren centre of the island.

To the north-east of Bahrain Island, and joined to it by a causeway and motor road, is the low, sandy island of Muharraq, and between the two islands is a good deep-water harbour (Khor Kaliya). It is used as a small British naval base; an American admiral also flies his flag there. Nearby there is a second, but shallow harbour (Bahrain harbour), which faces north and is usefully equipped. The natural aerodrome on Muharraq Island has been developed into the largest commercial airfield in the Persian Gulf and now serves the airliners of all nations. It is also used by the RAF, and the whine of jet aircraft is a commonplace. The south end of the island of Bahrain is low-lying and sandy. The climate, though oppressive in summer owing to the prevalent heat and damp of the western shores of the Persian Gulf, is more humid and less windy than that of Kuwait. The population of the Archipelago was 109,650 when a census was taken in 1950.[1]

The capital and the seat of government is the port of Manama.[2] It is generally referred to as Bahrain, and is situated between the two harbours. It has a population of 39,648, which includes many rich Arab, Persian, and Indian merchants, as well as some 300 Europeans and Americans. The second town, Muharraq, on Muharraq Island, has a population of 24,566 which is purely Arab.

The British Political Agency is in Manama town, which also boasts an electricity station, a wireless station, post offices, hospitals, clubs, public gardens, and up-to-date schools. The town is well supplied with good motor roads, and there are

[1] 1952 estimate, 115,000. [2] Population: 1950, 39,648; 1952 (estimate), 45,000.

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN MZ 2

# 11

# Bahrain

## GEOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

619 Bahrain is an independent sheikhdom,
131 comprising a small group of islands at the entrance to the Gulf of Bahrain, between the Hasa coast of Saudi Arabia and the peninsula of Qatar. Famous since ancient times as the center of the Persian Gulf pearling industry, the islands have attained new prominence within recent years as a link in the chain of oil fields stretching from Qatar to central Iraq. The Sheikhdom has
648 had protective treaty relations with Great Britain since 1880, and the headquarters of the British Political Resident for the Persian Gulf area are established on Bahrain Island.

131 The archipelago consists of 5 main islands, besides several small islets, which have an aggregate area of about 210 to 225 square miles. Bahrain, the principal island, is approximately 27 miles in length and 10
133 miles in width. A narrow belt of luxuriant date gardens, supported by abundant freshwater springs and wells, rims the northern end of the island, but the remainder is mostly barren desert. Rocky hills rise to an elevation of about 450 feet along the central ridge, Jabal ad Dukhan, while sandy wastes, broken by salt marshes, stretch toward the south.

131 Muharraq, a horseshoe-shaped sandy island, with an area of 5 to 6 square miles, is second in size and in importance. It lies northeast of Bahrain, and is separated from
[491] the larger island by a narrow channel which is bridged by a 2-mile causeway, constructed in 1941. Chief among the other inhabited islands are Sitra and Nabbi Sālih, offshore to the east, and Umm Na'san, to the west

p. 255(A)

68:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN MZ 2

occurred intermittently in the past, chiefly in Manama and Muharraq. The islands are exposed to the introduction of the disease from neighboring territories, but the enforcement of quarantine regulations has prevented its establishment for several decades.

**Other Infections.** Although a mild degree of louse infestation occurs among the inhabitants in some congested areas, louse-borne typhus is rarely, if ever, reported. Imported cases of cutaneous leishmaniasis, or Oriental sore, and filariasis are occasionally treated in the local medical institutions, but the insect vectors are not known to be present, and indigenous infections have not been recorded. Guinea worm infection is sometimes seen among persons from Iran, but it is not found in the resident population.

### Nutritional Diseases

The standards of nutrition have improved materially in the last few years. Undernutrition is common, but serious defects are seen primarily among the inhabitants of outlying villages and the families of workers from the mainland. Poverty, traditional dietary customs and intestinal parasitism are contributory factors. Subclinical deficiencies in vitamin C are widespread, and scurvy is observed from time to time. Rickets is frequent among the children in the towns. Anemia is prevalent, and hemoglobin levels of 25 to 30 per cent are not unusual among the women.

## SUMMARY

Bahrain is an independent sheikhdom which consists of an archipelago of 5 main islands situated in the Persian Gulf near the coast of Arabia. It has long been famous as a pearl fishing center, and, since 1932, has enjoyed prosperity as an oil-producing area. It has a heterogeneous population which numbered 109,650 in 1950, including 18,471 foreigners. The people are predominantly of mixed Arab and Persian origin, and about 96 per cent are Moslems.

30: Gt. Britain G-S (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia MJ1
BAHRAIN MZ2



Turks had previously established a small garrison, which was withdrawn in 1910. The ownership of the island of *Qrān*, about 36 miles NE. by E. of Ras el-Bidya', is undetermined. It has an anchorage on the S. side, and is frequented by fishermen from Bahrein, Musallamīyah, and Jinnah, who dry fish and make turtle oil.

## C. BAHREIN

### Area

The present Sheikhdom of Bahrein consists of the archipelago formed by the islands of *Bahrein*, *Muharraq*, *Umm Na'asān*, *Sitrāh*, and *Nebi Sālih*, with a number of lesser islets and rocks. The whole forms a compact group almost in the middle of the gulf which separates the promontory of El-Qatar and the coast of Qatīf; the Sheikhs of Bahrein have had relations of a political nature with El-Qatar (see p. 328).

The principal island has an extreme length of 30 miles from N. to S. and a maximum breadth of 10 miles. Muharraq, which lies NE., and is separated from Bahrein by a strait 1½ miles broad, has a maximum diameter of 5½ miles, but owing to its horseshoe form contains little territory. Umm Na'asān, which is less than 4 miles by 2½ miles, lies 3 miles off the W. coast of the main island. Sitrah, separated from the E. coast by a narrow channel, has a length of 4½ miles from N. to S., and a maximum breadth of 1½ miles. Nebi Sālih, commonly called *Jezirah*, lying in the inlet of Kabb on the E. coast of Bahrein, NW. of Sitrah, has a diameter of only ½ mile.

### Physical Characteristics

Bahrein Island is mostly flat and low, but rises gradually to an interior plateau 100 to 200 ft. high, in the middle of which is an oval depression about 13 miles long from N. to S. by about 4 miles broad, containing the solitary hill Jebel Dukhān, about 440 ft. in height. The descent inwards from the plateau to the depression is in most places too steep to be practicable for animals; at the N. end there is a nearly vertical drop of 20 ft., followed by a slope of 30 ft. The plateau is extremely stony, presenting on the N. side a low cliff-line of about 15 ft., with a sandy plain below it, extending in all directions to the coast, and draining from W. to E. On the same side of the plateau is a great field of ancient tumuli covering about 12 square miles, called by the Arabs *Murāqib*. A large inlet, Khōr

30/Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZR



361 Qasabīyah clear of the town, at the customs pier, and at the jetty
438 of the British Agency.

2. **Budeyya'**, near the NW. corner of Bahrein Island, stretches for about a mile along the sea with a depth of about 300 yards. It has three quarters with about 8,000 inhabitants, *Farīq el-'Amāmarah*, *Farīq ed-Dām*, and *Farīq el-Budayya'*, containing a considerable number of stone houses, five or six buildings of solid masonry with upper storeys, and a tower. The people are all Sunnis, the most numerous Arab communities belonging to the Dawāsir (800 houses) and 'Amāmarah (100 houses). There are a large number of negro slaves (450 houses) and free negroes (200 houses), with about 50 households of *Hūwalah*. Most of the people are engaged in the pearl-fisheries, and more than 100 boats are owned. The Dawāsir, whose Sheikh administers the town without interference from the Sheikh of Bahrein, chiefly occupy the Budayya' and Dām quarters, obtaining their water-supply from wells in the date-plantations of *Dirāz* and *Beni Jamrah* villages; the well of the 'Amāmarah quarter is a little to the E. of the houses.

### 2. *Muharraq*

101 This island lies immediately NE. of Bahrein, from which it is
•131 separated by a narrow strait a mile and a half broad; it is of horse-shoe shape, with the open side to the S.; the maximum diameter is about 4 miles. The island is really a low sandbank surrounded by flat coral reefs which almost triple its surface at low tide: from this projects on the NW. a rocky spit called *Ras el-Khascifah*, extending seaward for nearly 4 miles and constituting the chief danger to ships entering Manāmah harbour. Several marine
361 springs rise near the coasts of the island. There are some 15
438 villages or hamlets in addition to Muharraq town, the more important of which are: *'Arād*, on a promontory on the S. coast: 100 huts of *Bahārinah* date-growers, fishermen, and pearl-divers. There is a rectangular ruined fort, with sides about 90 ft. long, at the E. point of 'Arād Bay. Plantations with about 12,000 date-palms. *Buseitīn*, on the W. coast, 1 mile N. of Muharraq town: 400 houses, some of stone, but most of date-mats. The people are Sunnis, chiefly of the Madhāhakah tribe, owning about 50 boats, mostly used for pearl-fishing. Date-palms number about 1,000; carrots and lucerne are cultivated beneath the trees. Two wells in the date-grove, with brackish water. *Deir*, on NW. coast, 2 miles N. by E. of Muharraq town; 300 houses of mud or date-mats; 3 mosques. Inhabitants are *Bahārinah* engaged in the

in the hottest time of the year the evenings are comparatively cool in the desert country and just before sunset the hot glare fades from the rocky hills and valleys and is replaced by a warm pink glow which changes the whole appearance of the scene. The sea, the gardens and the desert and its pleasant winter climate all combine to make Bahrain an unusual and attractive place.

The climate of Bahrain and the Persian Gulf has been, wrongly, described as the worst in the world. In Bahrain the year can be divided into three periods each of four months. The best time of the year is from December to March, the cold season, when the wind blows from the north-west and the west. The months of April, May, October and November are pleasant, but from June to the end of September it is hot, extremely humid and the climate is very trying, but although Bahrain in the summer cannot be described as a pleasant place in which to live yet it is not unhealthy. June usually proves an exception to this rule owing to a cool north wind, the "Bara," so called because it is said to last for forty days (Ar. Forty—'Arbain'), which makes the month cooler than May.

The prevailing wind in Bahrain is the "Shamal," a damp wind from the north-west which during the winter has been known to reach a velocity of 50 m.p.h. The "Qaws" is another common wind, hot and dry, it blows from the south-west, bringing to Manama the sands from the south of the island.

Bahrain's rainfall is small, as can be seen from the following table, and averages just under 3" a year.

TEMPERATURE, RAINFALL AND HUMIDITY

| *Month* | *Mean Temperature (half max. min.)* | *Relative Humidity %* | *Mean Rainfall (in inches)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| JANUARY | 61° | 80 | 0.39 |
| FEBRUARY | 62° | 80 | .67 |
| MARCH | 68° | 77 | .51 |
| APRIL | 76° | 72 | .24 |
| MAY | 84° | 65 | .08 |
| JUNE | 88° | 63 | 0. |
| JULY | 91° | 65 | 0. |
| AUGUST | 92° | 71 | 0. |
| SEPTEMBER | 88° | 73 | 0. |
| OCTOBER | 82° | 76 | 0. |
| NOVEMBER | 74° | 78 | .24 |
| DECEMBER | 65° | 81 | .83 |
| MEANS | 78° | 73% | (Total) 2.96 in. p.a. |

*This table is based on twelve years observations.*

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

WINDS

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| Month | Wind Mean Velocity M.P.H. | Percentage of observations from directions in a year. N. | N.E. | E. | S.E. | S. | S.W. | W. | N.W. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| JANUARY | 5 | 13 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 4 | 24 | 34 |
| FEBRUARY | 5 | 19 | 5 | 4 | 10 | 7 | 3 | 16 | 32 |
| MARCH | 5 | 19 | 10 | 8 | 10 | 8 | 8 | 13 | 23 |
| APRIL | 5 | 17 | 8 | 9 | 7 | 9 | 9 | 16 | 25 |
| MAY | 5 | 20 | 10 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 20 | 34 |
| JUNE | 5 | 21 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 22 | 47 |
| JULY | 4 | 16 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 7 | 23 | 43 |
| AUGUST | 3 | 16 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 6 | 7 | 18 | 29 |
| SEPTEMBER | 3 | 22 | 3 | 10 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 17 | 28 |
| OCTOBER | 3 | 17 | 11 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 19 | 33 |
| NOVEMBER | 4 | 15 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 5 | 22 | 29 |
| DECEMBER | 5 | 13 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 3 | 25 | 37 |
| MEANS | 4.2 | 17 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 20 | 33 |

*This table is based on nine years observations.*

136 There is little wild life in Bahrain. Mongooses and jerboa (Kangaroo rats) are common in the cultivated area and in the desert respectively in the south of the island and on Umm an-Nasaan there are gazelle and hare. During certain seasons of the year migratory birds make their appearance, including the Hubara, the lesser bustard, which is hunted with falcons by the Ruling Family. Other game birds, duck, snipe and sand grouse are sometimes seen in Bahrain. There are, however, many small local birds including bulbuls, hoopoes and a covey of parrots which at various times escaped from their owners and have now become indigenous.

There are many sea birds in Bahrain. The commonest are tern and cormorant, which nest in thousands on small uninhabited islands filling the air for miles around with the noise of their comings and goings and their quarrels over nesting grounds. Herons and flamingoes are frequently seen as well as other smaller species of shore and sea birds.

This is Bahrain, and it is hoped that the information in the following chapters will add to the interest of the reader who is living in Bahrain, or passing through, by telling him something about the country.

## CHAPTER II

## THE PEOPLE

162 BAHRAIN is often described as a land of contrasts, and this is especially true of its inhabitants, for in this small group of islands, no larger than a pencil point on a map of the world, there are some 109,650 people (1950 census) drawn from over thirty nations of the world. In the same census it was found that 6,000 Bahrainis were working abroad

to the days when the Rulers of Bahrain lived here and ruled the Islands from the castle. Below the fortresss is the spring of Hanani, whose water is the best in Bahrain, and a plain where, in the rainy season, a small lake forms and on disappearing leaves in its place a bright lawn of grass. Rifaa has been expanding rapidly during recent years, the town is spreading to the south-east, and it now possesses boys' and girls' schools and a Municipality. Some members of the Ruling Family still live in the town which has expanded owing to the development of the oil industry, in which some 500 of its male inhabitants are working.

The situation of the town is ideal for strategical purposes, from it it is possible to see Manama, Muharraq and Sitra while the land around it is free of vegetation which could have served to hide the enemy. It has an excellent climate and is drier than Manama in the summer. To the north of the town are two small graves where members of the Khalifah family are buried; these fell in battle during a civil war which took place in the 19th century.

There is a tradition connected with the fortress of Rifaa. It is said to have been built in the 17th century by the Wazir of the then Ruler, a certain Shaikh Jabbara. For years the Ruler and his wazir worked together, but one day the Shaikh was told about the beauty of the wazir's wife, and he desired her. He was tricked into believing that he had visited her, though in fact he was entertained by her maid-servant. He was so angry at the deception, about which the wazir knew nothing, that he killed him. The Wazir's widow thereupon fled from Rifaa to the mainland, from where she wrote to the Shah of Persia sending him a minature palm tree of pearls and gold and saying that so rich was Bahrain that such a tree was given to a child as a toy. She succeeded in exciting the avarice of the Persian Shah, who sent an army to Bahrain, defeated and killed Shaikh Jabbara, and annexed the Islands to Persia, thus avenging the Wazir's wife. This same Shaikh Jabbara is said to have lived in the fort of Amr, south-east of the Jebel, which is mentioned in Chapter VIII.

There is a third Rifaa, a small community built by BAPCO for its Indian and Pakstani employees; this is mentioned in the Chapter on Bahrain's Oil.

### AWALI

Meaning "The High Places," this name was given by Shaikh Hamed, the late Ruler of Bahrain, to the oil camp when it was first established in its present location. Before the oil company arrived in Bahrain the site was deserted—for who would live in the middle of a waterless desert ? But the company wanted to build their town near the oil field, and so the small, 240 foot, hill was chosen. Today Awali somewhat resembles a London surburb or a small American town. As in London, varied gardens and different coloured exteriors of the houses serve to disguise their basic similarity. In these gardens children play while their mothers chat to each other over the fences. Happy

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

## HOWAR ISLANDS

101 This group of 16 islands is about twelve miles south-east of Ras al-Barr. It consists of one large island, Howar itself, which is about eleven miles long and a mile in breadth, and fifteen other islands much smaller in size. In the centre of the main island there is a rocky [361] eminence known as al-Jebal. There are only two villages, the larger one at the northern end on the shore of the bay consists of stone huts [625] with mat roofs (Kubbar); it also has a small mosque. The Bahrain State Police maintain a garrison on the island, in a fort which dominates [162] the bay and from the roof of which the Qatar peninsular is visible. The islands are inhabited by fishermen from Bahrain and also by men [312] who come to cut gypsum which they sell in Bahrain. The water supply of the island is very limited and consists of old cisterns cut out of living rock which are filled by rain. Attempts to drill for water have failed, but in the years when there is normal or plentiful rainfall the island provides good grazing for camels and sheep. Fishing in the 133 bay is excellent, the water is comparatively deep and a launch can 503 come alongside the short jetty. The southern tip of the island is so close to the Qatar coast that when the tide is out boats cannot pass between the island and the shore, but at one place between Howar and Qatar, a long narrow channel has been hewn out of the coral sea bed to allow boats to pass through a shallow stretch of water. This submarine canal was made by a certain Isa ibn Tarif, a notorious pirate, who played an important part in the history of Bahrain during the middle of the last century; he used the channel as a passage to his fortress on the Qatar coast from where he sallied forth to attack the shipping around Bahrain.

132 The climate of Howar is noticeably better than in Bahrain, it is drier and cooler during the summer nights, but has no other amenities to attract visitors fleeing from the dampness of Bahrain, and at present its only visitors go there for work and not for pleasure.

## ZUBARA

361 On the coast of the Qatar peninsular opposite the Bahraini village 172 of Jaw is the ruined town and the bay of Zubara, which has already been mentioned in detail in the history of Bahrain in Part II. The town of Zubara is on the east of the bay and stretches about 1½ miles along the coast and 2 miles inland. The ruins of the town are still impressive. The high wall which surrounds the wide straight streets and the fine mosques, the obvious care with which the town was laid out, speaks well for those who governed it. Further east of the town, at a distance of about two miles across the desert, is the great fort; some of the walls and the mosque are still standing. At the corners of the walls are towers with slits for rifles and the domed roof of the mosque presents an attractive picture. The whole building is made from local stone and little gypsum was used in its construction. Within the fort there are two wells one of which is dry, but the other still

173 When the mullah heard this advice he was overjoyed and kissed the ground at the feet of the Imam and returned to his people to tell them the good news. On the next morning they all assembled before the Wali, and the mullah did all the things that the Imam had ordered, and everything happened as he had been told, but when the Wali commanded his Wazir to break the pomegranate, smoke and ashes burst forth from it and covered the face and beard of the Wazir.

Then the Wali turned to the mullah and asked him, "Who told you about this trick?"

The mullah answered, "Our Imam and the demonstration of Allah towards us."

Then the Wali rose up from his seat and took the mullah by the hand and called on Allah to bear witness to the trick which had been played on the Shias, and he summoned his servants and his executioner and cut off the head of the Wazir and asked pardon from the people of Bahrain.

175 In 1529 Bahrain was again in rebellion against the Portuguese. The islands were governed by a relation of the King of Hormuz. The King of Hormuz himself had been sent to Portugal, as he became too rich in Hormuz. The Portuguese demanded a higher tribute, and in order to pay this the Hormuzians tried to obtain more money from Bahrain, but the Governor refused to pay.

The Portuguese Viceroy, Nuno da Cunha, appointed Tavarez da Sousa as commander of the seas, and it was intended that he should take command of an expedition against Bahrain. Apparently he was loath to go there, and he persuaded the Viceroy to appoint in his place Simon da Cunha, the Viceroy's brother. After waiting some time for reinforcements from Portugal the fleet sailed from Hormuz. It consisted of five vessels carrying 400 men, and some native craft, but it is said that they had only one and a half casks of gunpowder.

[132] They reached Bahrain in September, the hottest, dampest, and most unhealthy month in the year. They wasted half their small supply of powder in saluting the port. The Bahrain chief hung out two flags on the tower of his fortress, one white and the other red, to show that he was prepared either for peace or for war, but the Portuguese captains were determined to fight. For three days they pounded the walls of the fort with their cannon, and then their supply of gunpowder gave out. In the meantime the Arab leader offered to surrender, on certain conditions, but the Portuguese were determined not to lose the chance of

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# INTRODUCTION

About midway of the Persian Gulf and some fifteen miles off the coast of Arabia, lie the Bahrein Islands at the mouth of the Gulf of Bahrein, of which the Qatar Peninsula forms the western side. There are five principal islands, only two of which are of real consequence. The largest and by far the most important is variously called Awal, Al Manāmah after the principal city, or more commonly just Bahrein. The last is the modern designation.

In ancient times, the name "Bahrein" was applied to a larger area which included the Arabian mainland of Qatar and Hajar and the land situated between Mesopotamia and the Gulf of Oman (the Indian Ocean); this area took in the entire southern coast of the Persian Gulf. This has caused widespread misinterpretation of much of the writings of pre-Islamic and Medieval historians. Throughout this book we shall use the term "Bahrein" in its modern sense to refer to the archipelago of Bahrein proper or to the central island, except where the mainland province is clearly indicated.

Bahrein today has few attractions. There is not much to recommend it as a place of residence, as it is intensely hot for about seven months of the year, and for many of the native inhabitants lacking in comfortable living conditions. For tourists it is rather off the beaten track. Nevertheless, through the centuries these bits of land have been considered well worth fighting for by both European and Asiatic empires.

The reason for Bahrein's unusual and enduring importance can be summed up in two words—pearls and strategy. The pearl fisheries of Bahrein have been known all over the world since the dawn of history and, thanks to an abundance of fresh water springs, the island was a frequent stopping place for ships on the trade routes to India and the Far East.

The Portuguese, the first European power to have an Asiatic colonial empire, fought hard for possession of the islands.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

geosyncline. The structure of Bahrein is that of a large, single, closed dome covering the entire faulting. 133

Rocks exposed at the surface consist of:

1. Recent sands and coquinas forming flat, raised beaches surrounding the island from which the surface rises gradually to an elevation 150 to 200 feet above sea level. At this point it breaks away into inward-facing cliffs eighty to one hundred feet high completely surrounding an oval central depression about twelve miles long and four wide.
2. Pleistocene sands, cross bedded and probably wind deposited, lying in the canyons.
3. Meiocene silicious clay covering a very limited area.
4. Eocene limestone covering most of the island, the central region of which, known as "Jabal Dukhān" or "Mountain of Smoke," rises to a point 439 feet above sea level. The limestone is very porous and is the source of most of the water in the northern half of the island. [312]

Because of the coral formations surrounding the islands, the sea approach is shallow, so that only vessels of very light draft can land. Ships drawing as much as twenty feet anchor from two to four miles out in the Gulf, and those of greater draft from fourteen to seventeen miles out. Shallow boats are used for all transfers of passengers or freight, and the Standard Oil Company was obliged to construct a submarine pipeline three miles long to convey oil from Bahrein Island to its tankers. 133 503

## CLIMATE

The Bahrein Islands possess one of the most trying climates in the world. It is intensely hot for about seven months of the year and the humidity stays near the saturation point. The annual average temperature is 78° F. with a corresponding relative humidity of 73%. The hottest month is August, when the mean temperature is 92° and between noon and 3 P.M. may 132

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

132 go as high as 109° — the hottest yet recorded. The coolest weather comes in December and January, with an average temperature of about 60°; the lowest ever recorded was 41° in January. From October to April the temperature ranges from 60° to 80°. There are only about three inches of rainfall during the year, all of it between the middle of October and the middle of May.

There are also seasonal winds. The *Shamal,* or Northwestern, blows for forty days beginning in June and returns to become very violent in January and February. At times the wind may reach a velocity of sixty miles per hour, accompanied by a great quantity of dust and sand from the Arabian desert.

The very hot wind known as the *Qaws,* or Southwestern, comes irregularly between December and April and is likely to blow for extended periods of time. It generally brings strong rain and violent squalls and for this reason has always been dreaded by the navigators of the Persian Gulf.

The following tables, adapted from the *Persian Gulf Pilot,* give the average monthly temperature and the velocity of the winds in the Bahrein Islands.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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Table 1. METEOROLOGICAL TABLE*

| Month | Mean Temperature (½ Max. Min.) | Relative Humidity % | Mean Rainfall (in inches) |
|---|---|---|---|
| January | 61° F. | 80 | 0.39 |
| February | 62 | 80 | .67 |
| March | 68 | 77 | .51 |
| April | 76 | 72 | .24 |
| May | 84 | 65 | .08 |
| June | 88 | 63 | 0. |
| July | 91 | 65 | 0. |
| August | 92 | 71 | 0. |
| September | 88 | 73 | 0. |
| October | 82 | 76 | 0. |
| November | 74 | 78 | .24 |
| December | 65 | 81 | .83 |
| Mean | 78 | 73 | (Total) 2.99 |

* Compiled from 12 years' observations.

Table 2. WINDS*

| Month | Wind—Mean Velocity miles/hr. | Percentage of observations from | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | N. | N.E. | E. | S.E. | S. | S.W. | W. | N.W. | Calm. |
| January | 5 | 13 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 4 | 24 | 34 | 2 |
| February | 5 | 19 | 5 | 4 | 10 | 7 | 3 | 16 | 32 | 4 |
| March | 5 | 19 | 10 | 8 | 10 | 8 | 8 | 13 | 23 | 1 |
| April | 5 | 17 | 8 | 9 | 7 | 9 | 9 | 16 | 25 | 0 |
| May | 5 | 20 | 10 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 20 | 34 | 0 |
| June | 5 | 21 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 22 | 47 | 0 |
| July | 4 | 16 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 7 | 23 | 43 | 1 |
| August | 3 | 16 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 6 | 7 | 18 | 29 | 1 |
| September | 3 | 22 | 3 | 10 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 17 | 28 | 3 |
| October | 3 | 17 | 11 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 19 | 33 | 0 |
| November | 4 | 15 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 5 | 22 | 29 | 2 |
| December | 5 | 13 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 3 | 25 | 37 | 2 |
| Mean | 4.2 | 17 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 20 | 33 | 1 |

* Nine years' observations. Height above sea level, 18 feet.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M22
Kuwait M11
Saudi Arabia M31



companies may need to be defined now that one concessionaire seems likely to create revenue; problems may also arise if, as a result of oil developments, it is planted with a population that will need to be endowed with public services and, no doubt, with a system of taxation.

## BAHRAIN

The Bahrain Archipelago is a group of islands in the Gulf of Bahrain, which is bounded on the east by the Qatar Peninsula and on the west by the mainland coast of al-Hasa. Its total area is 213 square miles. The principal island—Bahrain itself—is about thirty miles long and ten miles wide. It is low-lying and its northern end is well-watered by fresh water springs and produces good date crops. Citrus fruit and lucerne are also grown. The oilfields lie round the rocky cluster of hills known as Jebel Dukhan (Hill of Smoke), which is in the barren centre of the island.

To the north-east of Bahrain Island, and joined to it by a causeway and motor road, is the low, sandy island of Muharraq, and between the two islands is a good deep-water harbour (Khor Kaliya). It is used as a small British naval base; an American admiral also flies his flag there. Nearby there is a second, but shallow harbour (Bahrain harbour), which faces north and is usefully equipped. The natural aerodrome on Muharraq Island has been developed into the largest commercial airfield in the Persian Gulf and now serves the airliners of all nations. It is also used by the RAF, and the whine of jet aircraft is a commonplace. The south end of the island of Bahrain is low-lying and sandy. The climate, though oppressive in summer owing to the prevalent heat and damp of the western shores of the Persian Gulf, is more humid and less windy than that of Kuwait. The population of the Archipelago was 109,650 when a census was taken in 1950.[1]

The capital and the seat of government is the port of Manama.[2] It is generally referred to as Bahrain, and is situated between the two harbours. It has a population of 39,648, which includes many rich Arab, Persian, and Indian merchants, as well as some 300 Europeans and Americans. The second town, Muharraq, on Muharraq Island, has a population of 24,566 which is purely Arab.

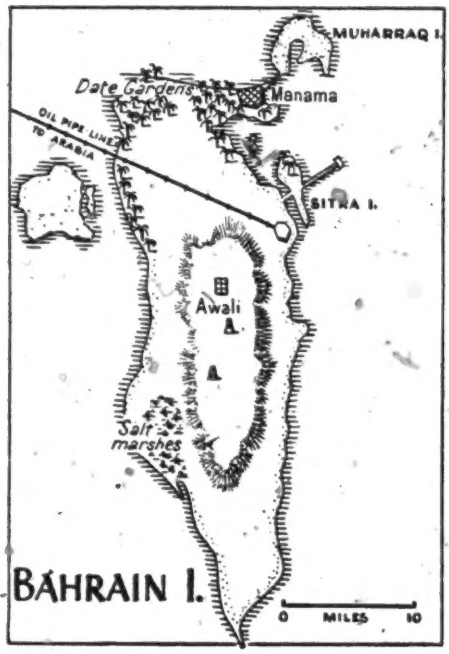
The British Political Agency is in Manama town, which also boasts an electricity station, a wireless station, post offices, hospitals, clubs, public gardens, and up-to-date schools. The town is well supplied with good motor roads, and there are

[1] 1952 estimate, 115,000. [2] Population: 1950, 39,648; 1952 (estimate), 45,000.

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN MZ2

132 The climate is typical of the Persian Gulf region, with intense heat and high humidity for 6 months of the year. According to observations for the 10-year period 1942-51, the maximum temperatures averaged 107° to 109° F. in July and August; the minimum temperatures, 83° to 85° F. Corresponding temperatures for January, the coolest month, were 70° F. and 50° F., respectively. The rainfall, which is normally around 3 inches a year, is distributed irregularly between November and May, with the maximum precipitation from December through February. Sand-laden winds, known locally as the *shamal*, often blow with con-

[102
315
133]




p. 255 (B)

132 siderable violence, particularly in June and July and in January and February.

## POPULATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### Population

161 464 At the time of the second census in 1950, the population of Bahrain numbered 109,650, with 91,179 Bahrain subjects and 18,471 foreigners. In addition, about 5,000 Bahrain nationals were believed to be working in other countries, chiefly in Saudi 162 Arabia. Among the foreign residents there were 6,934 Iranians, 3,043 Indians, Pakistanis and Goanese, 2,526 Saudi Arabians, 2,466 Omanis and Muscatis, and 2,208 British and other Europeans and Americans.

144 The Bahrainis represent a medley of Arab and Persian peoples, as well as various Negro admixtures, descendants of former slaves from Africa. The Baharna, the original inhabitants of the islands, are of mixed Arab-Persian origin, while the Arabs derive 795 chiefly from the mainland of Arabia. The population is almost exclusively Moslem: in 1950, only 4 per cent of the local residents belonged to other religious communities, with 2,348 Christians, 975 Hindus and 293 Jews. Both the Shia and the Sunni sects of Islam are prominent. The Baharna and the Iranians are Shiites, while most of the Arabs are Sunnites, including a small contingent which adheres to the Wahhabi 191 branch of central Arabia. Arabic is the national language. Other tongues are employed by the different racial groups, but most educated Bahrainis and town-dwelling laborers are familiar with English.

62 632 The returns of the 1950 census indicated that almost 62 per cent of the people lived in the 3 main towns of Manama, Muharraq and Hedd, and the remainder in some 80 rural villages and settlements. Manama, the seat of government and the largest town, located on the island of Bahrain, had a population of 39,648. Muharraq, the chief town on the adjacent island, numbered ap-

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



133 el-Kabb, runs into the island from the E. coast, penetrating nearly to the centre. The rocks of Bahrein, except those of Jebel ed-Dukhān, which are dark, are pale-coloured limestone of the Eocene Age, sometimes sandy or argillaceous, and containing much flint or other siliceous material, with both gypsum and salt. The interior depression, like the flat shores of the island, has emerged from the sea in more recent times; the latter consists of coral rocks or shelly concrete. There is a small deposit of asphalt 3 miles SSE. of Jebel ed-Dukhān. The Bahrein islands are famous, like the oases of Hasa and Qatīf, for a number of springs, clear but slightly brackish, which are fed by the drainage from Nejd travelling down to the coast under the Dahanah desert. Some of the springs are submarine (*kaukab*); the best known of these are that called *Abu Māhur*, close to Muharraq Island, and that near the E. extremity of *Khōr Fasht*, a large coral reef about 7 miles NW. of Bahrein Island. The best water of the archipelago comes from the *Haneini* wells N. of the central depression on Bahrein, and the *Khālid* and *Umm Ghuweifah* wells on the adjoining plateau. The springs N. of the Khōr el-Kabb are generally almost pure, but warm, as in Hasa: the best known are called *'Adāri*, *Qassāri*, and *Abu Zeidān*.

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## Climate

• 132 Through the nearness of the sea on all sides, and abundant irrigation, the atmosphere of Bahrein is damp and heavy, with a mean humidity ranging from 79–80 per cent. of saturation. Though there is much malaria and rheumatic disease, the climate is not the most unhealthy in the Gulf. The maximum temperature, usually attained in August, is about 104° F.; the minimum, reached in December or January, about 48°. The average rainfall for the years 1910–13 was 4·55 in. The weather from October to April inclusive is not unpleasant, indoor temperature ranging between 60° and 85°. In January and February N. winds blow, and it is cold enough for fires to be acceptable. Though the weather is hot from the beginning of May to the middle of June, the heat is still tempered by the sea-breeze, and nights are fairly cool. The oppressively hot weather lasts from the middle of June to the end of September; in this period, though there may be irregular land-breezes, the thermometer remains persistently above 100° F. All rains fall between the middle of October and the middle of May, but actual wet days are few. The prevailing wind is the *Shamāl* or north-wester, which blows for forty days from the second week in June and is very violent in winter; next to this in frequency

[164]

39 Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



comes the north wind, and in violence the south-wester (*Qaus*), which is fiercely hot in August and blows irregularly between December and April. See further, vol. ii. p. 346 f.

## Population

Though no census has been taken, the population of the 4 towns and 104 villages in the principality has been estimated as over 100,000, of whom 60,000, chiefly townsmen, are Sunni, and 40,000, chiefly villagers, Shiah. The latter are for the most part *Bahārinah* (see p. 299), but this class, which is mainly agricultural, is here hardly above the servile state. The most numerous Sunni community is that of the *Hūwalah*, who are townsmen of Manāmah, Muharraq, Budeyya', Hadd, and Hālah Bin Anas, living by trade and without solidarity among themselves or influence on others. The 'Utūb, Sādah, and Dawāsir are the most influential tribesmen, the first on account of their connexion with the ruling family, the second by virtue of their supposed sacred origin, the Dawāsir because they are well disciplined by their chief and comparatively wealthy; there are also a few Beni Khālid (see below, p. 608). The remainder of the Sunni population live mostly on the coast, and depend for their subsistence rather on the sea than on cultivation. There are at least 5,000 free negroes and 6,000 negro slaves; a few Persians, Hindus, Basra Arabs and Jews complete the population. Life in Bahrein is more various and many-coloured than on the mainland of Arabia; the exclusiveness of a people cut off from intercourse with other races is absent, and the opportunity to indulge a taste for luxury has not been disdained. Direct relations with Persia and India have influenced costume, domestic appliances, and the architecture of the larger houses, in which the pointed arch is a conspicuous feature.

## Industries and Trade

The most important occupation in Bahrein is pearl-fishing, and the fisheries are the most valuable in the Gulf next to those of Trucial Oman. Were the fisheries to cease, most of the urban population would have to leave the country. They employ more than 900 boats, each with a crew of about 20, the total crews amounting to nearly 20,000 men. The pearling season opens in May, and some boats continue operations until about October. Special measures had to be taken in 1915 by the Sheikh, in conjunction with the British Resident, to enable the pearl-fishing population to tide over the crisis caused by the stoppage of the

131 length and a mile wide. "Howar" means "Young Camel" and the island was so called because it is similar in shape though smaller than Bahrain, and so was described as its offspring.

There are many other little islands in the Bahrain archipelago ; some contain small villages or fishermen's huts while others are deserted except during the occasional visits of migratory birds or pearl divers who come to the islands during the diving season to draw water from the freshwater springs.

311 Along the northern coast of Bahrain there is a narrow strip of land
137 some three miles wide which is under cultivation. The fertile gardens containing date and loz (Indian almond or Terminalia) pomegranate, banana and fig trees are irrigated from many natural springs and artesian wells. But in the waterless areas south of the cultivation, in the centre of the island, only sparse and hardy desert flora exists. Although this desert may seem bare to the eyes of a visitor accustomed to the lush greenness of Europe or the States, it is in fact covered with a great variety of desert plants which were found, in a recent survey, to include some 200 species.

● 133 Beyond the cultivated area the land is barren and the landscape consists of low rolling hills with numerous rocky cliffs and dry wadis. Most of the Islands of Bahrain are surfaced with hard limestone rock, covered in many places with sand dunes, and, in the case of the main island, with pre-historic tumuli. From the shore line the topography rises gradually towards the centre where it again drops off into a basin surrounded by steep cliffs. Towards the centre of the basin there is a very pronounced rocky promontory known as "Jebal ad-Dukhan," the "Mountain of Smoke," a name given to it because of the vague and hazy appearance it often presents, particularly during the hot summer months. The Jebal is only 450 feet above sea level and 250 feet above the surrounding plain but often, when mist surrounds its base, it gives the impression of being a considerable mountain.

Although Bahrain is a small country yet it displays a very varied
226 landscape and many surprising contrasts between old and new. It
228 is primarily a sea faring state. The brilliant blue and green waters, studded with white sails, which surround the islands provide the people of Bahrain with fish, which they catch from boats and in traps, fresh water, from the submarine springs, coral stone for building and pearls which made Bahrain such an important trading centre in the past.
361 The coastal towns have an attractive appearance. Manama's water front is lined with high white houses and beyond the town date gardens extend in an unbroken line down to the water's edge. Roads in the northern part of Bahrain pass through avenues of tall and stately date palms, bearing great bunches of golden, red and yellow fruit during
133 the summer months. The south of the island is a miniature desert and in the foothills around the Jebal there are many little wadis which
ooo after the rainy season are bright with desert flowers and shrubs. Even

laughter comes from the Club House Swimming Bath and in the evenings sports of all kinds take place inside the camp. Today Awali is a town of some 400 houses inhabited by 2,000 Europeans and Americans. Shady trees line the roads and in fact there is little to suggest the presence of oil. The roads are surfaced with it, but otherwise it is not visible, though oil is the *raison d'etre* of this town set in such an inhospitable situation, to which water has to be piped from miles away and where to plant a tree a pneumatic drill is required to pierce the rock on which the town is built.

### SAKHIR

Driving from Awali to Zellaq the traveller will notice a group of large buildings on the south of the road near the foot of the Jebal. This is Sakhir, founded by Shaikh Muhammad bin Khalifa (1843-67, d. 1890), but the majority of buildings which exist today were built by the late Ruler of Bahrain. The present Ruler makes little use of Sakhir, and the attractive mosques, balconied dwelling houses and high roofed rooms are now deserted ; the only human beings who remain are the Bedouin in charge of the horses and camels which are still kept there. The climate of Sakhir is excellent and in the spring there are fields of grass which provide grazing both for domestic animals, gazelle and hare. When Sakhir was occupied Saluqis were much in evidence, Shaikh Hamed was a great lover of this fine breed of dogs and his favourite hound, Housha, followed him wherever he went. It should be remembered that Sakhir is the private property of the Ruler, from whom permission must be obtained before it is visited.

### JEBAL AD-DUKHAN

The "Mountain" of Bahrain has already been mentioned in the Introduction, but it deserves further notice. From its peak, which is marked by a trigonometry marker, it is possible to see, on a clear day, the entire area of Bahrain from Manama and Muharraq on the north to Ras al-Barr, while on the east and west the sea is even nearer. From the peak an excellent bird's eye view of Awali can be seen, and, at night, the flares at Dhahran and at Dukhan in Qatar are visible. The strange formation of the island, with the rim-rock and the central depression can be seen from the Jebal. At the head of a wadi facing towards Awali is the Jebal cave, some 15 × 35 × 6 ft., which is hollowed out of the rock, probably by water erosion for the fantastic patterns on the walls would seem to point to nature's rather than man's handiwork.

### JAW AND DOUR (DAR AL-MANADIL)

On the east coast of Bahrain about a mile south of the highest peak of the Jebal are the villages of Dour and Jaw, similar in character and appearance and the southernmost inhabited villages on the east coast of Bahrain. The villages are about a mile apart and both are on the shore, they consist of a poor type of stone and gypsum hut inhabited

There is a bus service between Hedd and Muharraq and also a few taxi cabs in the town.

In addition to the towns of Muharraq and Hedd the island of Muharraq is fringed by many villages ; going north round the coast from Muharraq town they include Busatin, Dair, Raiya, Galali and Arad. The first three villages contain many homes of members of the Ruling Family and are especially popular in the summer when the Muharraq weather is considered superior to that of Manama. Galali is a sizeable village inhabited by fishermen and industrial workers, while Arad is the centre of the agriculture of the island and is built near a large pool in the centre of the date gardens on Arad peninsular. The inhabitants of the village work in the gardens, but on the shores of the Bay near the old Omani fort is a large village built entirely of barastis. In the summer this temporary village is entirely filled with people from Muharraq who spend the nights here, crossing by ferry every day to Muharraq town.

In general Muharraq island is very low-lying, so much so that it was thought at one time that there was a danger of the sea affecting the efficiency of the Airport, but this has been removed by pumping stations around the field which remove, when necessary, surplus water from the runways. It was, however, found necessary to build a raised road from Muharraq town to Hedd, for when there was any rain or an exceptionally high tide the road was often blocked.

### UMM ASH-SHAGAR ISLANDS AND UMM ASH-SHIYAIRA

These are the two islands that lie to the south of Hedd town; the former, to the north, is covered with small stone and barasti houses; the second, whose name is a diminutive of the first, contains only barastis and is inhabited by fishermen.

### THE ISLANDS

In addition to these two, there are several other small islands south of Muharraq, of which the three largest, although none of them is more than a few hundred square yards in area, are Halat-as-Suluta, Halat-al-Khulaifat and Abu Mahur.

The first two islands lie to the south of Arad peninsular and at low tide they are joined by a sand-bar which permits walking between them. They contain small villages, whose people derive their livlihood from fishing, and they are lucky enough to have on them fresh water springs. Abu Mahur, the third and largest island, is in fact named after one of the largest of these springs, which is in the sea a short distance from the shore. The fort of Abu Mahur is now in ruins but the island is now used as a quarantine station.

The fresh water submarine springs south of Muharraq and the manner in which the people obtain water from them has astounded

of the Egg," a small village with many seafaring inhabitants. To the north of Sitra there is a very pleasant sandy beach looking towards Umm a-Hasan where there is excellent bathing; the view also includes Nabih Salih and Jaziyra. There is deep water to the north of Sitra, and it is here that the Bahrain Government is building the new Port of Manama with a pier running into deep water from the shore between Umm al-Hasan and Jufair.

### JIDDA

This island is about 2½ miles from Budaiya. It is small and rocky and in appearance unlike any of the other Bahrain Islands. Its high cliffs rise abruptly from the water and a few fort-like buildings are silhouetted against the sky-line. On the south side of the island there is a level strip of land which is extensively cultivated. Jidda is Bahrain's penal settlement; here all long term prisoners are detained, spending their time cutting stone, weaving and working in the gardens. There is a small house on the top of the cliffs above the jetty which catches all the wind in the summer and which is used by the Adviser to the Bahrain Government. Being a prison island, Jidda is forbidden to general visitors.

The stone quarries at Jidda are of great age and it is likely that the large stones which line the graves in the burial mounds were cut here. There is an Arabic inscription roughly cut on one of the cliffs which reads as follows :

"During the month of Shaban in the year 968 (April/May, 1561) there was completed the cutting of the 100,000th rock for the mending of the tower of the Bahrain fort in the wazirate of the Great Wazir Jilal ad-Din Murad Mahmud by the hand of the slave . . . " (a few words after this are unreadable).

### UMM AN-NASAAN

This, the second largest of the Bahrain islands, lies a few miles across the shallow water to the south of Jidda. It is sandy and flat, with the exception of two small limestone hills towards its centre which break the monotony of its shape. At the north end of the island there are several natural springs and artesian wells from which extensive date gardens are irrigated; they were planted by the late Ruler of Bahrain, H.H. Shaikh Hamed, who also established on the island a herd of black buck and gazelle, the former being imported from India and the latter from the mainland of Bahrain.

There is evidence of ancient habitations on Umm an-Nasan, foundations of many old houses are visible and sherds of pottery can be picked up. Local legend has it that Nasaan, after whom the island is named, was one of the early rulers of Bahrain, but this legend has not been substantiated by historical research.

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

## HOWAR ISLANDS

This group of 16 islands is about twelve miles south-east of Ras al-Barr. It consists of one large island, Howar itself, which is about eleven miles long and a mile in breadth, and fifteen other islands much smaller in size. In the centre of the main island there is a rocky eminence known as al-Jebal. There are only two villages, the larger one at the northern end on the shore of the bay consists of stone huts with mat roofs (Kubbar); it also has a small mosque. The Bahrain State Police maintain a garrison on the island, in a fort which dominates the bay and from the roof of which the Qatar peninsular is visible. The islands are inhabited by fishermen from Bahrain and also by men who come to cut gypsum which they sell in Bahrain. The water supply of the island is very limited and consists of old cisterns cut out of living rock which are filled by rain. Attempts to drill for water have failed, but in the years when there is normal or plentiful rainfall the island provides good grazing for camels and sheep. Fishing in the bay is excellent, the water is comparatively deep and a launch can come alongside the short jetty. The southern tip of the island is so close to the Qatar coast that when the tide is out boats cannot pass between the island and the shore, but at one place between Howar and Qatar, a long narrow channel has been hewn out of the coral sea bed to allow boats to pass through a shallow stretch of water. This submarine canal was made by a certain Isa ibn Tarif, a notorious pirate, who played an important part in the history of Bahrain during the middle of the last century; he used the channel as a passage to his fortress on the Qatar coast from where he sallied forth to attack the shipping around Bahrain.

The climate of Howar is noticeably better than in Bahrain, it is drier and cooler during the summer nights, but has no other amenities to attract visitors fleeing from the dampness of Bahrain, and at present its only visitors go there for work and not for pleasure.

## ZUBARA

On the coast of the Qatar peninsular opposite the Bahraini village of Jaw is the ruined town and the bay of Zubara, which has already been mentioned in detail in the history of Bahrain in Part II. The town of Zubara is on the east of the bay and stretches about 1½ miles along the coast and 2 miles inland. The ruins of the town are still impressive. The high wall which surrounds the wide straight streets and the fine mosques, the obvious care with which the town was laid out, speaks well for those who governed it. Further east of the town, at a distance of about two miles across the desert, is the great fort; some of the walls and the mosque are still standing. At the corners of the walls are towers with slits for rifles and the domed roof of the mosque presents an attractive picture. The whole building is made from local stone and little gypsum was used in its construction. Within the fort there are two wells one of which is dry, but the other still

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



659 133 **Aerial Survey.** One of the most important items in general use is a map, and throughout history it has been found that the mapping of new areas has been among the first of man's activities.

1/4 The first reliable maps of Bahrain was produced in 1905, following a survey of the island which was carried out under the direction of Lieut. Colonel F. B. Longe, R.E., Surveyor-General of India. This map, copies of which can still be obtained in the Land Department, is a very good map and shows towns, villages, tracks, mounds and contours, but as it was produced many years ago, since when there have been many changes in the towns and villages and in the area under cultivation, it was thought desirable to carry out a new survey. Messrs. Hunting Aerosurveys Ltd., were commissioned to make an aerial survey of Muharraq Island, Manama town and the area south of Manama as far as the coast. This work was carried out in December 1951. In May 1952 the survey was extended by arrangement with the Bahrain Petroleum Company to cover the whole of Bahrain Island and the neighbouring islands.

During the first survey both vertical and oblique photographs were taken and by the end of 1952 a considerable amount of interesting material had arrived in Bahrain. It consisted of 51 oblique photographs produced in two sizes, 10-in. × 12-in. and 5-in. × 5 in. The series of vertical photographs covered the whole of the area which had been included in the survey.

From the vertical photographs maps were produced, one covering the whole of Muharraq Island, Muharraq town in seven sections at a scale of 200 feet to an inch, the area south east of Manama as far as Jufair, also in seven sections, on a scale of 200 feet to an inch and the town of Manama in thirteen sections, one for each district, a scale of 100 feet to an inch. In addition, mosaics of Manama and Muharraq were produced. All these photographs and mosaics are on sale to the public and can be obtained from the Land Department.

Following the first survey, the Bahrain Petroleum Company made available to the Government all the material which they had obtained from the aerial survey which had been carried out on their behalf and they also provided valuable information from their land surveys which included an initial survey of the town of Manama which was done some months before the aerial work. Last year all the available information was collected and a map was hand-drawn on the basis of this information. Hunting Aerosurveys was instructed to produce a map of Bahrain, in four colours, on the scale of 1 inch to the mile. The map is now in the hands of the printers. It will cover the whole of Bahrain and Muharraq islands as well as the nearby smaller islands, but not the Hawar group. It will contain inserts showing the town areas of Manama, Muharraq and Awali. This map will be on sale in London and New York, as well as in Bahrain, on plain paper or mounted on linen or folded on linen. To produce this map information has been obtained from the Survey of India Office, the Royal Geographical Society and the Bahrain Petroleum Company and from the War Office map of 1939 and with the information now available it will be a reasonable task to revise the map, in future, should it require again bringing up to date after some years have passed.

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## SUNNI WAQF DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Shaikh Atiyyatallah bin Abdurrehman AlKhalifah, Superintendent of the Department)

647 871 795 The Department is controlled by a committee of Sunni merchants and by a Superintendent and clerical staff, the latter are paid by the Government. All Waqf property is administered by the Department which pays out of the revenue collected from the property the salaries and emoluments of mosque officials, it also contributes towards the cost of the religious school in Manama and towards the expenses of some young men who are studying religion abroad.

131 Arabia and somewhat closer to the Qatar Peninsula. Manama, the capital, is at 26°13′ north and 50°35′ east.[1]

The archipelago is formed by five principal islands and a number of smaller ones, of which only one is of real importance. It is variously called Awal,[2] Manama after the principal city, or more commonly just Bahrein. Curiously shaped in the semblance of a sea horse,[3] the island is only twenty miles long and ten miles across at the widest point.

312 Bahrein would be totally uninhabitable if it were not for an abundance of fresh water (believed to come through channels under the sea bottom from somewhere in Arabia, probably the Tuwaik mountains) which supplies about two hundred springs and many artesian wells. It is likely that some of these springs were formerly under the sea, since the islands are surrounded by coral formations and in such places the sea always tends to become shallower and dry land to increase. In the northern part of the principal island the water is plentiful enough to produce luxuriant gardens and palm groves, and on the other islands irrigation farming is carried on extensively.

Fresh water springs are also found on the shallow ocean bottom. In former times the natives dived into the sea to collect drinking water in collapsed goatskins. Some water sellers used more scientific methods, however, sinking bamboo tubes to the level of the springs, then collecting the water as it rose above sea level.

## GEOLOGY

133 Bahrein lies on a portion of the ancient Tethys geosynclinal belt represented today by the Persian Gulf. The formation of the principal island is the result of pressure from the mountainous masses of Persia against the crystalline platform of central Asia, the thrust being absorbed by a gentle folding in the

1. The British Political Agency is at lat. 26°14′09.95″ N. and long. 50°35′00.39″ E.
2. The etymology of the word *Awal* is "fish" or "whale."
3. See map, back of book.

geosyncline. The structure of Bahrein is that of a large, single, closed dome covering the entire faulting.

Rocks exposed at the surface consist of:

1. Recent sands and coquinas forming flat, raised beaches surrounding the island from which the surface rises gradually to an elevation 150 to 200 feet above sea level. At this point it breaks away into inward-facing cliffs eighty to one hundred feet high completely surrounding an oval central depression about twelve miles long and four wide.
2. Pleistocene sands, cross bedded and probably wind deposited, lying in the canyons.
3. Meiocene silicious clay covering a very limited area.
4. Eocene limestone covering most of the island, the central region of which, known as "Jabal Dukhān" or "Mountain of Smoke," rises to a point 439 feet above sea level. The limestone is very porous and is the source of most of the water in the northern half of the island.

Because of the coral formations surrounding the islands, the sea approach is shallow, so that only vessels of very light draft can land. Ships drawing as much as twenty feet anchor from two to four miles out in the Gulf, and those of greater draft from fourteen to seventeen miles out. Shallow boats are used for all transfers of passengers or freight, and the Standard Oil Company was obliged to construct a submarine pipeline three miles long to convey oil from Bahrein Island to its tankers.

## CLIMATE

The Bahrein Islands possess one of the most trying climates in the world. It is intensely hot for about seven months of the year and the humidity stays near the saturation point. The annual average temperature is 78° F. with a corresponding relative humidity of 73%. The hottest month is August, when the mean temperature is 92° and between noon and 3 P.M. may

8: Qubain S-5 (1952-53) MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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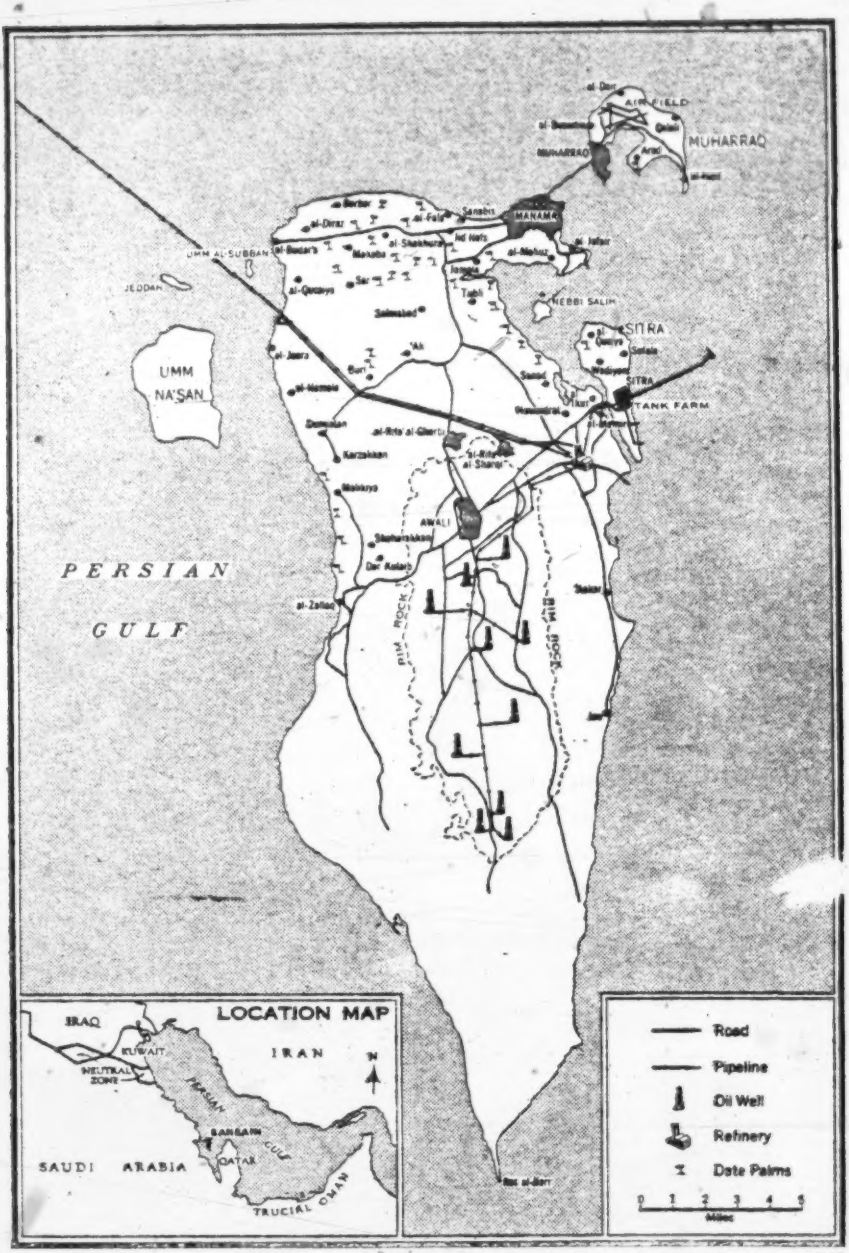


(See page 269)

*The Shaykhdom of Bahrain*

facing p. 239

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2
Kuwait M11
Saudi Arabia MJ1



companies may need to be defined now that one concessionaire seems likely to create revenue; problems may also arise if, as a result of oil developments, it is planted with a population that will need to be endowed with public services and, no doubt, with a system of taxation.

## BAHRAIN

The Bahrain Archipelago is a group of islands in the Gulf of Bahrain, which is bounded on the east by the Qatar Peninsula and on the west by the mainland coast of al-Hasa. Its total area is 213 square miles. The principal island—Bahrain itself—is about thirty miles long and ten miles wide. It is low-lying and its northern end is well watered by fresh water springs and produces good date crops. Citrus fruit and lucerne are also grown. The oilfields lie round the rocky cluster of hills known as Jebel Dukhan (Hill of Smoke), which is in the barren centre of the island.

To the north-east of Bahrain Island, and joined to it by a causeway and motor road, is the low, sandy island of Muharraq, and between the two islands is a good deep-water harbour (Khor Kaliya). It is used as a small British naval base; an American admiral also flies his flag there. Nearby there is a second, but shallow harbour (Bahrain harbour), which faces north and is usefully equipped. The natural aerodrome on Muharraq Island has been developed into the largest commercial airfield in the Persian Gulf and now serves the airliners of all nations. It is also used by the RAF, and the whine of jet aircraft is a commonplace. The south end of the island of Bahrain is low-lying and sandy. The climate, though oppressive in summer owing to the prevalent heat and damp of the western shores of the Persian Gulf, is more humid and less windy than that of Kuwait. The population of the Archipelago was 109,650 when a census was taken in 1950.[1]

The capital and the seat of government is the port of Manama.[2] It is generally referred to as Bahrain, and is situated between the two harbours. It has a population of 39,648, which includes many rich Arab, Persian, and Indian merchants, as well as some 300 Europeans and Americans. The second town, Muharraq, on Muharraq Island, has a population of 24,566 which is purely Arab.

The British Political Agency is in Manama town, which also boasts an electricity station, a wireless station, post offices, hospitals, clubs, public gardens, and up-to-date schools. The town is well supplied with good motor roads, and there are

[1] 1952 estimate, 115,000. [2] Population: 1950, 39,648; 1952 (estimate), 45,000.

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN MZ 2

# 11

# Bahrain

## GEOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

619 Bahrain is an independent sheikhdom, 131 comprising a small group of islands at the entrance to the Gulf of Bahrain, between the Hasa coast of Saudi Arabia and the peninsula of Qatar. Famous since ancient times as the center of the Persian Gulf pearling industry, the islands have attained new prominence within recent years as a link in the chain of oil fields stretching from Qatar to central Iraq. The Sheikhdom has 618 had protective treaty relations with Great Britain since 1880, and the headquarters of the British Political Resident for the Persian Gulf area are established on Bahrain Island.

131 The archipelago consists of 5 main islands, besides several small islets, which have an aggregate area of about 210 to 225 square miles. Bahrain, the principal island, is approximately 27 miles in length and 10 133 miles in width. A narrow belt of luxuriant date gardens, supported by abundant fresh-water springs and wells, rims the northern end of the island, but the remainder is mostly barren desert. Rocky hills rise to an elevation of about 450 feet along the central ridge, Jabal ad Dukhan, while sandy wastes, broken by salt marshes, stretch toward the south.

131 Muharraq, a horseshoe-shaped sandy island, with an area of 5 to 6 square miles, is second in size and in importance. It lies northeast of Bahrain, and is separated from [491] the larger island by a narrow channel which is bridged by a 2-mile causeway, constructed in 1941. Chief among the other inhabited islands are Sitra and Nabbi Sālih, offshore to the east, and Umm Na'san, to the west.

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN M22

122 The climate is typical of the Persian Gulf region, with intense heat and high humidity for 6 months of the year. According to observations for the 10-year period 1942-51, the maximum temperatures averaged 107° to 109° F. in July and August; the minimum temperatures, 83° to 85° F. Corresponding temperatures for January, the coolest month, were 70° F. and 50° F., respectively. The rainfall, which is normally around 3 inches a year, is distributed irregularly between November and May, with the maximum precipitation from December through February. Sand-laden winds, known locally as the *shamal*, often blow with con-

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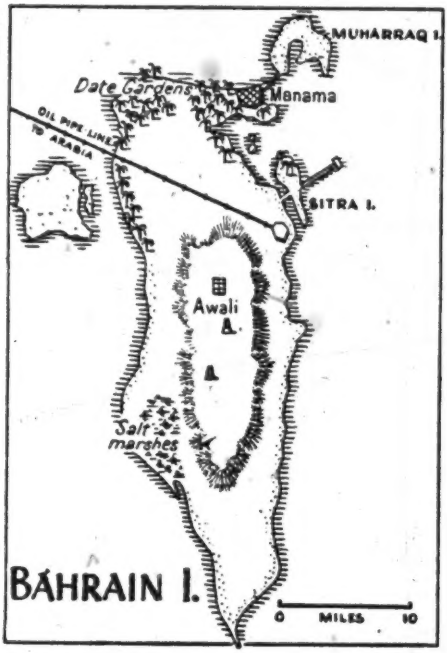


p. 255 (B)

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia MJ1
BAHRAIN MZ.2



SA 361 621 311

Turks had previously established a small garrison, which was withdrawn in 1910. The ownership of the island of *Qrān*, about 36 miles NE. by E. of Ras el-Bidya', is undetermined. It has an anchorage on the S. side, and is frequented by fishermen from Bahrein, Musallamīyah, and Jinnah, who dry fish and make turtle oil.

## C. BAHREIN

### Area

B 101 131

The present Sheikhdom of Bahrein consists of the archipelago formed by the islands of *Bahrein*, *Muharraq*, *Umm Na'asān*, *Sitrah*, and *Nebi Sālih*, with a number of lesser islets and rocks. The whole forms a compact group almost in the middle of the gulf which separates the promontory of El-Qatar and the coast of Qatīf; the Sheikhs of Bahrein have had relations of a political nature with El-Qatar (see p. 328).

The principal island has an extreme length of 30 miles from N. to S. and a maximum breadth of 10 miles. Muharraq, which lies NE., and is separated from Bahrein by a strait 1½ miles broad, has a maximum diameter of 5½ miles, but owing to its horseshoe form contains little territory. Umm Na'asān, which is less than 4 miles by 2½ miles, lies 3 miles off the W. coast of the main island. Sitrah, separated from the E. coast by a narrow channel, has a length of 4½ miles from N. to S., and a maximum breadth of 1½ miles. Nebi Sālih, commonly called *Jezīrah*, lying in the inlet of Kabb on the E. coast of Bahrein, NW. of Sitrah, has a diameter of only ½ mile.

### Physical Characteristics

B 133

Bahrein Island is mostly flat and low, but rises gradually to an interior plateau 100 to 200 ft. high, in the middle of which is an oval depression about 13 miles long from N. to S. by about 4 miles broad, containing the solitary hill Jebel Dukhān, about 440 ft. in height. The descent inwards from the plateau to the depression is in most places too steep to be practicable for animals; at the N. end there is a nearly vertical drop of 20 ft., followed by a slope of 30 ft. The plateau is extremely stony, presenting on the N. side a low cliff-line of about 15 ft., with a sandy plain below it, extending in all directions to the coast, and draining from W. to E. On the same side of the plateau is a great field of ancient tumuli covering about 12 square miles, called by the Arabs *Murāqīb*. A large inlet, Khōr

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



133 el-Kabb, runs into the island from the E. coast, penetrating nearly to the centre. The rocks of Bahrein, except those of Jebel ed-Dukhān, which are dark, are pale-coloured limestone of the Eocene Age, sometimes sandy or argillaceous, and containing much flint or other siliceous material, with both gypsum and salt. The interior depression, like the flat shores of the island, has emerged from the sea in more recent times; the latter consists of coral rocks or shelly concrete. There is a small deposit of asphalt 3 miles SSE. of Jebel ed-Dukhān. The Bahrein islands are famous, like the oases of Hasa and Qatīf, for a number of springs, clear but slightly brackish, which are fed by the drainage from Nejd travelling down to the coast under the Dahanah desert. Some of the springs are submarine (*kaukab*); the best known of these are that called *Abu Māhur*, close to Muharraq Island, and that near the E. extremity of *Khōr Fasht*, a large coral reef about 7 miles NW. of Bahrein Island. The best water of the archipelago comes from the *Haneini* wells N. of the central depression on Bahrein, and the *Khālid* and *Umm Ghuweifah* wells on the adjoining plateau. The springs N. of the Khōr el-Kabb are generally almost pure, but warm, as in Hasa: the best known are called *'Adāri*, *Qassāri*, and *Abu Zeidān*.

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## Climate

132 Through the nearness of the sea on all sides, and abundant irrigation, the atmosphere of Bahrein is damp and heavy, with a mean humidity ranging from 79–80 per cent. of saturation. Though there is much malaria and rheumatic disease, the climate is not the most unhealthy in the Gulf. The maximum temperature, usually attained in August, is about 104° F.; the minimum, reached in December or January, about 48°. The average rainfall for the years 1910–13 was 4·55 in. The weather from October to April inclusive is not unpleasant, indoor temperature ranging between 60° and 85°. In January and February N. winds blow, and it is cold enough for fires to be acceptable. Though the weather is hot from the beginning of May to the middle of June, the heat is still tempered by the sea-breeze, and nights are fairly cool. The oppressively hot weather lasts from the middle of June to the end of September; in this period, though there may be irregular land-breezes, the thermometer remains persistently above 100° F. All rains fall between the middle of October and the middle of May, but actual wet days are few. The prevailing wind is the *Shamāl* or north-wester, which blows for forty days from the second week in June and is very violent in winter; next to this in frequency

[164]

8: Qubain S-5 (1952-53) MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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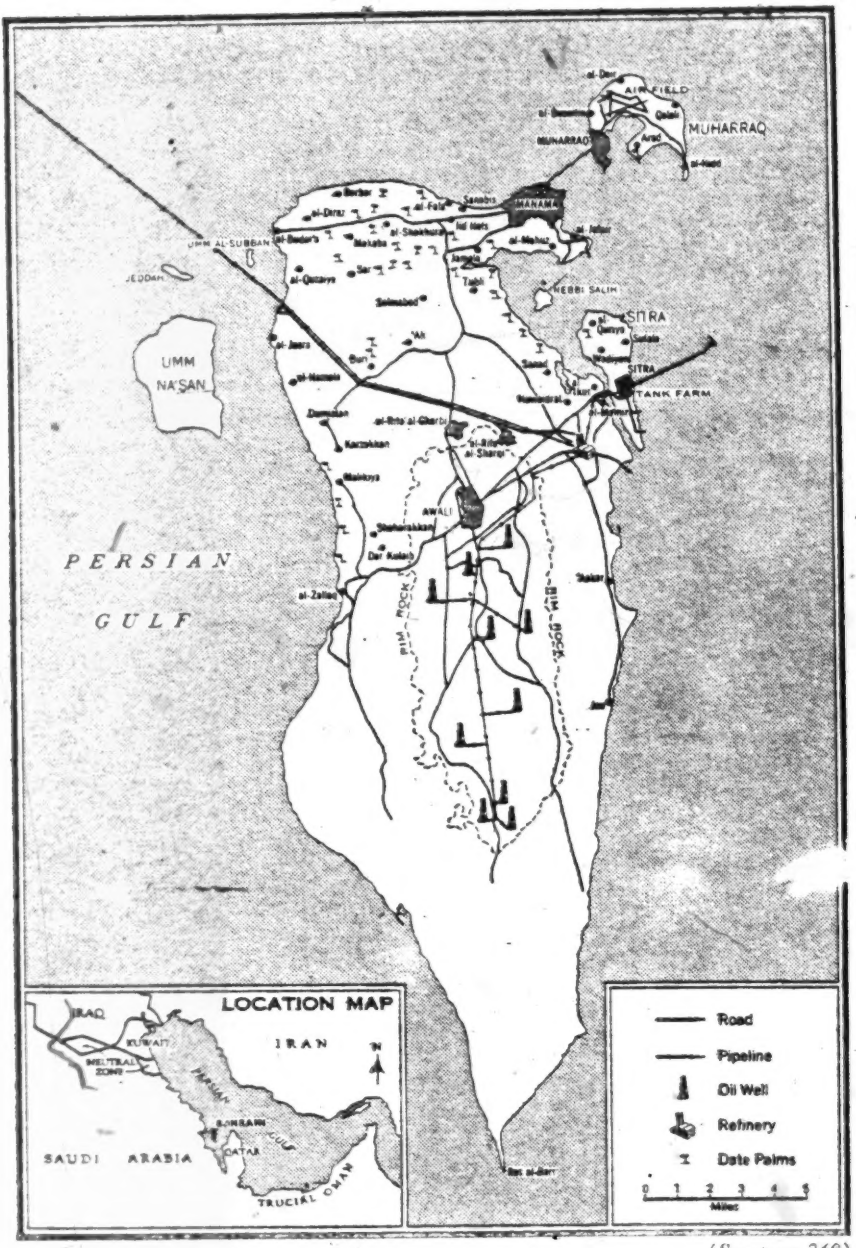


(See page 269)

*The Shaykhdom of Bahrain*

facing p. 239

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M22
Kuwait M11
Saudi Arabia M31



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[1] 1952 estimate, 115,000. [2] Population: 1950, 39,648; 1952 (estimate), 45,000.

nama, Muharraq and Hedd and the 3 villages of East and West Rafaa and Sakhir was less than 1 per cent.

## Social Economy

Prior to the opening of the Bahrain oil fields, the economy of the islands was based upon pearl fishing and the transshipment of goods between Iran, India and other countries and the neighboring Arabian ports. The waters of the Persian Gulf contain famous pearl fishing banks, and, since ancient times, Bahrain has been recognized as the traditional center of the industry. It constituted the principal source of wealth for centuries, but it reached a low level in the 1920s, due in part to the competition of Japanese cultured pearls in the world markets. Early records are nonexistent, but the former Bahrain pearl fleets probably consisted of 600 to 1,000 vessels. The number has declined progressively: only 83 departed for the banks in 1950. In that year, about 2,000 Bahrainis were engaged in pearl fishing during the season from mid-April to October, undoubtedly a fraction of the total employed when the demand for pearls was at its height.

In previous decades, dhow building also was one of the major industries of Bahrain, but its decline has paralleled that of the pearl fisheries. Nine boats were constructed in 1949, as against 100 reported in 1928-29.

Today, oil is the foundation of Bahrain's prosperity. The royalties derived from the industry not only have bolstered the declining resources of the government, but have made possible the expansion of public works and social services. Operations are conducted by the Bahrain Petroleum Company, Ltd., which holds long-term concessions from the Sheikh of Bahrain for the development of the petroleum resources of the islands. Oil was discovered in the Jabal ad Dukhan region, near the center of Bahrain Island, in 1932, and production started in 1934. The proven reserves of this field are estimated in the neighborhood of 200 million barrels. The company also operates a

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

WINDS

132

| Month | Wind Mean Velocity M.P.H. | Percentage of observations from directions in a year. N. | N.E. | E. | S.E. | S. | S.W. | W. | N.W. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| JANUARY | 5 | 13 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 4 | 24 | 34 |
| FEBRUARY | 5 | 19 | 5 | 4 | 10 | 7 | 3 | 16 | 32 |
| MARCH | 5 | 19 | 10 | 8 | 10 | 8 | 8 | 13 | 23 |
| APRIL | 5 | 17 | 8 | 9 | 7 | 9 | 9 | 16 | 25 |
| MAY | 5 | 20 | 10 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 20 | 34 |
| JUNE | 5 | 21 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 22 | 47 |
| JULY | 4 | 16 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 7 | 23 | 43 |
| AUGUST | 3 | 16 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 6 | 7 | 18 | 29 |
| SEPTEMBER | 3 | 22 | 3 | 10 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 17 | 28 |
| OCTOBER | 3 | 17 | 11 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 19 | 33 |
| NOVEMBER | 4 | 15 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 5 | 22 | 29 |
| DECEMBER | 5 | 13 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 3 | 25 | 37 |
| MEANS | 4.2 | 17 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 20 | 33 |

*This table is based on nine years observations.*

136 There is little wild life in Bahrain. Mongooses and jerboa (Kangaroo rats) are common in the cultivated area and in the desert respectively in the south of the island and on Umm an-Nasaan there are gazelle and hare. During certain seasons of the year migratory birds make their appearance, including the Hubara, the lesser bustard, which is hunted with falcons by the Ruling Family. Other game birds, duck, snipe and sand grouse are sometimes seen in Bahrain. There are, however, many small local birds including bulbuls, hoopoes and a covey of parrots which at various times escaped from their owners and have now become indigenous.

There are many sea birds in Bahrain. The commonest are tern and cormorant, which nest in thousands on small uninhabited islands filling the air for miles around with the noise of their comings and goings and their quarrels over nesting grounds. Herons and flamingoes are frequently seen as well as other smaller species of shore and sea birds.

This is Bahrain, and it is hoped that the information in the following chapters will add to the interest of the reader who is living in Bahrain, or passing through, by telling him something about the country.

## CHAPTER II

## THE PEOPLE

162 BAHRAIN is often described as a land of contrasts, and this is especially true of its inhabitants, for in this small group of islands, no larger than a pencil point on a map of the world, there are some 109,650 people (1950 census) drawn from over thirty nations of the world. In the same census it was found that 6,000 Bahrainis were working abroad

boat, sucking cigarettes or sipping bitter Arab coffee, but when the water is warmer a longer period is spent in the sea. Food is not eaten during the diving hours as it is considered bad for the diver's health. 228

The splash and swirl of the blue waters of the Gulf, often as smooth and clear as glass, the glistening bodies of the sun-burnt divers, the deep-throated chanting of the Saibs and the mounting piles of dark encrusted shells, are sights and sounds never to be forgotten. From time to time the cabin boy, who is found on each boat, collects the shells in sacks and piles them along the sides of the boat. As the sun sets the crew eat their light meal of dates, fish, bread and coffee and then sink down with pleasure into deep sleep along the decks. Then all that there is to disturb the silence of the night is the crackling of the fire burning on the portable mud hearth, the creaking of ropes and the splash caused by the line of the midnight fishermen catching to-morrow's meal.

Next morning the members of the crew are up early and gather around the heaps of shells which are more easily opened after having been left in the night-air, and with deft flicks of little curved knives they examine the oyster's meat so that not even the smallest seed pearl is missed. The despoiled shells are tossed aside, to be collected later and thrown back into the sea. As the pearls are found, their finders stick them between their toes until they have collected a number, which are then handed to the nakhuda or captain. The latter stores them in a great wooden chest, studded with brass nails after tying them in small squares of red cloth, that being the colour which is believed to show pearls to their best advantage. When all the shells have been opened the remains are thrown overboard, the decks swabbed down and the day's diving commences.

From time to time boats return to Bahrain to collect fresh provisions and for the medical treatment of the crew. Fresh water, surprisingly enough, is less of a problem, for near many of the pearl banks there are submarine fresh water springs, some of which have been controlled by pipes affixed by the Bahrain Government. The monotony of the diver's day is also broken by the visits of "Tawawish," pearl buyers, who come out in launches to the banks to offer ready cash for their purchases, and by visits of hospital and police launches from Bahrain. The end of the diving season, as well as the date of its commencement, is laid down by the annual proclamation of the Bahrain Government. [312] [437] [656]

Despite the tales of travellers, sharks and saw-fish are not a very great menace to divers, they are in fact a rarity and for many years no diver has been attacked by either fish. The blue jelly-fish is more feared than either, for with its long tentacles it can give a most unpleasant sting, and it is to combat it that in the jelly-fish season many divers wear a form of cotton combinations covering all parts of the body except hands and eyes. The detrimental effect of diving on the men's health is often exaggerated, and with the better diet and medical treatment the divers of today are a healthy set of men and compare favourably with workers in other industries. [136]

Some twenty years ago a Danish scientific expedition paid two visits to the Persian Gulf to report on the fish found in it. They discovered that there were over 400 species.

## AGRICULTURE

Parts of Bahrain have always been fertile and very probably in ancient times more land was under cultivation than is being used today. The gardens of Bahrain are mentioned by many ancient visitors to the islands. The captains of Alexander's ships described Tylos, the ancient name of Bahrain, as "well-wooded and productive" while Idrisi, writing in the 12th century, says that the "capital of Awal (Bahrain Island) is Bahrain; this is a town well populated whose environs are fertile and produce corn and dates in abundance." It could be that the capital of Bahrain mentioned by Idrisi was Bilad al-Qadim, the description would seem to imply this.

Formerly the Bahrain gardens were irrigated from natural springs and surface wells, the water either flowing from the springs into the gardens or being lifted from wells to the level of the land by various forms of water scoops. The most commonly used is the Shaduf. A man stands near the edge of the well and draws up the water in a sheep skin bag attached by ropes to a counter-balanced pole. In larger wells donkeys or oxen are used, walking endlessly up and down a ramp pulling the water to the surface from where it runs down into irrigation channels. As the rainfall in Bahrain is almost negligible all agriculture depends upon irrigation.

In the 20's and 30's Major Frank Holmes drilled many artesian wells in Bahrain which completely changed Bahrain's system of irrigation. By introducing these wells into the island Major Holmes did much to increase the area of land which could be cultivated, but artesian wells turned out to be a mixed blessing, for in the following years so many wells were drilled that the water head went down and some of the gardens in the south of Bahrain dried up. Today this problem is being met by a government Water Committee which decides whether and under what conditions new wells may be drilled, it tries to ensure that the water resources of the islands are maintained at their present level or even increased by the utilisation of the many large springs of fresh water which lie under the sea around the shores of Bahrain.

The two commonest crops in Bahrain are dates and lucerne (alfalfa). the latter is often grown in the shade of the date palms where its vivid greenness provides a contrast to the brown and grey-green of the date palms. There is little good fruit in Bahrain although a certain number of fruit trees are cultivated, these include citrus, tamarind, pomegranate, fig, guava, terminalia (indian almond) mango, bananas, grapes and kanard (a small apple-like fruit). European vegetables are grown in the cold weather and other ground crops include sweet potatoes, melons, tomatoes, ladies fingers, egg plants, onions, garlic and pumpkins.

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

### ZELLAQ

361 South again of Malakiya is Zellaq, the southernmost village on the
342 western Coast of Bahrain and approximately three miles west of Sakhir. A road runs from Zellaq to Awali and is much used by BAPCO employees coming to swim at the former place. The houses of Zellaq village, which are of stone, are built along the shore and many of them are large and spacious. As a result of the activities of BAPCO, Zellaq village has increased in size and prosperity and now contains a number of substantial white stone buildings which are conspicuous from a long distance across the flat and sandy plain that surrounds it.

162 The inhabitants of Zellaq are Sunni Arabs; some are from the Dawasir tribe, and many of them are dependents of the Ruling Family.
311 North of the village there are a number of large gardens, irrigated by innumerable artesian wells, which are owned by members of the Ruling Family and by their servants ; these gardens form a green belt along the two miles of coast between Zellaq and Sedad.

312 The Bahrain Petroleum Company has a pump house at Zellaq which supplies Awali with much of its water and Zellaq was also once the discharging point for tankers bringing crude oil from Saudi
517 Arabia, before the submarine pipe-line was laid. Near the pumping station is the BAPCO Plage, the excellent bathing place which is much used by the employees of BAPCO, particularly in the Summer evenings.

### RAS AL-BARR

529 This, the southernmost point of the Bahrain islands, is a popular
484 place for summer picnics, but the approaches to it are difficult, and
491 although never dangerous they can easily cause trouble to visitors by the softness of the sand. It is best to travel in parties with not less than two cars, so that one can come to the help of the other if necessary, and care should be taken to keep to the tracks, however faintly indicated rather than to carve out new roads in the desert. The road to Ras al-Barr from Zellaq first passes through Mutalla, the Ruler's hunting lodge, while that from Awali past the Jebel passes another hunting lodge at Rumaitha before joining the Western road at Akala. From here the road goes south, past the swamps on the coast and along the narrow strip of sand which marks the end of the island.

136 In certain seasons of the year the shores along this part of Bahrain
262 are covered with the eggs of sea-birds, and many Arab dhows anchor off the coast while the crews remove the eggs for food. If one is lucky, while driving down the coast, hare and gazelle may be seen, as well as rose-tinted flamingoes on the shore.

## MUHARRAQ ISLAND

### MUHARRAQ

491 The visitor from Manama approaches Muharraq by crossing the
486 1½ mile long causeway and Shaikh Hamed Bridge, completed in 1942,

of the Egg," a small village with many seafaring inhabitants. To the north of Sitra there is a very pleasant sandy beach looking towards Umm a-Hasan where there is excellent bathing; the view also includes Nabih Salih and Jaziyra. There is deep water to the north of Sitra, and it is here that the Bahrain Government is building the new Port of Manama with a pier running into deep water from the shore between Umm al-Hasan and Jufair.

361 [504]

### JIDDA

This island is about 2½ miles from Budaiya. It is small and rocky and in appearance unlike any of the other Bahrain Islands. Its high cliffs rise abruptly from the water and a few fort-like buildings are silhouetted against the sky-line. On the south side of the island there is a level strip of land which is extensively cultivated. Jidda is Bahrain's penal settlement; here all long term prisoners are detained, spending their time cutting stone, weaving and working in the gardens. There is a small house on the top of the cliffs above the jetty which catches all the wind in the summer and which is used by the Adviser to the Bahrain Government. Being a prison island, Jidda is forbidden to general visitors.

101 133 697 [486]

The stone quarries at Jidda are of great age and it is likely that the large stones which line the graves in the burial mounds were cut here. There is an Arabic inscription roughly cut on one of the cliffs which reads as follows :

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"During the month of Shaban in the year 968 (April/May, 1561) there was completed the cutting of the 100,000th rock for the mending of the tower of the Bahrain fort in the wazirate of the Great Wazir Jilal ad-Din Murad Mahmud by the hand of the slave . . . " (a few words after this are unreadable).

### UMM AN-NASAAN

This, the second largest of the Bahrain islands, lies a few miles across the shallow water to the south of Jidda. It is sandy and flat, with the exception of two small limestone hills towards its centre which break the monotony of its shape. At the north end of the island there are several natural springs and artesian wells from which extensive date gardens are irrigated; they were planted by the late Ruler of Bahrain, H.H. Shaikh Hamed, who also established on the island a herd of black buck and gazelle, the former being imported from India and the latter from the mainland of Bahrain.

101 133 312 [136]

There is evidence of ancient habitations on Umm an-Nasan, foundations of many old houses are visible and sherds of pottery can be picked up. Local legend has it that Nasaan, after whom the island is named, was one of the early rulers of Bahrain, but this legend has not been substantiated by historical research.

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contains a substantial amount of water which is protected from evaporation by the narrowness of the well's neck. The Bahraini members of the Naim tribe who live here do not occupy the fort but live in two villages in the neighbourhood, which have the advantage of being near wells. On the whole, however, Zubara is most unfertile, the soil is thick with salt which appears on the surface and it is easy to see that the only *raison d'etre* of the town was the sea and commerce. The fort itself was once connected with the sea by a long, deep canal, some 100 feet wide, which served the dual purpose of filling the moat about the fort and permitting ships to approach it. Today the eastern section of the canal has been filled in by sand, and the sea only reaches about 1½ miles inland.

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[162]

Gazelle abound in Zubara, and also jackals.

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526 226 [136] about 6-in. to 9-in. long which trolls well because of its streamlined shape. The fish most commonly caught by trolling are listed hereunder; those marked with an asterisk have also been reported, but on rare occasions :—

Sea bass.
King Mackerel ("Chanad" or Indian seer).
Leer Fish.
Rock Cod.
Barracuda.
*"Sikkan" (English name unknown but weighs up to 60 lbs.).
*Sailfish.
*Shark (usually sand sharks up to 150 lbs.).
*Bonito.

Bottom fishing in the deeper water a mile or so off the coast, using crab, cuttlefish or large prawn as bait, yields Queen-fish, "Hamriyah" (English name unknown but similar to red snapper) and several kinds of rays, in addition to three or four of the above-listed species caught trolling. Many of these fish weigh 30 to 60 lbs. and give very good sport on a light sea-rod with a reel carrying about 250 yards of cutty hunk or nylon line with 18 or 24 lb. breaking strain. The American type 5-star drag reel is popular for trolling because by insulating the shock of the initial fierce strike, it enables lighter tackle to be used. Sailfish weighing about 55 lb. have been caught near the Black Buoy, the northern entrance marker to the Sitra channel, on at least two authenticated occasions. A game-fishing maxim says that "where there are sailfish, there are marlin" and, although not yet reported in local Bahrain waters, marlin have been seen as near as Umm Said on the east coast of the Qatar peninsular.

Bass (Ar. "Zbaiti"), "Shari" (12-in. long, drab colour), "Saafi" (about 24-in. long, white colour) and a colourful variety of small fish up to 5-6 lb. are caught fishing from the shore at many places around the coast. A trout rod or other light bait-casting rod with a 2½-oz. tip gives excellent sport and can be most exciting when, for instance, a 10 lb. sea bass is hooked and landed, as was done with such tackle in the 1952 season.

The spring and autumn are the best fishing seasons, although fish are sought and caught by the enthusiasts throughout the winter, except during the very cold spells. The hot summer months of July, August and September are the worst or fishing in Bahrain, the Bahrainis say that the fish go out to the deeper water to keep cool, in which they are both missed and envied by the local "Isaac Waltons," left ashore to prepare their tackle for the coming autumn season.

526 231 *Riding and Racing*. Bahrain offers excellent opportunities for riding, but it is only recently that these have been recognised by European and American residents in the Islands. The BAPCO Club has a stable of twelve horses at Awali and riding classes are held for children and adults. In Manama a number of Arab merchants keep horses for

Pollution of the soil is common, although the practice is discouraged in the towns.

## Fauna and Flora

Except for investigations relating to the anopheline vectors of malaria, few entomologic studies have been undertaken in Bahrain. Five species of anopheline mosquitoes have been identified—*Anopheles stephensi, A. culicifacies, A. sergenti, A. fluviatilis* and *A. pulcherrimus*. *A. stephensi* breeds in shallow wells, seepage pools, water storage tanks and irrigation ditches, and is responsible for a large part of the malaria transmission on the islands. While *A. culicifacies* is probably a vector in some localities, it is generally regarded as of minor importance. *A. gambiae* is not indigenous, but it is sometimes found on board dhows upon arrival in port. Species of *Culex* are widespread. However, no vectors of filariasis have been recorded locally. Species of *Aedes* are known to be present.

A campaign for the control of malarial mosquitoes has been carried on by the government since 1939. Supplementary programs are conducted by the Bahrain Petroleum Company in the vicinity of its installations and throughout the southern half of Bahrain Island. The antilarval measures include the treatment of breeding places with oil or DDT preparations and the stocking of wells and drainage ditches with the larvivorous fish, *Gambusia*. The prevalence of anopheline mosquitoes reached minimal proportions in Manama by 1948, but was still extensive in the surrounding suburbs and date garden areas. The following year, the spraying of the marshes, rubbish dumps and gardens around the main towns and the residual spraying of the houses and the bazaars with DDT and Gammexane preparations were introduced for the suppression of both flies and mosquitoes.

Flies are abundant, although their numbers have been markedly reduced in the towns since the inauguration of the residual

136 744 spraying campaign. The existing species have not been determined: several are probably implicated in the spread of intestinal and eye infections. All forms of human lice are present. Numerous species of fleas occur, including presumably *Xenopsylla cheopis*, the usual vector of plague, which was frequently epidemic in the past.

### Food Sanitation

744 656 The sanitary supervision of the markets, coffee shops, bakeries and other premises where foods are prepared or sold is the responsibility of the municipal authorities in Manama and Muharraq. Little governmental control has been attempted, but the new public health division plans to develop 434 inspection services. Most of the meat used is imported, and is not subject to inspection in Bahrain. There are slaughterhouses, however, in Manama and Muharraq which are operated under the supervision of the mu- 234 nicipal officers. No regulations exist governing the sale of milk. It is obtained from small herds of goats, and is often contaminated.

## HEALTH SERVICES AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

### Health Organizations

744 The Public Health Department of the Bahrain government is responsible for the protection of the health of the inhabitants and the enforcement of international quarantine regulations. It is administered by the Chief Medical Officer, whose headquarters 743 are located at Manama. The department 744 came into being in 1936, when the government hospital was erected, but, with the exception of malaria control measures, its functions were concerned primarily with the operation of medical care facilities until its 744 reorganization in 1952. In that year, public health services were developed within the department, which now incorporates separate curative and preventive divisions. The port health authority, formerly under the Indian Medical Services, was taken over by

164 typhoid A infections, a large proportion of which occur among nonresidents.

**Dysenteries.** Both amebic and bacillary dysentery are widespread. The percentage [136] of carriers of *Endamoeba histolytica* is believed to be high, but the relative infection rates in the general population are uncertain. Over 1,000 cases of "dysentery" were treated in government institutions in 1950. The cases among men patients registered in the government isolation hospital in the two years from November, 1948, through October, 1950, totaled 120 for the first year and 176 for the second. Amebiasis was diagnosed in 59 to 71 cases and bacillary dysentery in 56 to 67. Mixed infections were recorded in a few cases, while in the second year, 30 cases were classified as diarrhea. Laboratory confirmation is not attempted, except in hospital cases, and the results of bacteriologic examinations are incomplete [136] in many instances. *Shigella paradysenteriae* (Flexner) predominates among the recognized infections, but Shiga, Schmitz, Sonne and Newcastle strains are encountered with 164 considerable frequency. The health authori- 744 ties anticipate a diminution in the prevalence of dysentery in Manama and Muharraq as a result of the fly control campaigns initiated in 1950.

**Cholera.** Cholera was formerly recurrent in the Persian Gulf ports, all of which are exposed to spread of the infection by coastwise traffic. Within recent years the rigorous application of quarantine measures has curtailed the number of outbreaks. Cholera has not appeared in Bahrain since the middle 1930s, when it was traced to the crew of a dhow visiting the port of Manama.

164 **Helminthiases.** Infection with intestinal 136 worms is almost universal. The rate of infection with *Ascaris lumbricoides* is estimated at 95 to 100 per cent. Heavy infections are encountered frequently, especially in children. Enterobiasis and trichuriasis are common. Taeniasis, caused by the beef tapeworm, *Taenia saginata*, is sometimes seen. A few cases of echinococcosis are treated in the local hospitals each year; the

136 164 majority are believed to have been acquired elsewhere. Cases of ancylostomiasis and schistosomiasis are occasionally observed, primarily among non-Bahrainis, yet no indigenous foci of infection are known to exist.

### Diseases Spread Chiefly Through the Respiratory Tract

164 **Tuberculosis.** Tuberculosis is widespread, but little precise information is available regarding its prevalence in the local population. The disease is believed to be extensive in Arabia, particularly among 164 the Bedouin. In Bahrain, the migration of 464 workers to and from the mainland, over- 515 crowding and the generally low standards 758 of personal hygiene are regarded as factors influencing the spread of the infection. The facilities for diagnosis and treatment are 734 inadequate. The government operates a 13- 758 bed tuberculosis sanatorium and provides treatment for tuberculous cases in its regular hospitals and dispensaries. It also subsidizes the transportation of certain cases to India for treatment, since many individuals do not respond favorably under the climatic conditions prevailing in Bahrain. About 220 to 350 cases were under observation in government institutions annually from November, 1948, to November, 1950. 164 Pulmonary tuberculosis predominates, but a high rate of nonpulmonary infections also is encountered.

**Smallpox.** Bahrain is especially vulnerable to the introduction of smallpox from the neighboring Persian Gulf territories, Pakistan and India, and outbreaks are recorded at frequent intervals. Large-scale epidemics were reported in 1941-42 and in 1948-50, with sporadic cases in the intervening years. The most recent epidemic started in December, 1948, in the Hora section of Manama, and spread in a series of localized outbreaks, persisting into 1950. Eighty-six cases were transferred to the quarantine hospital in 1949, and about one third of that number the following year. The percentage of unrecognized infections

was also believed to be high in many districts. The fatality rates among the hospitalized cases averaged 6 to 22 per cent. The disease subsided in the summer of 1950, and no cases were observed in 1951.

Vaccination against smallpox is not compulsory, but the health authorities endeavor to promote it in the school population. In 1948-49, a house-to-house campaign was carried on in the infected sections of Manama, and vaccination centers were established in the outlying districts. Vaccination is required of travelers to Bahrain, and persons who arrive without valid certificates of immunization are vaccinated by the medical officers upon landing.

**Other Infections.** Pneumonia is prevalent: a large proportion of the cases are probably bronchopneumonias. Measles, mumps and whooping cough are endemic, and often epidemic. Chickenpox and poliomyelitis are also endemic, but the reported cases are usually few in number. Meningococcus meningitis is sporadic, and occasional small outbreaks are recorded.

### Diseases Spread or Contracted Chiefly Through Contact

**Venereal Diseases.** Venereal diseases constitute a major problem, due to the transitory nature of a large section of the population. Local medical authorities believe that the syphilitic infection rate approximates 60 to 70 per cent. Numerous mild nonvenereal infections are observed among children, although the familiar manifestations of congenital syphilis are relatively rare. Gonorrhea is widespread, but chancroid and lymphogranuloma venereum are of minor significance. Cases of venereal disease are treated at the isolation hospital and the various dispensaries.

**Diseases of the Eyes.** Eye infections are prominent throughout this region. Ignorance of the basic principles of hygiene and the prevalence of flies, as well as the irritating effects of sand and wind during the *shamal* seasons, are underlying factors in the spread of trachoma, conjunctivitis and

other eye diseases. Trachoma is widely distributed, and estimates of prevalence range from 35 to 90 per cent, depending upon the locality. Trichiasis is frequent. The most serious effects are often observed among immigrants from Saudi Arabia, the Trucial Coast and Iran. In an average of over 1,200 men patients receiving medical or surgical ophthalmic treatment in the government hospital in each of the two years 1949-50, about 30 per cent were suffering from trichiasis. Special attention is given to the treatment of eye diseases in all the hospitals and dispensaries, and clinics are conducted in some of the boys' schools.

**Diseases of the Skin.** Mycotic infections of the skin are common, but the children appear to be relatively free from favus. In spite of the low standards of hygiene among the poorer inhabitants, scabies is seldom seen.

**Leprosy.** Although leprosy is present among the Baharna, it is rare in the Arab community. Cases are found on all the islands, probably with greatest frequency on Sitra. The severity of the infection seems to be decreasing, and the percentage of childhood cases in recent years has been low. The actual number of lepers in the indigenous population is uncertain: it was believed to be about 100 in 1951. No segregation is practiced, but lepers are forbidden to congregate and beg in the towns.

**Other Infections.** Sporadic cases of tetanus and of tetanus neonatorum occur occasionally. Rabies is not recorded at present.

### Diseases Spread by Arthropods

**Malaria.** Malaria was formerly one of the foremost disease hazards in Bahrain, but in recent years its importance has declined progressively with the expansion of the anopheline control program. The present morbidity is believed to be insignificant in comparison with that encountered before the inauguration of the government's antimalaria campaign in 1939. Treatment statistics are of doubtful value, yet they are

164 useful in portraying the persistence of the
758 disease. Records for 1949-50 indicate that between 1,700 and 2,000 persons were treated annually for malaria in the government hospitals and dispensaries alone.
164 There are normally two seasons of transmission—from the middle of March through June, with a peak early in June, and from the middle of September to the middle of January, with a peak in November. When climatic conditions are exceptionally favorable for anopheline breeding, however, transmission may take place throughout the year, with a minimum of activity in the winter months.

Because of its location on the edge of the date garden belt, Manama has always been highly malarious. As the result of control operations, the degree of infection has lately been reduced to a low level in the town, but up to 1950 it was still extensive on the outskirts. In limited malaria surveys made in January and again in May and June, which were reported in 1938,[1] the spleen rate among 234 boys of 4 to 14 years of age examined in Manama averaged about 39 per cent, while the corresponding rate among 137 boys in Muharraq was 13 per cent. The parasite indices in January were calculated at about 22 per cent in Manama and 6 per cent in Muharraq.

136 In general, *Plasmodium vivax* infections
164 predominate in June and *P. falciparum* in
[167] November. In the opinion of some local medical authorities, the prevalence of *P. falciparum* was enhanced by the mobility of military and civilian personnel in this region during the war years 1939-45, but it is now diminishing. In 249 blood films prepared in January in connection with the above investigation, malaria parasites were detected in 34; *P. falciparum*, in 10; *P. vivax*, in 13; and *P. malariae*, in 10; while one showed both *P. falciparum* and *P. malariae*. *Anopheles stephensi* is considered to be the principal vector, but *A. culicifacies* is probably implicated to some extent in certain localities.

164 **Plague.** Severe outbreaks of plague have

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131 length and a mile wide. "Howar" means "Young Camel" and the island was so called because it is similar in shape though smaller than Bahrain, and so was described as its offspring.

There are many other little islands in the Bahrain archipelago ; some contain small villages or fishermen's huts while others are deserted except during the occasional visits of migratory birds or pearl divers who come to the islands during the diving season to draw water from the freshwater springs.

311 Along the northern coast of Bahrain there is a narrow strip of land some three miles wide which is under cultivation. The fertile gardens
137 containing date and loz (Indian almond or Terminalia) pomegranate, banana and fig trees are irrigated from many natural springs and artesian wells. But in the waterless areas south of the cultivation, in the centre of the island, only sparse and hardy desert flora exists. Although this desert may seem bare to the eyes of a visitor accustomed to the lush greenness of Europe or the States, it is in fact covered with a great variety of desert plants which were found, in a recent survey, to include some 200 species.

133 Beyond the cultivated area the land is barren and the landscape consists of low rolling hills with numerous rocky cliffs and dry wadis. Most of the Islands of Bahrain are surfaced with hard limestone rock, covered in many places with sand dunes, and, in the case of the main island, with pre-historic tumuli. From the shore line the topography rises gradually towards the centre where it again drops off into a basin surrounded by steep cliffs. Towards the centre of the basin there is a very pronounced rocky promontory known as "Jebal ad-Dukhan," the "Mountain of Smoke," a name given to it because of the vague and hazy appearance it often presents, particularly during the hot summer months. The Jebal is only 450 feet above sea level and 250 feet above the surrounding plain but often, when mist surrounds its base, it gives the impression of being a considerable mountain.

Although Bahrain is a small country yet it displays a very varied
226 landscape and many surprising contrasts between old and new. It
228 is primarily a sea faring state. The brilliant blue and green waters, studded with white sails, which surround the islands provide the people of Bahrain with fish, which they catch from boats and in traps, fresh water, from the submarine springs, coral stone for building and pearls which made Bahrain such an important trading centre in the past.
361 The coastal towns have an attractive appearance. Manama's water front is lined with high white houses and beyond the town date gardens extend in an unbroken line down to the water's edge. Roads in the northern part of Bahrain pass through avenues of tall and stately date palms, bearing great bunches of golden, red and yellow fruit during
133 the summer months. The south of the island is a miniature desert and in the foothills around the Jebal there are many little wadis which
000 after the rainy season are bright with desert flowers and shrubs. Even

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Speaking generally most of the hardy annuals can be grown without much difficulty, some perennials succeed but as they invariably die in the summer only those which flower in the first year should be attempted. Seeds are apt to behave capriciously in Bahrain; one year a certain species will grow well, producing masses of flowers, next year the same seed, sown under identical conditions, will fail to germinate or will grow a few inches and then wither away. The following annuals are the most reliable and most easily grown from seed : Ageratum, Allysum, Annual Chrysanthemums, Balsam, Calendula, Coreopsis, Gillardia, Hollyhock, Linum, Marigold, Nasturtiums, Nicotiana, Sunflower, Stocks, Sweet Sultans, Virginia Stock, Wallflower (annual).

Bulbs do fairly well the first year but if left in the ground they perish and if lifted and stored they are apt to rot. The following have been grown with some success : Anemone, Dahlias, Cannas, Gladiolus, Iris, Jonquils, Ranunculus, Tuberous, various lilies including Spider Lilies, Amaryllis and Arum.

The following annuals can be grown, often successfully, but they require care and mature soil : Anchusa, Antirrhinum, Carnations (which sometimes survive the summer), Cornflower, Cosmos, Coleus, Candytuft, Cineraria, Dahlia, Dianthus, Gypsophila, Kochia, Larkspur, Mignonette, Petunia, Phlox, Pansy, Statice, Salvia, Verbena, Zinnia. Certain species, when once established, will seed themselves every year to such an extent that they become a nuisance, these include Larkspur, Petunia, Ageratum, Nicotiana, Coreopsis, Sunflowers and Hollyhocks. The method of planting seeds in pots or boxes is rarely successful in Bahrain, owing to the salt in the ground and in the water the insides of boxes and pots are liable to become coated with salt which eventually kills the seedlings; in the open ground better results are obtained. Seeds can be sown from the beginning of October until as late as January. Local gardeners take little interest in flowers and are not accustomed to deal with flower seeds, so to get good results it is almost essential to sow the seeds and transplant seedlings oneself. Seed beds should be watered from a can during the first few days, locally made watering cans can be obtained in the bazaar. The rush of water which gardeners release over newly sown seeds usually carries away most of the seeds the first time that the seed bed is irrigated.

There are few if any indigenous flowers in Bahrain. Flower gardens did not exist before the development of artesian wells and certain plants, shrubs and trees which now appear to be growing wild were introduced from India or from Iraq during the last 27 years ; under this heading come Gaillardias, Oleanders, the Mesquite bean tree and many others. Almost all the flowering shrubs, trees and creepers were originally brought from the Municipal gardens in Karachi; these include Hibiscus, Tecoma, Duranta, Bougainvillea, Buddleia, Jatroba, Frangipani, Antigonon, Cassia, Lantana, Crotons, Achania, Indian Lilac, Datura, Myrtle, Ponciana (several types), Asparagus, Anchania, Bauhinia, Millingtonia, Cordia.

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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Several types of local grass, if cultivated, can be used for lawns. The best method of planting a lawn is by "dubbing in" small clumps of grass about six inches apart from each other. In two or three months the grass will cover the ground. It requires liberal watering especially during the summer, in the winter time it lies dormant. After three or four years lawns are apt to become thin and patchy, the grass should then be dug up and a new lawn laid down. The best kind of grass for lawns is "Nejma" which means a star, so called owing to the star shaped seed pod which it produces and "Murani," both can be obtained easily from any cultivated ground.

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Most European vegetables can be grown in Bahrain and if planted in October quite a small garden should provide vegetables for a household from December until the beginning of June. Gardeners, if left to their own devices, are apt to use old seed which they have collected from previous crops; this almost always results in failure. The following are the most easily grown vegetables, Beetroot, Cabbage, family Carrot, Celery, Leek, Lettuce, Onion, Parsley, Radish, Spinach, Turnip. Peas and Beans do not seem to thrive in Bahrain. Tomatoes are grown extensively in the country and can be bought cheaply in the bazaar, so unless one has plenty of space it is hardly worth cultivating them. They ripen in Bahrain before they ripen in Iraq and at the beginning of the season they are exported from Bahrain to Basra.

Asparagus, Artichoke (Jerusalem) and Brussel sprouts have been grown from seed with rather uncertain results. Sweet Basil (Mashmoom) and Dill are herbs which are found in almost every garden, Mint grows well and retains its perennial habit but most of the other English herbs are not successful.

In the summer only local and somewhat uninspiring vegetables are obtainable, the best of these are Aubergine, Cucumber, Ladies Fingers, Pumpkin, Marrow and Sweet Potatoes.

One of the problems in Bahrain is how to obtain sufficient fertiliser. Before so many people took an interest in gardening cow manure could be obtained by anyone who sent a cart to remove it from the owner's shed. Today it is a marketable commodity and has to be paid for.

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In spite of all difficulties gardening in Bahrain is a popular hobby, not only among the Europeans but also among the Arabs.

## CHAPTER III

## MISCELLANEOUS

### AIR FARES

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THE following air lines make scheduled stops at Bahrain :—

| | |
|---|---|
| British Overseas Airways Ltd. | Cyprus Airways, |
| Gulf Aviation Ltd., | Iraki Airways, |
| Djibouti Airways, | Middle East Airways, |
| | T.A.I. |

795 ion, Othman, became Caliph. During his period of office Othman allowed nepotism to affect his appointment of office holders and some rebellious officers from Egypt, disliking his governor of that province, appeared in Medina and in the fracas that followed Othman was murdered. On his death Muawiya, Governor of Damascus, who had strengthened his position in Syria by a far-sighted policy towards the inhabitants, announced himself as avenger of his kinsman Othman and made fiery speeches in the Damascus Mosque. Ali, the Prophet's first cousin and son-in-law, for he had married Muhammad's daughter Fatima, was, however, recognised by many as the rightful Caliph. Ali established himself in Iraq, where most of his supporters lived, and for a number of months skirmished verbally and physically with Muawiya. Finally the two great Arab leaders came to blows at the battle of Siffin in 657. At first the fight went in favour of Ali, but the wily Muawiya, seeing this, suggested that the matter should be decided not by war but by the Quran. Ali was unable to refuse this appeal to a higher authority and arbitration followed, the proceedings of which are not fully known, but which resulted in both candidates being disqualified from the Caliphate. This was a success for Muawiya, who so far had not laid claim to this position and so lost nothing, while Ali had been declared Caliph by his supporters and was forced to ignore the decision. Both leaders retired to their respective provinces and in 661 Ali was murdered by a fanatic of the Kharajite sect. The members of this sect had been Ali's followers but had broken with him on account of the arbitration, which they considered illegal, saying that the sword should have decided the dispute. On Ali's death Muawiya over-ran Iraq and Persia and came to terms with Ali's elder son, Hassan, to whom he granted a pension. When Muawiya died he was succeeded by his son Yazid, and in 680 Ali's younger son, Hussein, together with his family and a small band of followers, left Medina for Kufa in Iraq, where he had been promised support. The treacherous Kufans broke their word, and on the plain of Kerbela the small band of men, women and children were killed or taken prisoners. It is in mourning for this event that the Shiites of Bahrain still hold their Passion Play on the 9th and 10th of the Arabic month of Muharram. The death of Hussein under such tragic circumstances transformed what had been a political dispute into a religious issue, and the breach thus made between the Orthodox Sunnis and the Shiites has been widened down the ages by the activities of fanatics on both sides.

The Sunnis have been all-powerful under the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphs, the Seljuqs and the Ottoman Turks, while the Fatimids of Egypt and the Safavids of Persia have been of Shiite origin. Today the Shia are mostly found in Iraq, Persia and Pakistan, while the Sunni are in the majority in other parts of the Islamic world. In the islands of Bahrain the majority of the Shia are of the moderate Ithnashariya sect and the Sunnis are of the Malaki rite.

142 The typical Bahrain Arab is short and slight in build, but on the whole he is strong and healthy, the average height of a man is 5' 5".

In complexion the people vary greatly, some, especially those who work in offices, are very fair, while the African element in the population has produced the opposite colouring. During the past ten years the fashion among the men of Bahrain for wearing partly European dress has developed rapidly, mainly due to the operations of the oil company, where long flowing robes are not only a nuisance but often dangerous. The older men, however, and the members of the Ruling Family still wear the traditional Arab dress which can be seen in its full glory in the picture of H.H. The Ruler. The basic garment is the "thobe," a long shirt fastened up to the neck, above it comes a cloak of brown, white or black wool, with gold braided edges, the "bisht" or "aba". On the head is a small skull cap, not usually visible, over which is a white or coloured headcloth "gutra' held in place by means of a black or white wool ring, called "agal." The last was originally a camel hobble which the bedouin in the desert used to wear on their heads when travelling, removing it when in camp, but today it has lost its original use and is just an article of attire. Members of the Ruling Family, all of whom use the title "Shaikh," wear gold head-rings on formal occasions, while H.H. The Ruler and the senior members of the family wear swords and daggers in gold scabbards.

The purdah system still exists in Bahrain, although it is gradually being modified, and women are veiled when they appear in public; the more old fashioned wearing black masks concealing the upper part of the face, the younger contenting themselves with veils of black net. Although many women in the towns wear European clothes, nylons and cosmetics, they never appear outside their houses without a voluminous black cloak which covers them from the tops of their heads to the ground. In the country the Baharna women wear a large square shawl, black, blue or sometimes brightly covered, which conceals the clothes they wear. Despite the impression which may have been given by this description of veiling still current in Bahrain, the women of the country are now living a much wider life than formerly. Many girls go to the schools where as well as doing lessons they play games and do gymnastics, and what they learn at school gives them more interests at home when they marry. Family parties are commoner and husbands will now allow themselves to be seen driving with their wives in cars, which some years ago was almost unknown. In many ways the life of the women of Bahrain is improving. However, a fact that visitors to Bahrain should remember is that attempts to take photographs of women are usually strongly resented though the ordinary Arab male is fairly immune to the photographic enthusiasm of visiting Europeans.

In Bahrain, unlike most other parts of the Arab World, the upper classes of Arab society have retained their traditional dress, while the working classes have adopted shirts and trousers. A result of this is that one should not be surprised if young men dressed in Arab clothes speak excellent English, know much about European history, French cooking and American enterprise, for they have probably been educated at the American University of Beirut or in Egypt or England. The

132 siderable violence, particularly in June and July and in January and February.

## POPULATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### Population

161 464 At the time of the second census in 1950, the population of Bahrain numbered 109,650, with 91,179 Bahrain subjects and 18,471 foreigners. In addition, about 5,000 Bahrain nationals were believed to be working in other countries, chiefly in Saudi 162 Arabia. Among the foreign residents there were 6,934 Iranians, 3,043 Indians, Pakistanis and Goanese, 2,526 Saudi Arabians, 2,466 Omanis and Muscatis, and 2,208 British and other Europeans and Americans.

144 The Bahrainis represent a medley of Arab and Persian peoples, as well as various Negro admixtures, descendants of former slaves from Africa. The Baharna, the original inhabitants of the islands, are of mixed Arab-Persian origin, while the Arabs derive 795 chiefly from the mainland of Arabia. The population is almost exclusively Moslem: in 1950, only 4 per cent of the local residents belonged to other religious communities, with 2,348 Christians, 975 Hindus and 293 Jews. Both the Shia and the Sunni sects of Islam are prominent. The Baharna and the Iranians are Shiites, while most of the Arabs are Sunnites, including a small contingent which adheres to the Wahhabi 191 branch of central Arabia. Arabic is the national language. Other tongues are employed by the different racial groups, but most educated Bahrainis and town-dwelling laborers are familiar with English.

162 The returns of the 1950 census indicated 632 that almost 62 per cent of the people lived in the 3 main towns of Manama, Muharraq and Hedd, and the remainder in some 80 rural villages and settlements. Manama, the seat of government and the largest town, located on the island of Bahrain, had a population of 39,648. Muharraq, the chief town on the adjacent island, numbered ap-

164 occurred intermittently in the past, chiefly in Manama and Muharraq. The islands are [744] exposed to the introduction of the disease from neighboring territories, but the enforcement of quarantine regulations has prevented its establishment for several decades.

**Other Infections.** Although a mild degree of louse infestation occurs among the inhabitants in some congested areas, louse-borne typhus is rarely, if ever, reported. Imported cases of cutaneous leishmaniasis, or Oriental sore, and filariasis are occasionally treated in the local medical institutions, but the insect vectors are not known to be present, and indigenous infections have not been recorded. Guinea worm infection is sometimes seen among persons from Iran, but it is not found in the resident population.

### Nutritional Diseases

146 361 511 The standards of nutrition have improved materially in the last few years. Undernutrition is common, but serious defects are seen primarily among the inhabitants of outlying villages and the families of workers from the mainland. Poverty, traditional dietary customs and intestinal parasitism are contributory factors. Subclinical deficiencies in vitamin C are widespread, and scurvy is observed from time to time. Rickets is frequent among the children in the towns. Anemia is prevalent, and hemoglobin levels of 25 to 30 per cent are not unusual among the women.

## SUMMARY

619 131 282 315 Bahrain is an independent sheikhdom which consists of an archipelago of 5 main islands situated in the Persian Gulf near the coast of Arabia. It has long been famous as a pearl fishing center, and, since 1932, has enjoyed prosperity as an oil-producing area. 161 162 795 It has a heterogeneous population which numbered 109,650 in 1950, including 18,471 foreigners. The people are predominantly of 144 mixed Arab and Persian origin, and about 96 per cent are Moslems.

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There are 19 Boys' Schools on the Islands with an attendance of 4,318 pupils locatedas follows :—

| School. | | Number of Pupils. |
|---|---|---|
| West Primary | Manama | 666 |
| East Primary | Manama | 195 |
| East Kindergarten | Manama | 453 |
| Secondary | Manama | 165 |
| Technical | Manama | 54 |
| Old Kindergarten | Muharraq | 305 |
| New Kindergarten | Muharraq | 364 |
| Primary | Muharraq | 687 |
| Samhij | | 96 |
| Hidd | | 340 |
| Budayia | | 167 |
| Khamis | | 271 |
| Tubli | | 62 |
| Sanad | | 20 |
| Aali | | 68 |
| Kazakán | | 86 |
| West Rafaa | | 64 |
| East Rafaa | | 136 |
| Sitra | | 119 |
| | Total | 4,318 |

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All these pupils were examined during the year and the results noting the defects and other relevant information recorded on an individual school medical card.

The most common defects were :—

| Defect | Number cases. | Percentage Town School. | Country School. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Trachoma and Conjunctivitis | 1250 | 20.9 | 52.7 |
| Defective vision | 413 | 7.5 | 15.4 |
| Enlarged tonsils | 223 | 5.5 | 3.9 |
| Enlarged spleens | 182 | 1.4 | 12.3 |
| Skin diseases | 136 | 0.5 | 10.7 |
| Corneal opacities | 88 | 1.6 | 3.2 |
| Squint | 37 | 1.0 | 0.3 |

The number of defects was on the whole, much higher among boys attending country schools than boys at town schools and their rate of growth was slower between the ages of 11 and 16. (Fig. 1). A lower standard of living, malnutrition and poor sanitary conditions in the villages contribute towards this discrepancy but it is hoped that the extension of anti-malarial activities, the school medical service and, if possible, the provision of a school meal, will help to remedy this state of affairs in due course.

The measurement of the weight and height of all pupils was carried out and recorded graphically on each boy's school medical card. This procedure over a number of years should be of immense value in detecting disease and assessing health, as loss of weight, failure to gain, or cessation of growth may be early indications of such various conditions as tuberculosis, sub-acute rheumatism, malnutrition, chronic disease of an essential organ, etc. While every care was taken to ensure reasonable accuracy, the anthropometric technique employed was liable to a certain measure of error as it was not possible to provide at, or carry around to each school, a beam scale weighing machine, or a proper height measuring scale. In addition, it was often difficult to estimate the correct age, as births are not registered in Bahrain, and many children especially in towns, gain admission before the school entrance age of seven years, and are shown as being of that age. As a point of interest, comparative figures in respect of weights and heights between groups of English and Bahrain schoolboys are shown (Fig. 2) from which it will be seen that at all ages, English schoolboys are heavier and taller than Bahrain schoolboys.

and Pakistan. Regular air communications are maintained to Iraq and Arabia, and the airport on Muharraq Island also serves international airlines with terminals in Europe, the Middle East and the Far East. Motor roads connect the towns and the villages on the different islands, and extend across causeways from Bahrain to Muharraq and Sitra. The local transport facilities are well developed, and motor bus routes link most of the population centers.

### Food and Nutrition

The food habits of the diverse racial groups are varied, but serious undernutrition is seldom encountered, except among the migratory laborers from the mainland and the Baharna and Arabs in the agricultural and the fishing villages. The islands are dependent upon imports for a large proportion of their food supply. The government controls certain essential foodstuffs, as wheat, rice and sugar, and regulates prices through a system of rationing.

The diet of the average Bahraini consists of dates, bread, rice and fish, supplemented by native vegetables in season and limited amounts of meat and milk. Goats are raised in many villages, though their milk is usually scanty and poor in quality. Most of the meat is imported from Iran, and is correspondingly expensive. An assortment of fruits and vegetables is generally obtainable in Manama markets by those who are able to purchase them.

### Housing

Manama is a cosmopolitan town, and the changes which have come about within the last two decades are reflected in the construction of increasing numbers of modern-type dwellings. Muharraq, in contrast, is a distinctly Arab community. Coral blocks, coral slabs and plaster are the usual building materials in the older houses, while cement is used extensively in the newer buildings. The typical Arab-style homes are built around inner courts and have utilitarian

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## SUMMARY

Bahrain is an independent sheikhdom which consists of an archipelago of 5 main islands situated in the Persian Gulf near the coast of Arabia. It has long been famous as a pearl fishing center, and, since 1932, has enjoyed prosperity as an oil-producing area. It has a heterogeneous population which numbered 109,650 in 1950, including 18,471 foreigners. The people are predominantly of mixed Arab and Persian origin, and about 96 per cent are Moslems.

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in neighbouring countries. Figures often make dry reading, but the following may be of some interest as they demonstrate the mixture of races present in the islands. 162

| Nationalities. | | Distribution. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bahrainis | 91,179 | Manama | 39,648 |
| Persians | 6,934 | Muharraq and Hedd. | 25,577 |
| Indians, Pakistanis and Goanese | 3,043 | Other towns and villages | 40,579 |
| Saudi Arabs | 2,526 | Awali and ships in port | 3,846 |
| Omanis and Muscatis | 2,466 | | |
| Europeans and Americans | 2,208 | | |
| Other foreigners | 1,264 | | |
| | 109,650 | | |

*Sexes* : Males, 58,601. Females, 51,049.
The excess of men over women is due to the number of foreigners working in Bahrain who do not have families with them.

At the current rate of increase it was *estimated* that the population of Bahrain in 1952 was about 115,000 persons, and of Manama, 45,000 persons. [161]

Many races have gone into the making of the Bahrain people ; there are the Baharna, the original inhabitants of the islands, who are said to be descended from Arabs taken by Nebuchadnezzar into Iraq, who later fled from that country and settled in Bahrain. They are Shiite Arabs and live mostly in the villages and in certain quarters of Manama. Formerly the Baharna were second class citizens and were content to farm and work for their masters, but today they take an active part in all walks of life in Bahrain. Then there are the Sunni Arabs, most of whom came to Bahrain in the 18th century and during subsequent years ; the Ruling Family of Bahrain, the al-Khalifah, are in this group. There are also a number of negroes, mainly of the Sunni sect, who are descended from freed slaves or who were slaves themselves and escaped from other parts of the Gulf to Bahrain where they were manumitted. Persians have also settled in the islands, having left the trials and tribulations of their own country to seek their fortune in Bahrain. 563

It might here be as well to digress slightly from this description of the people of Bahrain to explain the meaning of "Shiite" and "Sunni," terms which so often appear in descriptions of Bahrain and its history. These names refer to the two main sects of Islam between whom the people of Bahrain are about equally divided. 795

The dispute that was to split the Moslems into two rival camps started soon after the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632 A.D. and concerned the future leadership of the young Moslem community which was so rapidly expanding and sweeping over territories which are known today as Iraq, Palestine, Syria, Egypt and Persia. The Prophet was succeeded by two of his Companions, who had stood at his side from the early days of his ministry, Abu Bakr (A.D. 632-34) and Omar (A.D. 634-44), and on the death of the latter a third Compan-

3: Bahrain G-5 (1950) 1950 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# BAHRAIN'S SECOND CENSUS

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THE 1359 (1941) CENSUS. The first General Census of Bahrain was taken on the 22nd January 1941. Previous to this there were no accurate figures about the population of Bahrain although figures were given in various books of reference showing the number of inhabitants as being as much as 200,000. The basis of these estimates, which were so wide of the mark, is not known; they were not calculated from the numbers of births and deaths because the registration of births and deaths is not yet compulsory in Bahrain, it is however a measure which the Government hopes soon to introduce.

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In 1359 the Government announced by proclamation that there was to be a counting of the people. The news was received with disapproval and suspicion by a large proportion of the community. Few people, except those who had been abroad, believed that the only reason for the census was because the Government wanted to know how many people lived in the country. Many rumours, some of them very wild, became current, especially in the villages. It was said that conscription was to be introduced, that taxation was to be imposed, that a municipality was to be set up in every village and, finally, that no woman in future would be allowed to give birth to a child except in one of the Government hospitals. Some of the rumours were deliberately spread by mischief makers. Another factor which affected the census was the rationing system which allowed a larger ration of cereals to adults than to children under a certain age. Eventually after many public meetings, talks from the Bahrain Broadcasting Station, which was then in action, articles in the local paper and intensive propaganda intended to remove doubts and suspicion this first census was carried out.

## RESULTS OF THE CENSUS

**POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION.** The number of people in Bahrain on the night of 3rd March 1950 (12th Jamad-al-Awal, 1369) was 109,650. This represents a growth in the population of about 20,000 since the first census was taken in 1941 ( 1359). The increase was not evenly distributed; in 1941 about 55% of the population lived in the three towns, Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd and the rest of the inhabitants of Bahrain lived in the villages. The proportion of town and country dwellers has changed, the three towns now contain 61% of the population and the villages contain 39%, (these figures do not include Awali). There are about 90 villages and many small hamlets and settlements in Bahrain.

In Manamah the census showed a population of 39,648, an increase of nearly 12,000 (43%) in nine years. The population of Muharraq and Hedd was 25,577, an increase of 4,138 (20%) over the 1941 figure. In the villages, excluding the two Rafaas, there was an increase of only 344.

From records in the Passport Office at the time of the census it appeared that about 6,000 persons, almost all of them males, who normally resided in Bahrain, were absent from the country. It can be assumed that most of these men were working with oil companies and contractors in the neighbouring states. In 1941 very few Bahrain Arabs were working abroad. The proportion of men who are employed outside Bahrain is very high.

The large increase in the population of Manamah is not due to urbanization but it is due to immigration. The village communities especially in the Shia villages are very closely knit and insular so the census clerks had no difficulty in ascertaining whether there had been

## CONCLUSIONS

161 The most striking fact which has emerged from the second census of Bahrain is that although there has been an increase in the total population of about 20% in nine years yet this increase is confined to Manamah and Muharraq alone, the growth of the population of Manamah being twice as much as in Muharraq. Even if the number of men who are working abroad is taken into consideration the lack of increase in the rural districts discloses an unsatisfactory state of affairs in the villages which was only revealed 165 by the census. During the preliminary registration, which in the case of the villages took about a fortnight, and the night of the census, the census staff recorded 43 deaths in a village population of about 31,500 (the Arab villages were not included in this total). In one small village with a population of 248 persons there were eight deaths in ten days and in every case the deaths were of very young children, yet no epidemic existed.

464 There is no unemployment in Bahrain and the cost of living in the villages is no higher than it was a few years ago. There is no reason to suppose that the lack of increase in the rural population is due to economic causes.

744 The people in the towns and in the villages which are near the towns make more use every year of the public health facilities which are provided by the Government. Cleanliness and sanitation have improved and the anti-malaria work which the Government has carried out has done much to reduce malaria, but few women patients come to the hospitals from distant villages, although today almost all the villages are on bus routes. From what information can be obtained, without vital statistics, it would appear that infant mortality rate in the villages is extremely high. It used to be equally high in the towns but conditions in this respect in the towns have much improved.

## CENSUS STATISTICS

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| Town | Census 1941 (1359-60) | Census 1950 (1369) | Increase | Percentage of Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Manamah | 27,835 | 39,648 | 11,813 | 43 % |
| Muharraq and Hedd | 21,439 | 25,577 | 4,138 | 19½% |
| Other towns and villages | 39,164 | 40,579 | 1,415 | 3½% |
| Ships at anchor and Awali | 1,532 | 3,846 | 2,314 | 150 % |
| Total population | 89,970 | 109,650 | 19,680 | 22 % |

## DISTRIBUTION BY SEX

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| Sex | Census 1941 (1359-60) | Census 1950 (1369) | Increase | Percentage of Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Males | 48,267 | 58,601 | 10,334 | 21½% |
| Females | 41,703 | 51,049 | 9,346 | 22½% |
| Total population | 89,970 | 109,650 | 19,680 | 22 % |

## REVIEW OF 1372

000 The two most important events during the year were the conclusion of a new oil agreement between the Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company and His Highness Shaikh Sulman's first visit to Europe to attend the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth.

471 651 439 The new oil agreement was on a 50—50 basis on the same lines as other agreements which have recently been made between governments and oil companies in the Middle East, it also provided for a payment to the State on oil imported into Bahrain for refining. As a result of this agreement the total revenue for the year under review was 373¼ lakhs of rupees, approximately £2[illegible]0,000, though the new scale of payments was not in operation throughout the whole of 1372.

652 657 Expenditure was higher than in 1371. Excluding the one third of the oil revenue, which is paid to the Privy Purse, 48 per cent. of the State's expenditure was on social and public services; Education, Public Health, Public Protection and grants to Municipalities absorbed 18¼ per cent., 15-3/8 per cent., 10-4/5 per cent., and 3 per cent. respectively, including capital expenditure on new schools, dispensaries and police quarters. The demand for more schools and hospitals is continuous and insistent but few Bahrain people realise the heavy recurrent cost of medical and education services which can be maintained on the present scale only as long as the present revenue continues.

651 511 342 471 Trade flourished and the revenue from customs was higher than in the previous year; during recent years customs collections have risen annually. Local prosperity was apparent from what might be described as a building boom. Many new houses and shops were built in the towns and suburbs by private enterprise. The type of house varied from European style bungalows and blocks of flats, built by merchants and shaikhs for letting, to small stone houses which are gradully replacing barastis, palm branch huts. Several serious fires in barasti areas, which destroyed many dwellings, gave an impetus to building. Working men who owned pieces of ground built small houses and the Government received hundreds of applications from people who wished to buy building plots. Unfortunately the Government owns very little land in and around the towns, much of it having been given away or sold cheaply many years ago.

511 167 161 The standard of living in Bahrain is very much higher than it was a few years ago and the health of the people is noticeably better than it used to be. For these reasons and owing to a steady influx of foreigners, mostly from Oman and the Trucial Coast, who come to Bahrain to work, it is believed that there has been a substantial increase in the population which at the time of the last census, in 1950, was found to be 110,000.

578 The state of public security was good in spite of the presence of large a number of foreigners who are not as naturally law abiding as the people of Bahrain. There were no political or labour disturbances.

648 439 Relations with Quatar deteriorated owing to incidents connected with the visit of a party of Bahrain schoolboys and school teachers to Zubara during the Spring holiday. The commercial development of Qatar tended to reduce Bahrain's transit trade and deprived some of the Bahrain merchants of agencies which used to include both Bahrain and Qatar. Relations with Saudi Arabia and Iraq were friendly, a deputation headed by Shaikh Isa bin Sulman, His Highness's eldest son, represented Bahrain at the coronation of King Faisal in Baghdad.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

## POPULATION

161 The total population of the islands was estimated in 1930
162 at 120,911,[1] of whom 120,656, or 99.8%, were Moslems.[2] More than 100,000 are Baharinah, that is, members of the Shiite sect of Persia, who live mostly in the villages. The rest of the native population are either Sunnites of the Malekite sect or members of the Wahabite faith of Nejd, the principal faith of Saudi Arabia. Among the Sunnite community the most numerous are the Huwala tribe, who are residents of Manama, Muharraq, and Badaiya'a. They are engaged mostly in trade and pearl fishing. The Utūb, to which the local Sheik belongs, the Sādāt, and the Dawasīr are the most influential politically.

Tables 3, 4, and 5 show the distribution of the inhabitants in 1930.

Table 3. MOSLEM POPULATION

| Tribes, etc. | Sunnites | Shiites | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Utūb | 55,000 | —— | 55,000 |
| Bahārinah | —— | 45,000 | 45,000 |
| Negroes | 11,000 | —— | 11,000 |
| Huwāla | —— | 2,500 | 2,500 |
| Persians | 100 | 2,000 | 2,100 |
| Arabs of Qatif and Hasā | 2,000 | —— | 2,000 |
| Dawāsīr | 2,000 | —— | 2,000 |
| Arabs of Iraq | 200 | 300 | 500 |
| Sādāt | 400 | —— | 400 |
| Hindus | 130 | 20 | 150 |
| Turks | 6 | —— | 6 |
| | 70,836 | 49,820 | 120,656 |

1. The eighteenth census, taken during the war for the purpose of distributing ration coupons, gave a population of approximately 90,000. Since then this number has been augmented and the present population is estimated to be about 105,000.
2. The Moslem population was estimated in 1897 at 68,000.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Table 4. NON-MOSLEM POPULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Hindus | 150 |
| Jews | 50 |
| Syrians | 60 |
| British | 10 |
| Assyro-Chaldeans | 5 |
| Total | 255 |

Table 5. SECTS AND TRIBES

| Tribe | Race | Sect |
|---|---|---|
| Utūb | Zuzara Arabs | Malekites |
| Bahārinah | Iranians | Shiites |
| Dawāsīr | Arabs of Nejd | Sahabites |
| Huwāla | Arabs of Persia | Sunnites |

The discovery of oil, the essence of foreign trade and international traffic, has brought a considerable increase in the number of non-Moslem residents. At the present time there are some four or five hundred Christians, mostly employees of the Standard Oil Company, five hundred Jews, and about the same number of Hindus.

## TOWNS AND VILLAGES

There are about two hundred centers of population in the islands. The most important are:

### *Bahrein Island*

MANAMA,[1] the largest city and the commercial center of the islands, is located in the northern part of Bahrein. It is traditional headquarters for the pearl fisheries and today is the center of the petroleum industry. At present there are about 45,000 inhabitants. The city has a government operated electric plant which also supplies the city of Muharraq on Muharraq Island, and commercial establishments include an ice plant, a large

1. Manāmah literally means a "scala" or "port."

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# SOCIAL CLASSES AND TENSIONS IN BAHRAIN

*Fahim I. Qubain*

(See map, facing p. 239.)

ONE OF THE more interesting principalities in the Persian Gulf is the tiny island shaykhdom of Bahrain. Its geographical location, its maritime commerce, and its ancient pearl industry have all combined to create a multi-group society of its small population of about 110,000. On the whole, the country is well and efficiently governed, the various groups in the population have by generations of experience learned to tolerate each other, and crime in the Western sense of the word is almost nonexistent. At the same time, latent tensions exist that can be exploited if the proper circumstances arise. For instance, riots broke out between the Sunnis and the Shi'is during Muharram in September 1953. It took the use of the whole police force and the imposition of a curfew to bring peace back to the country.[1] In July of the following year, when some Shi'is were convicted for being involved in a fight with Sunnis, the whole Shi'i sect staged a demonstration, conducted an attack on a police post during which four Shi'is were killed, and finally all Shi'i workers went on strike.[2] Six months later, in December 1954, another general strike took place in support of demands made to the government for certain reforms which had already been promised by the ruler.[3] We propose, in this article, to examine the nature of these tensions and to evaluate their seriousness for the future.

## *POPULATION BREAKDOWN AND DISTRIBUTION*

Until 1941 only estimates existed regarding the population of the Bahrain cluster of islands. In that year, the government, primarily for food control purposes, conducted the first census in the history of the islands; in 1950 a second census was taken. At that time the population was 109,650.[4] (See Tables I, II, and III.)

[1] Government of Bahrain, *Official Gazette*, September 24, 1953, p. 3.
[2] *Times* (London), July 13, 1954, p. 7.
[3] *Ibid.*, December 6, 1954, p. 7.
[4] Government of Bahrain, *Census 1950* (Bahrain, 1950).

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[See p. 270, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2
Kuwait M11
Saudi Arabia MJ1



companies may need to be defined now that one concessionaire seems likely to create revenue; problems may also arise if, as a result of oil developments, it is planted with a population that will need to be endowed with public services and, no doubt, with a system of taxation.

## BAHRAIN

The Bahrain Archipelago is a group of islands in the Gulf of Bahrain, which is bounded on the east by the Qatar Peninsula and on the west by the mainland coast of al-Hasa. Its total area is 213 square miles. The principal island—Bahrain itself—is about thirty miles long and ten miles wide. It is low-lying and its northern end is well watered by fresh water springs and produces good date crops. Citrus fruit and lucerne are also grown. The oilfields lie round the rocky cluster of hills known as Jebel Dukhan (Hill of Smoke), which is in the barren centre of the island.

To the north-east of Bahrain Island, and joined to it by a causeway and motor road, is the low, sandy island of Muharraq, and between the two islands is a good deep-water harbour (Khor Kaliya). It is used as a small British naval base; an American admiral also flies his flag there. Nearby there is a second, but shallow harbour (Bahrain harbour), which faces north and is usefully equipped. The natural aerodrome on Muharraq Island has been developed into the largest commercial airfield in the Persian Gulf and now serves the airliners of all nations. It is also used by the RAF, and the whine of jet aircraft is a commonplace. The south end of the island of Bahrain is low-lying and sandy. The climate, though oppressive in summer owing to the prevalent heat and damp of the western shores of the Persian Gulf, is more humid and less windy than that of Kuwait. The population of the Archipelago was 109,650 when a census was taken in 1950.[1]

The capital and the seat of government is the port of Manama.[2] It is generally referred to as Bahrain, and is situated between the two harbours. It has a population of 39,648, which includes many rich Arab, Persian, and Indian merchants, as well as some 300 Europeans and Americans. The second town, Muharraq, on Muharraq Island, has a population of 24,566 which is purely Arab.

The British Political Agency is in Manama town, which also boasts an electricity station, a wireless station, post offices, hospitals, clubs, public gardens, and up-to-date schools. The town is well supplied with good motor roads, and there are

[1] 1952 estimate, 115,000. [2] Population: 1950, 39,648; 1952 (estimate), 45,000.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2
Saudi Arabia M31



were to be kept away from all food. That epidemic stopped as if it had been cut off with an ax. There was not another fresh case reported after that day.

Bahrein is full of malaria. One of the city officials came to me not long ago to inquire as to the possibility of putting kerosene oil on the stagnant pools with which Bahrein abounds and so diminishing the amount of that disease. In matters like these the medical missionary has a most wonderful opportunity to be the pioneer in public health service. He hopes to see the day when all such work will be taken up by the governing sheikhs and carried to a point far beyond anything that he can do, but in the meantime helping to get such projects started is one of his keenest pleasures. He is also interested in the creation of an elementary medical literature for these backward communities. Simple pamphlets on malaria have found a wide reading in Basra, and a series of similar popular presentations of the dangers, means of transmission, and treatment of tuberculosis, syphilis, gonorrhea and malaria is projected for Bahrein. This is a work that often taxes the medical missionary to the utmost, for his literary abilities are not always of a high order and his available time is still less adequate, but it is something that he must do.

Not the least charm of work in such a country as Arabia is the number of medical problems that invite investigation. We have, for instance, a large amount of tuberculosis in Arabia, especially in the nomad communities. In America probably seventy-five per cent of all tubercular infections are pulmonary, but in Arabia perhaps less than twenty-five per cent. Just what causes the difference it would be interesting to investigate. One is tempted to speculate on the possibility of Arabian tuber-

132 siderable violence, particularly in June and July and in January and February.

## POPULATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### Population

161 464 At the time of the second census in 1950, the population of Bahrain numbered 109,650, with 91,179 Bahrain subjects and 18,471 foreigners. In addition, about 5,000 Bahrain nationals were believed to be working in other countries, chiefly in Saudi 162 Arabia. Among the foreign residents there were 6,934 Iranians, 3,043 Indians, Pakistanis and Goanese, 2,526 Saudi Arabians, 2,466 Omanis and Muscatis, and 2,208 British and other Europeans and Americans.

144 The Bahrainis represent a medley of Arab and Persian peoples, as well as various Negro admixtures, descendants of former slaves from Africa. The Baharna, the original inhabitants of the islands, are of mixed Arab-Persian origin, while the Arabs derive 795 chiefly from the mainland of Arabia. The population is almost exclusively Moslem: in 1950, only 4 per cent of the local residents belonged to other religious communities, with 2,348 Christians, 975 Hindus and 293 Jews. Both the Shia and the Sunni sects of Islam are prominent. The Baharna and the Iranians are Shiites, while most of the Arabs are Sunnites, including a small contingent which adheres to the Wahhabi 191 branch of central Arabia. Arabic is the national language. Other tongues are employed by the different racial groups, but most educated Bahrainis and town-dwelling laborers are familiar with English.

162 The returns of the 1950 census indicated 632 that almost 62 per cent of the people lived in the 3 main towns of Manama, Muharraq and Hedd, and the remainder in some 80 rural villages and settlements. Manama, the seat of government and the largest town, located on the island of Bahrain, had a population of 39,648. Muharraq, the chief town on the adjacent island, numbered ap-

162 proximately 26,000 residents, and Hedd, a
632 pearl fishing center, around 10,000. The population exceeded that of the 1941 census by almost 20,000: the increase was confined mainly to the towns of Manama and Mu-
[167] harraq, and was attributed in large part to immigration.

871 Since the organization of the first government school in 1919, education has made considerable progress, but expansion is handicapped by a shortage of trained teach-
658 ing personnel. In 1950, the Bahrain govern-
562 ment supported 13 primary schools for boys
872 —8 in the towns and 5 in the villages. Educational facilities were made available to girls in 1928, and at present 6 primary schools are in operation. Of the 5,770 pupils registered in government schools in 1950-51,
871 slightly over 1,700 were girls. A few private
658 schools are established in Manama, while Koranic schools are found in most towns and villages. The government also maintains a secondary school, a technical school and a school hostel for boys, and provides scholarships for qualified students for advanced study at the American University
212 of Beirut and in Great Britain. In the recent census, the literacy rate in the indigenous population was estimated at 10 per cent.

## Vital Statistics

659 The registration of births and deaths is
361 not compulsory in Bahrain, and no data for
165 the calculation of vital statistics are obtain-
163 able. Local medical authorities agree that the mortality rates in infancy and early childhood are uniformly high. Observations made by the census enumerators in 1950 suggest that the infant mortality is particularly serious in the rural villages, in contrast with the towns, where living conditions have improved within recent years. The maternal mortality rates are correspondingly high.

161 The size of the population remained
165 practically stationary in the rural districts
163 in the 9-year interval between the first and the second census surveys. The rate of increase in areas outside the towns of Ma-

1. 256 (B)

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
MI Middle East
BAHRAIN MZ2

nama, Muharraq and Hedd and the 3 villages of East and West Rafaa and Sakhir was less than 1 per cent.

## Social Economy

Prior to the opening of the Bahrain oil fields, the economy of the islands was based upon pearl fishing and the transshipment of goods between Iran, India and other countries and the neighboring Arabian ports. The waters of the Persian Gulf contain famous pearl fishing banks, and, since ancient times, Bahrain has been recognized as the traditional center of the industry. It constituted the principal source of wealth for centuries, but it reached a low level in the 1920s, due in part to the competition of Japanese cultured pearls in the world markets. Early records are nonexistent, but the former Bahrain pearl fleets probably consisted of 600 to 1,000 vessels. The number has declined progressively: only 83 departed for the banks in 1950. In that year, about 2,000 Bahrainis were engaged in pearl fishing during the season from mid-April to October, undoubtedly a fraction of the total employed when the demand for pearls was at its height.

In previous decades, dhow building also was one of the major industries of Bahrain, but its decline has paralleled that of the pearl fisheries. Nine boats were constructed in 1949, as against 100 reported in 1928-29.

Today, oil is the foundation of Bahrain's prosperity. The royalties derived from the industry not only have bolstered the declining resources of the government, but have made possible the expansion of public works and social services. Operations are conducted by the Bahrain Petroleum Company, Ltd., which holds long-term concessions from the Sheikh of Bahrain for the development of the petroleum resources of the islands. Oil was discovered in the Jabal ad Dukhan region, near the center of Bahrain Island, in 1932, and production started in 1934. The proven reserves of this field are estimated in the neighborhood of 200 million barrels. The company also operates a

p. 257(A)

occurred intermittently in the past, chiefly in Manama and Muharraq. The islands are exposed to the introduction of the disease from neighboring territories, but the enforcement of quarantine regulations has prevented its establishment for several decades.

**Other Infections.** Although a mild degree of louse infestation occurs among the inhabitants in some congested areas, louse-borne typhus is rarely, if ever, reported. Imported cases of cutaneous leishmaniasis, or Oriental sore, and filariasis are occasionally treated in the local medical institutions, but the insect vectors are not known to be present, and indigenous infections have not been recorded. Guinea worm infection is sometimes seen among persons from Iran, but it is not found in the resident population.

### Nutritional Diseases

The standards of nutrition have improved materially in the last few years. Undernutrition is common, but serious defects are seen primarily among the inhabitants of outlying villages and the families of workers from the mainland. Poverty, traditional dietary customs and intestinal parasitism are contributory factors. Subclinical deficiencies in vitamin C are widespread, and scurvy is observed from time to time. Rickets is frequent among the children in the towns. Anemia is prevalent, and hemoglobin levels of 25 to 30 per cent are not unusual among the women.

## SUMMARY

Bahrain is an independent sheikhdom which consists of an archipelago of 5 main islands situated in the Persian Gulf near the coast of Arabia. It has long been famous as a pearl fishing center, and, since 1932, has enjoyed prosperity as an oil-producing area. It has a heterogeneous population which numbered 109,650 in 1950, including 18,471 foreigners. The people are predominantly of mixed Arab and Persian origin, and about 96 per cent are Moslems.

p. 264(B)

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrein MZ



*Company Policies and Activities*

471 In accordance with the conditions of the concession, laid
464 down by the British Colonial Office, Bapco employed a considerable number of Bahreinis in its undertakings, almost exclusively in the lower grades. The total number of employees in 1948 was 6,078, and of these 4,650 were local employees.
[161] While this was only 4.23 per cent of the total population, then estimated at about 110,000,[18] it was 76.5 per cent of the total employed by the company. The staff was increased in 1951 to 7,749, and of this number 4,937 were Bahrein nationals.[19] This drop in the percentage of native employees, from 76.5 to 64, was not the result of Company policy but was due to the greater demand for workers in the expanded oil-producing areas of the Gulf—Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Qatar. Many Bahreinis, finding the wages offered in other areas more attractive, left their home islands, which made it necessary for Bapco to employ more foreigners such as Indians, Pakistanis, Persians and others. This created a peculiar phenomenon: educated and semi-educated Bahreinis sought work abroad, while destitute foreigners flocked to the islands.

471 In addition to direct payments in revenue and indirect pay-
466 ments in terms of wages and purchases of local materials for the operation of the concession, the Company contributed directly to many social and economic projects aimed at bettering the general conditions; these included housing, electric lighting, water supply, and sanitary facilities. It operated a hospital and clinics, and also subsidized the American Mission Hospital. In the field of education it assisted the Government's technical school for native boys; upon graduation students from that school were employed by the Company, which provided further mechanical training.[20] It also cooperated in many agricultural and irrigation projects.[21]

471 However, the impact of the oil industry on the people of
651 Bahrein came primarily from the utilization of the revenue from the oil. The oil payments were divided into three parts:

[18] Max Steineke and M. P. Yackel estimated the population at about 125,000, "Saudi Arabia and Bahrein," in *World Geography* (Princeton, 1950), 226.
[19] U.N., *Review 1949-50*, 60;—*Summary 1952-53*, 58.
[20] The Bapco training program is described by its vice-president, Russel M. Brown, "Schooling in Skills," *Oil Lifestream of Progress*, IV, 6-8, Oct., 1954.
[21] U. S. Senate, *American Petroleum Interests in Foreign Countries*, 288-289.

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

WINDS

132

| Month | Wind Mean Velocity M.P.H. | Percentage of observations from directions in a year. N. | N.E. | E. | S.E. | S. | S.W. | W. | N.W. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| JANUARY | 5 | 13 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 4 | 24 | 34 |
| FEBRUARY | 5 | 19 | 5 | 4 | 10 | 7 | 3 | 16 | 32 |
| MARCH | 5 | 19 | 10 | 8 | 10 | 8 | 8 | 13 | 23 |
| APRIL | 5 | 17 | 8 | 9 | 7 | 9 | 9 | 16 | 25 |
| MAY | 5 | 20 | 10 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 20 | 34 |
| JUNE | 5 | 21 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 22 | 47 |
| JULY | 4 | 16 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 7 | 23 | 43 |
| AUGUST | 3 | 16 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 6 | 7 | 18 | 29 |
| SEPTEMBER | 3 | 22 | 3 | 10 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 17 | 28 |
| OCTOBER | 3 | 17 | 11 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 19 | 33 |
| NOVEMBER | 4 | 15 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 5 | 22 | 29 |
| DECEMBER | 5 | 13 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 3 | 25 | 37 |
| MEANS | 4.2 | 17 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 20 | 33 |

*This table is based on nine years observations.*

136 There is little wild life in Bahrain. Mongooses and jerboa (Kangaroo rats) are common in the cultivated area and in the desert respectively in the south of the island and on Umm an-Nasaan there are gazelle and hare. During certain seasons of the year migratory birds make their appearance, including the Hubara, the lesser bustard, which is hunted with falcons by the Ruling Family. Other game birds, duck, snipe and sand grouse are sometimes seen in Bahrain. There are, however, many small local birds including bulbuls, hoopoes and a covey of parrots which at various times escaped from their owners and have now become indigenous.

There are many sea birds in Bahrain. The commonest are tern and cormorant, which nest in thousands on small uninhabited islands filling the air for miles around with the noise of their comings and goings and their quarrels over nesting grounds. Herons and flamingoes are frequently seen as well as other smaller species of shore and sea birds.

This is Bahrain, and it is hoped that the information in the following chapters will add to the interest of the reader who is living in Bahrain, or passing through, by telling him something about the country.

## CHAPTER II

## THE PEOPLE

162 BAHRAIN is often described as a land of contrasts, and this is especially true of its inhabitants, for in this small group of islands, no larger than a pencil point on a map of the world, there are some 109,650 people (1950 census) drawn from over thirty nations of the world. In the same census it was found that 6,000 Bahrainis were working abroad

in neighbouring countries. Figures often make dry reading, but the following may be of some interest as they demonstrate the mixture of races present in the islands. 162

| Nationalities. | | Distribution. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bahrainis .. .. | 91,179 | Manama .. .. | 39,648 |
| Persians .. .. | 6,934 | Muharraq and Hedd. .. | 25,577 |
| Indians, Pakistanis and Goanese .. .. | 3,043 | Other towns and villages .. | 40,579 |
| Saudi Arabs .. .. | 2,526 | Awali and ships in port .. | 3,846 |
| Omanis and Muscatis .. | 2,466 | | |
| Europeans and Americans | 2,208 | | |
| Other foreigners .. .. | 1,264 | | |
| | 109,650 | | |

*Sexes* : Males, 58,601. Females, 51,049.

The excess of men over women is due to the number of foreigners working in Bahrain who do not have families with them.

At the current rate of increase it was *estimated* that the population of Bahrain in 1952 was about 115,000 persons, and of Manama, 45,000 persons. [161]

Many races have gone into the making of the Bahrain people ; there are the Baharna, the original inhabitants of the islands, who are said to be descended from Arabs taken by Nebuchadnezzar into Iraq, who later fled from that country and settled in Bahrain. They are Shiite Arabs and live mostly in the villages and in certain quarters of Manama. Formerly the Baharna were second class citizens and were content to farm and work for their masters, but today they take an active part in all walks of life in Bahrain. Then there are the Sunni Arabs, most of whom came to Bahrain in the 18th century and during subsequent years ; the Ruling Family of Bahrain, the al-Khalifah, are in this group. There are also a number of negroes, mainly of the Sunni sect, who are descended from freed slaves or who were slaves themselves and escaped from other parts of the Gulf to Bahrain where they were manumitted. Persians have also settled in the islands, having left the trials and tribulations of their own country to seek their fortune in Bahrain. 563

It might here be as well to digress slightly from this description of the people of Bahrain to explain the meaning of "Shiite" and "Sunni," terms which so often appear in descriptions of Bahrain and its history. These names refer to the two main sects of Islam between whom the people of Bahrain are about equally divided. 795

The dispute that was to split the Moslems into two rival camps started soon after the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632 A.D. and concerned the future leadership of the young Moslem community which was so rapidly expanding and sweeping over territories which are known today as Iraq, Palestine, Syria, Egypt and Persia. The Prophet was succeeded by two of his Companions, who had stood at his side from the early days of his ministry, Abu Bakr (A.D. 632-34) and Omar (A.D. 634-44), and on the death of the latter a third Compan-

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

laughter comes from the Club House Swimming Bath and in the evenings sports of all kinds take place inside the camp. Today Awali is a town of some 400 houses inhabited by 2,000 Europeans and Americans. Shady trees line the roads and in fact there is little to suggest the presence of oil. The roads are surfaced with it, but otherwise it is not visible, though oil is the *raison d'etre* of this town set in such an inhospitable situation, to which water has to be piped from miles away and where to plant a tree a pneumatic drill is required to pierce the rock on which the town is built.

### SAKHIR

Driving from Awali to Zellaq the traveller will notice a group of large buildings on the south of the road near the foot of the Jebal. This is Sakhir, founded by Shaikh Muhammad bin Khalifa (1843-67, d. 1890), but the majority of buildings which exist today were built by the late Ruler of Bahrain. The present Ruler makes little use of Sakhir, and the attractive mosques, balconied dwelling houses and high roofed rooms are now deserted ; the only human beings who remain are the Bedouin in charge of the horses and camels which are still kept there. The climate of Sakhir is excellent and in the spring there are fields of grass which provide grazing both for domestic animals, gazelle and hare. When Sakhir was occupied Saluqis were much in evidence, Shaikh Hamed was a great lover of this fine breed of dogs and his favourite hound, Housha, followed him wherever he went. It should be remembered that Sakhir is the private property of the Ruler, from whom permission must be obtained before it is visited.

### JEBAL AD-DUKHAN

The "Mountain" of Bahrain has already been mentioned in the Introduction, but it deserves further notice. From its peak, which is marked by a trigonometry marker, it is possible to see, on a clear day, the entire area of Bahrain from Manama and Muharraq on the north to Ras al-Barr, while on the east and west the sea is even nearer. From the peak an excellent bird's eye view of Awali can be seen, and, at night, the flares at Dhahran and at Dukhan in Qatar are visible. The strange formation of the island, with the rim-rock and the central depression can be seen from the Jebal. At the head of a wadi facing towards Awali is the Jebal cave, some 15 × 35 × 6 ft., which is hollowed out of the rock, probably by water erosion for the fantastic patterns on the walls would seem to point to nature's rather than man's handiwork.

### JAW AND DOUR (DAR AL-MANADIL)

On the east coast of Bahrain about a mile south of the highest peak of the Jebal are the villages of Dour and Jaw, similar in character and appearance and the southernmost inhabited villages on the east coast of Bahrain. The villages are about a mile apart and both are on the shore, they consist of a poor type of stone and gypsum hut inhabited

### ZELLAQ

361 South again of Malakiya is Zellaq, the southernmost village on the
342 western Coast of Bahrain and approximately three miles west of Sakhir. A road runs from Zellaq to Awali and is much used by BAPCO employees coming to swim at the former place. The houses of Zellaq village, which are of stone, are built along the shore and many of them are large and spacious. As a result of the activities of BAPCO, Zellaq village has increased in size and prosperity and now contains a number of substantial white stone buildings which are conspicuous from a long distance across the flat and sandy plain that surrounds it.

962 The inhabitants of Zellaq are Sunni Arabs: some are from the Dawasir tribe, and many of them are dependents of the Ruling Family.
311 North of the village there are a number of large gardens, irrigated by innumerable artesian wells, which are owned by members of the Ruling Family and by their servants; these gardens form a green belt along the two miles of coast between Zellaq and Sedad.

312 The Bahrain Petroleum Company has a pump house at Zellaq which supplies Awali with much of its water and Zellaq was also once the discharging point for tankers bringing crude oil from Saudi
517 Arabia, before the submarine pipe-line was laid. Near the pumping station is the BAPCO Plage, the excellent bathing place which is much used by the employees of BAPCO, particularly in the Summer evenings.

### RAS AL-BARR

521 This, the southernmost point of the Bahrain islands, is a popular
481 place for summer picnics, but the approaches to it are difficult, and although never dangerous they can easily cause trouble to visitors by
191 the softness of the sand. It is best to travel in parties with not less than two cars, so that one can come to the help of the other if necessary, and care should be taken to keep to the tracks, however faintly indicated rather than to carve out new roads in the desert. The road to Ras al-Barr from Zellaq first passes through Mutalla, the Ruler's hunting lodge, while that from Awali past the Jebel passes another hunting lodge at Rumaitha before joining the Western road at Akala. From here the road goes south, past the swamps on the coast and along the narrow strip of sand which marks the end of the island.

136 In certain seasons of the year the shores along this part of Bahrain
262 are covered with the eggs of sea-birds, and many Arab dhows anchor off the coast while the crews remove the eggs for food. If one is lucky, while driving down the coast, hare and gazelle may be seen, as well as rose-tinted flamingoes on the shore.

## MUHARRAQ ISLAND

### MUHARRAQ

491 The visitor from Manama approaches Muharraq by crossing the
486 1½ mile long causeway and Shaikh Hamed Bridge, completed in 1942,

361 and on the shore there is an old deserted fort which was built by the Omanis during a short period when they occupied the Islands. A [504] ferry service of small sailing boats plies between Muharraq and Arad fort, but to drive round the bay to the fort by car takes less time than crossing by boat.

396 Boat building is one of the few local industries of Muharraq and is carried out along the shores of the town, especially on the eastern coast. Carpenters and shipwrights are apt to extend their work half across the road and when driving a car one often has to avoid sails which are pegged out for joining or for repairs, rope winders, men mending nets or carpenters working on big wooden water tanks for the pearling dhows.

361 178 Many visitors to Bahrain never enter Muharraq and by failing to do so they miss the sight of a comparatively untouched Arab town, a sight that is rapidly becoming rarer in the oil rich Persian Gulf.

## HEDD

361 Bahrain's number three town is Hedd. Long and narrow, it is built on a strip of land which juts out into the sea at the south-east end of Muharraq Island. The houses are closely packed together and extend right to the edge of the sea, one road, only just wide enough for motor vehicles, runs through the centre of the town and on each side a labyrinth of narrow lanes leads down to the shore. There are few barastis in Hedd and most of the people live in stone houses ; some of them are large, built by pearl merchants in the days when the pearl industry of which Hedd was an important centre, was flourishing. The bazaar is in the main street and it contains many shops which sell all manner of goods. Water is supplied to the town by several artesian wells.

●[162] The population of Hedd is entirely Sunni and predominantly Arab, although a few of the shopkeepers are Persians. It includes Arabs of the Bin Ali, Saada, Mesedem and Musallam tribes who used to be very influential in Bahrain ; the last were once the rulers of Qatar. Hedd was originally a diving town but although it still has much contact with the sea, many of its inhabitants work on shore. Its people have a reputation for intelligence and energy and this is shown by the fact that they have produced better results from their schools than any other community. The town is conspicuously clean, owing partly to the fact that it is surrounded by the sea on three sides.

348 633 Hedd has a handsome new police station, at the entrance to the town, which was completed in 1952, a Municipality and Boys' and Girls' Schools which were opened in 1937 and 1939 respectively. For some years the Muharraq Municipality included Hedd in its activities but in 1945 Hedd formed its own elected Municipal Council with four members. There is also in Hedd a dispensary and a small women's hospital with accommodation for a certain number of in-patients.

226 Hedd is famous for its prawns which are caught in special traps and sent to the fish markets of Manama and Muharraq.

## HOWAR ISLANDS

101 This group of 16 islands is about twelve miles south-east of Ras al-Barr. It consists of one large island, Howar itself, which is about eleven miles long and a mile in breadth, and fifteen other islands much smaller in size. In the centre of the main island there is a rocky [361] eminence known as al-Jebal. There are only two villages, the larger one at the northern end on the shore of the bay consists of stone huts [625] with mat roofs (Kubbar); it also has a small mosque. The Bahrain State Police maintain a garrison on the island, in a fort which dominates [162] the bay and from the roof of which the Qatar peninsular is visible. The islands are inhabited by fishermen from Bahrain and also by men [312] who come to cut gypsum which they sell in Bahrain. The water supply of the island is very limited and consists of old cisterns cut out of living rock which are filled by rain. Attempts to drill for water have failed, but in the years when there is normal or plentiful rainfall the island provides good grazing for camels and sheep. Fishing in the 133 bay is excellent, the water is comparatively deep and a launch can 503 come alongside the short jetty. The southern tip of the island is so close to the Qatar coast that when the tide is out boats cannot pass between the island and the shore, but at one place between Howar and Qatar, a long narrow channel has been hewn out of the coral sea bed to allow boats to pass through a shallow stretch of water. This submarine canal was made by a certain Isa ibn Tarif, a notorious pirate, who played an important part in the history of Bahrain during the middle of the last century; he used the channel as a passage to his fortress on the Qatar coast from where he sallied forth to attack the shipping around Bahrain.

132 The climate of Howar is noticeably better than in Bahrain, it is drier and cooler during the summer nights, but has no other amenities to attract visitors fleeing from the dampness of Bahrain, and at present its only visitors go there for work and not for pleasure.

## ZUBARA

361 On the coast of the Qatar peninsular opposite the Bahraini village
172 of Jaw is the ruined town and the bay of Zubara, which has already been mentioned in detail in the history of Bahrain in Part II. The town of Zubara is on the east of the bay and stretches about 1½ miles along the coast and 2 miles inland. The ruins of the town are still impressive. The high wall which surrounds the wide straight streets and the fine mosques, the obvious care with which the town was laid out, speaks well for those who governed it. Further east of the town, at a distance of about two miles across the desert, is the great fort; some of the walls and the mosque are still standing. At the corners of the walls are towers with slits for rifles and the domed roof of the mosque presents an attractive picture. The whole building is made from local stone and little gypsum was used in its construction. Within the fort there are two wells one of which is dry, but the other still

contains a substantial amount of water which is protected from evaporation by the narrowness of the well's neck. The Bahraini members of the Naim tribe who live here do not occupy the fort but live in two villages in the neighbourhood, which have the advantage of being near wells. On the whole, however, Zubara is most unfertile, the soil is thick with salt which appears on the surface and it is easy to see that the only *raison d'etre* of the town was the sea and commerce. The fort itself was once connected with the sea by a long, deep canal, some 100 feet wide, which served the dual purpose of filling the moat about the fort and permitting ships to approach it. Today the eastern section of the canal has been filled in by sand, and the sea only reaches about 1½ miles inland.

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Gazelle abound in Zubara, and also jackals.

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659/162 The census was taken during the night of 22nd January, 1941. The figures which were obtained showed a total population of 89,970 persons; 27,835 lived in Manamah and 17,775 were in Muharraq. There were 48,267 males and 41,703 females but only 20,519 children; 74,040 persons were of Bahrain nationality; 41,944 were Sunnis and 46,354 were Shias, 15,930 were foreigners, including Europeans, Indians and Arabs from other Gulf states. The total number of houses in Bahrain was 14,482, of these 4,051 were in Manamah and 3,185 were in Muharraq. The number included both stone houses and palm branch huts. About 9,500 people claimed that they were literate, a proportion of somewhat over 10% of the total population. There was much surprise and some indignation because the census revealed a very much smaller population than most people had expected. It is probable however that a certain number of men did not register because they believed that they might be conscripted.

THE 1369 (1950) CENSUS

659 PRELIMINARY WORK. Preparations for the new Census were begun several weeks before the appointed date. The census staff consisted of about 150 clerks and officials from the various Government departments, the forms which were used were those which had been left over from the first census. The first work to be done was the numbering of all houses and occupied buildings in all the towns and villages and the division of the larger towns into sections. In addition to Manamah and Muharraq which together contain about half of the population there are about 80 villages situated mostly at the north end of Bahrain Island and along the eastern and western coasts. Many of the villages are in the centre of groups of date gardens and are not visible from a distance. With a few exceptions there are no nomad tent dwellers in Bahrain

563 Indians and Pakistanis (3,043) mostly living in
167 Manamah, were the next largest foreign community followed by Saudi-Arabians (2,526) who included many Hassawis employed as agricultural labourers; Omanis, Muscatis and Arabs from the Trucial Coast (2,466) were mostly people who entered Bahrain in recent years seeking work; British, Americans and other Europeans numbered 1,683, this total does not include ships crews at Sitra and at Jufair (584). In Manamah and Muharraq the British and American population was 270, including R.A.F. personnel. Other nationalities included Iraqis (224), Qataris (438), Kuwaitis (149), Yemenis (105). In the population of Bahrain at the time of the census over 30 nationalities were represented.

[208] Owing to local feeling Sunnis and Shias were not
795 registered separately but sectarial distribution outside Manamah and Muharraq is sharply defined. The Shia villages contain no Sunnis and the Sunni villages contain very few Shias. Muharraq contains a small number of Shia Baharna, who are scarcely distinguishable from the Arabs and a long established community of Persian Shias. In Manamah the Shias, both Baharna and Persians, are a large and important section of the population; certain quarters of the town are inhabited almost exclusively by Baharna and some of the suburbs are occupied almost entirely by Persians.

795 Bahrain is predominantly Moslem. There are less
●162 than 4,000 persons belonging to other religions, of these 2,348 are Christians, not including men on ships in the harbours, 293 are Jews and 975 are Hindus.

AGE AND SEX.

162 Reliable information about ages was difficult to obtain because few of the local inhabitants knew their own ages. There is as yet no registration of births

162 and deaths in Bahrain. In the distribution of sexes males predominated, the census figure showed 58,601 males and 51,049 females. If the number of Bahrain men who are working abroad were included in this figure the proportion [165] of men would be very high. A reason for the heavy preponderance of males is that most of the people who have come to Bahrain to work during recent years did not bring their wives and families with them, this fact is particularly noticeable in the case of Indians, Hassawis, Persians and Omanis. If Indians and Europeans are deducted from the total number of males and 30% of the males are reckoned as being under 15 or over 65 years of age the total local man power available in Bahrain would be about 38,000.

## OCCUPATION

162 464 Details of occupation were difficult to obtain; in most cases the replies to questions were vague, men described themselves as "labourers" which included cultivators oil field workers and labourers employed by contractors [208] and by the Government. A significant point was that nobody described himself as a diver though a few years ago half of the able bodied men in Bahrain would have given their occupation as divers. Now-a-days men dive during the season, in the summer, and have regular employment during the rest of the year. Generally it can be said that the cultivators who work in the gardens are always Shia Baharna and Hassawis, Arabs never work on the land in Bahrain, the village Baharna are also employed as fishermen, weavers, coral cutters and labourers in the oil fields. Few of them willingly take on work which keeps them away from their villages at night. The men of the Arab villages work in the oil fields and at sea. The townsfolk of Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd, who are of mixed nationalities, include merchants, shopkeepers, Government servants, mechanics and oil field workers and labourers.

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Fairly detailed information was obtained from a cross section of the village population numbering 31,606; this included 16,047 males and 15,554 females. In the total there were 3,960 infants aged, as far as could be ascertained, under 4 years of whom 1947 were males and 2,013 were females, 1,043 men and 115 women were literate. Occupations which were recorded were as follows:-

| | |
|---|---|
| Cultivators | 3,615 |
| Fishermen, boatmen, coral stone cutters | 1,178 |
| Shop Keepers and traders living in villages and having shops in the towns | 285 |
| Skilled labourers, carpenters, weavers, car drivers | 419 |
| Oil Company workmen | 1,508 |
| Government employees | 86 |
| Religious teachers and readers | 135 |
| Imams of mosques | 11 |
| School teachers | 9 |
| Labourers | 1,989 |
| | 9,232 |

The difference between the total number of males (encluding infants) and the number of males in classified employment is accounted for by the old men and boys who are either too old or too young to have regular employment.

## LITERACY

212 An effort was made to ascertain the number of literates.
162 In addition to people who were educated at Government and private schools those who had learned to read and write at Quran schools were counted as literate. The first Government school was opened in 1919 and during the last twenty years the number of schools for boys and girls has steadily increased. Persons registered as literate amounted to 14,057. If Europeans and Indians were deducted from this total there remain about 10,000 literates among the local population of 105,000, approximately 10% of the indigenous population being literate. This percentage, for Bahrain, is not low.

## HOUSES

362 All occupied houses were numbered and counted; in some cases a "house" consisted of one small hut, in other cases it was a building occupied by thirty or forty members and hangers-on of one family. Empty houses, of which there were none in Manamah and few in Muharraq, were not included. The number of houses in Manamah was 5,703 and in Muharraq 3,720; in the first census the numbers were 4,051 and 3,155 respectively. In nine years 1,600 new houses have been built in Manamah and 500 in Muharraq. In both towns the proportion of stone houses has increased considerably. The figures for houses in the villages are less accurate, it was often difficult to determine where one dwelling, consisting of a group of huts in a compound, ended and the next dwelling began. The census showed 6,232 houses in the villages and islands as against 5,575 in 1941. Taking the whole population and the number of houses, the average number of persons occupying one house was 6½.

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3; Bahrain G-5 (1950) 1950 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



162 Another interesting fact which emerges from the census is the comparatively small number of non-Bahrain nationals, or persons who do not wish to be regarded as Bahrain subjects, who live in the country, (18,471 out of 109,650). It was expected that the proportion of foreigners would have been very much higher.

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## CENSUS STATISTICS

161

| Town | Census 1941 (1359-60) | Census 1950 (1369) | Increase | Percentage of Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Manamah | 27,835 | 39,648 | 11,813 | 43 % |
| Muharraq and Hedd | 21,439 | 25,577 | 4,138 | 19½% |
| Other towns and villages | 39,164 | 40,579 | 1,415 | 3½% |
| Ships at anchor and Awali | 1,532 | 3,846 | 2,314 | 150 % |
| Total population | 89,970 | 109,650 | 19,680 | 22 % |

## DISTRIBUTION BY SEX

162

| Sex | Census 1941 (1359-60) | Census 1950 (1369) | Increase | Percentage of Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Males | 48,267 | 58,601 | 10,334 | 21½% |
| Females | 41,703 | 51,049 | 9,346 | 22½% |
| Total population | 89,970 | 109,650 | 19,680 | 22 % |

## DISTRIBUTION BY NATIONALITIES

162

| Nationality | Census 1941 (1360) | Census 1950 (1369) |
|---|---|---|
| Bahrain subjects | 74,040 | 91,179 |
| Persians | 7,547 | 6,934 |
| Indians<br>Anglo Indians<br>Pakistanis<br>Goanese | 1,424 | 3,043 |
| Saudi Arabs | | 2,826 |
| Omanis & Muscatis | | 2,466 |
| Qataris | | 438 |
| Kuwaitis | | 149 |
| Yemenis | | 106 |
| Iraqis | | 224 |
| Palestinians | | 28 |
| Syrians & Lebanese | | 52 |
| Egyptians | | 30 |
| Others | | 268 |
| Europeans: | | |
| British | | 1,840 |
| Americans | | 290 |
| Others | | 78 |
| | 6,959 | 8,494 |
| | 89,970 | 109,650 |
| Bahrain subjects | 74,040 | 91,179 |
| Foreigners | 15,930 | 18,471 |

162

## INCREASE - BY NATIONALITIES

| Nationality | Increase in 9 years. |
|---|---|
| Bahrain Subjects | 17,139 |
| Foreigners | 2,541 |

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## DISTRIBUTION BY RELIGION

| Religion | Census 1941 (1360) | Percentage of population | Census 1950 (1369) | Percentage of population |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mohomedans | 88,298 | 98% | 105,401 | 96% |
| Non-Mohomedans | 1,672 | 2% | 4,249 | 4% |

## DISTRIBUTION OF NON-MOHOMEDANS

| Religion | Census 1941 (1360) | Census 1950 (1369) |
|---|---|---|
| Christians | not recorded | 2,932 |
| Jews | | 293 |
| Hindus | | 975 |
| Others | | 49 |
| Total | 1,672 | 4,249 |

## DISTRIBUTION BY TOWNS AND VILLAGES

162

| Town or Village | Census 1941 (1360) | Percentage of population | Census 1950 (1369) | Percentage of population |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd. | 49,274 | 56% | 65,225 | 61½% |
| Other towns and Villages | 39,164 | 44% | 40,579 | 38½% |
| Total | 88,438 | | 105,804 | |

## CENSUS OF DWELLING HOUSES

| Towns or Villages | Census 1941 (1360) | Census 1950 (1369) |
|---|---|---|
| Manamah | 4,649 | 5,703 |
| Muharraq | 3,317 | 3,720 |
| Hedd | 719 | 619 |
| Other towns and villages | 5,697 | 6,232 |
| Total | 14,382 | 16,274 |

## LITERACY

212 Census 1941 (1360) Not recorded.

162 Census 1950 (1369) 14,057 (literates)

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701 625 suit them, they spoke no Arabic, and were regarded by the people of Bahrain as expensive foreign mercenaries; they were useless at ordinary police work, and the Indian Officers and N.C.O.'s caused constant trouble by incessant quarrels and intrigues. The Indians were enlisted for four years, but before this period had expired I began to enlist a force of local men as police, a project which I always strongly advocated. It was from this time that the present force was started, but the final transition was not completed until the end of 1932.

574 562 684 **Crime and Prostitution.** The number of serious crimes which are committed every year in Bahrain is small in comparison to the population, which is thought to be about 150,000. Usually about one or two cases of murder are dealt with by the police during the year, but it is possible that occasional murders take place which are not detected, especially murders of women and newly born children. Although in recent years Bahrain has progressed in many ways, there are still a number of Arabs living in Hedd and Muharraq who consider that they are justified in murdering their female relations if the women bring shame on the family. A few of the very old-fashioned Arabs even consider that because the Government does not ignore such murders it is encouraging immorality. The Kadis, however, although ultra conservative in their outlook, disapprove of men taking the law into their own hands and murdering women who misbehave. In some Arab countries the fear of punishment by death for immorality has a very salutary effect, but Bahrain, although described as an Arab state, has very little in common with real Arab countries. The Bahama, who form about three quarters of the population, are not true Arabs, and the rest of the population includes all the nationalities who live around the Gulf. The only real Arabs in Bahrain are the Khalifah and a few families who came over with them from the mainland and a small number of members of mainland tribes who live almost entirely in Hedd, Muharraq, Budeya, and two or three small villages on the south coast.

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[548] [164] Immorality is undoubtedly increasing, but the increase in prostitution is not due to the Government but is a matter of supply and demand. During the last two years numbers of foreigners earning good pay have come to Bahrain, usually without their families, from Persia, Iraq, and India, and this has undoubtedly caused an increase in prostitution. Venereal disease is rampant, and the proportion of persons suffering from it, especially in ophthalmic forms, is very high. The medical supervision of prostitutes would undoubtedly result in an improvement in the public health. This suggestion was discussed and approved by the Manamah Municipal Council some years ago, but it has not yet been possible to arrange the medical organisation to cope with this matter.

674 681 Most of the criminal cases which are dealt with by the police are cases of theft, assault, and immorality. Several important gangs of thieves have been rounded up during the last ten years. Some of these gangs were well provided with arms and had regular methods of disposing of stolen property in Bahrain or on the mainland. Foreigners, especially Hassawis, form the majority of the criminals. There are a number of inveterate thieves who spend the greater part of their lives in prison. Such persons, on the mainland, would be punished by cutting off of their hands and finally by decapitation. The punishments inflicted by the Bahrain courts are whippings, fines, and imprisonment, but imprisonment to many of these people is no hardship: the work is not hard, they are given better food than they would obtain themselves, and the only real punishment is being deprived of women.

273 276 **Drugs and Liquor.** Liquor and drugs, such as opium, are forbidden in Bahrain, but in spite of the severe penalties which are enforced by the Bahrain courts against persons contravening the liquor regulations, the habit of drinking liquor and smoking opium is, in my opinion, steadily increasing. Ten years ago very few people drank liquor, and the smoking of opium was entirely confined to foreigners, Persians, Indians, and Baluchis. To-day many of the younger Arabs have acquired a liking for spirits, partly because they have had opportunities for drinking while travelling abroad, and frequent cases have occurred in which Arabs have been found to be taking opium.

276 439 Opium is smuggled into Bahrain from Persia, usually in native crafts, but sometimes hidden in merchandise on the mail steamers. It varies in quality, most frequently it is in large lumps weighing four or five pounds, but sometimes it is in paper-covered sticks sealed up in bundles. It is very

## POPULATION

161 The total population of the islands was estimated in 1930
162 at 120,911,[1] of whom 120,656, or 99.8%, were Moslems.[2] More than 100,000 are Baharinah, that is, members of the Shiite sect of Persia, who live mostly in the villages. The rest of the native population are either Sunnites of the Malekite sect or members of the Wahabite faith of Nejd, the principal faith of Saudi Arabia. Among the Sunnite community the most numerous are the Huwala tribe, who are residents of Manama, Muharraq, and Badaiya'a. They are engaged mostly in trade and pearl fishing. The Utūb, to which the local Sheik belongs, the Sādāt, and the Dáwasīr are the most influential politically.

Tables 3, 4, and 5 show the distribution of the inhabitants in 1930.

Table 3. MOSLEM POPULATION

| Tribes, etc. | Sunnites | Shiites | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Utūb | 55,000 | —— | 55,000 |
| Bahārinah | —— | 45,000 | 45,000 |
| Negroes | 11,000 | —— | 11,000 |
| Huwāla | —— | 2,500 | 2,500 |
| Persians | 100 | 2,000 | 2,100 |
| Arabs of Qatif and Hasā | 2,000 | —— | 2,000 |
| Dawāsīr | 2,000 | —— | 2,000 |
| Arabs of Iraq | 200 | 300 | 500 |
| Sādāt | 400 | —— | 400 |
| Hindus | 130 | 20 | 150 |
| Turks | 6 | —— | 6 |
| | 70,836 | 49,820 | 120,656 |

1. The eighteenth census, taken during the war for the purpose of distributing ration coupons, gave a population of approximately 90,000. Since then this number has been augmented and the present population is estimated to be about 105,000.
2. The Moslem population was estimated in 1897 at 68,000.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Table 4. NON-MOSLEM POPULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Hindus | 150 |
| Jews | 50 |
| Syrians | 60 |
| British | 10 |
| Assyro-Chaldeans | 5 |
| Total | 255 |

Table 5. SECTS AND TRIBES

| Tribe | Race | Sect |
|---|---|---|
| Utūb | Zuzara Arabs | Malekites |
| Bahārinah | Iranians | Shiites |
| Dawāsīr | Arabs of Nejd | Sahabites |
| Huwāla | Arabs of Persia | Sunnites |

The discovery of oil, the essence of foreign trade and international traffic, has brought a considerable increase in the number of non-Moslem residents. At the present time there are some four or five hundred Christians, mostly employees of the Standard Oil Company, five hundred Jews, and about the same number of Hindus.

## TOWNS AND VILLAGES

There are about two hundred centers of population in the islands. The most important are:

### *Bahrein Island*

MANAMA,[1] the largest city and the commercial center of the islands, is located in the northern part of Bahrein. It is traditional headquarters for the pearl fisheries and today is the center of the petroleum industry. At present there are about 45,000 inhabitants. The city has a government operated electric plant which also supplies the city of Muharraq on Muharraq Island, and commercial establishments include an ice plant, a large

1. Manāmah literally means a "scala" or "port."

Manama, is the capital of the State, and is the official residence of the Sheik. The Sheik holds court and administers justice once a week on the balcony of the municipal building and petty criminals are publicly flogged by red-turbaned policemen in the market place immediately below.

Manama is also the seat of the higher court composed of two members of the family of the Sheik and presided over by the British Adviser. The British Political Agent, who is under the authority of the Persian Gulf Political Agent at Bushir (in Persia), also has his residence in Manama.

BADAIYA'A is located at the northwestern end of the island, a mile from the coast. The majority of its eight thousand inhabitants belong to the Dawāsīr tribes, famous for their ability as divers. Following the political upheaval of 1923,[1] the Dawāsīr evacuated the town and fled to Damān on the mainland, but the majority later returned.

Near Badaiya'a are the two important centers of *Diraz* and *Jamra.*

ZALLĀQ. Situated on the west coast, this is another important center inhabited by the Dawāsīr fishermen and divers.

BALAD AL-KADIM. Really a cluster of several villages, this is, after Manama, the most active native center, with many palm groves and artesian wells. Its small but important population consists mostly of Baharinah farmers and fishermen. A short distance from the village is the small Sūq al Kaamīs where the Thursday market is held. Half a mile farther on is the famed water source of Abu Zidān with a religious school near by and a noted minaret in the Persian style, reminder of Iranian supremacy.

BURI, another village inhabited entirely by the Baharina[illegible] is located about seven miles south of Manama. It is a date producing center with ten to twelve thousand palm trees.

JIDD HAFS is located about three miles west of Manama on the highway joining that town to Badaiy'a. Populated by the Baharinah, it is one of the most prosperous agricultural centers,

1. See below, p. 99.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

361 with palm groves containing more than sixteen thousand trees,
162 as well as numerous vegetable gardens and orchards.

Near by is the small village of 'AIN-AD-DAR.

'ALI is located about a mile north of Buri to the west of
[491] the paved main highway running south from Manama to the Jabal Dukhān region. A motor road joins the village to Buri and Karzakkan and the west coast of the island. Situated as it is in the midst of palm groves and vegetable gardens, 'Ali is an important market place. Many of the Persian residents of the island own lovely homes there and the town has a mosque in the Persian style.

SANĀBIS and FALA, on the north shore of the island about three miles west of Manama, are active commercial and fishing centers inhabited by the Baharinah.

RIFA'. The two villages of East Rifa' (Ash-Sharki) and West Rifa' (Al-Gharbi), situated a mile apart, are near the center of the island. Since their location is considered to be one of the most healthful in Bahrein they are not surprisingly inhabited by the Utūb, the tribe to which the Sheik belongs. His immediate
[312] family lives in West Rifa', which is more exclusive though the important water sources are at East Rifa'.

ASKAR. This is another village of interest on the east coast, four and a half miles east of Jabal Dukhān. The inhabitants are the bu 'Ainin, probably the descendants of the people who ruled Bahrein nearly a thousand years ago.

About three miles away is the town of JAU, also on the east coast. Near by are historic ruins, probably the remains of the important ancient town, also called Jau, which is believed to have been the capital of the island in pre-Islamic times.

KIRABAD, or "Oil City," is the initial Awali camp built by the Bahrein Petroleum Company for the use of its employees and popularly known as "Bapco" from the initials of the company. Three miles away is the refinery. The town is on an eleva-
[491] tion eighteen miles south of Manama, to which it is connected by a modern highway also built by the company.

000 "Bapco" has some two hundred homes for married members

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

### *Muharraq Island*

101 This is the second largest island of the group and in all probability the "Aradus" of the classical writers. It is located northeast of Bahrein and is about five and a half square miles in area, horseshoe shaped and only a mile wide. It is separated [491] from Bahrein by a channel spanned by a causeway a mile and a half long with a motor road and by a swinging bridge which was completed in 1941.

361 The chief city is MUHURRAQ, on the western side, the sec- 162 ond largest city in the islands and the summer residence of the 633 Sheik. Its population is about 26,000. Muhurraq and Manama, on Bahrein Island, are each administered by a Municipal Committee which in addition to civic duties are jointly responsible for the upkeep of thirty per cent of the roads in the archipelago.

361 Other towns among the sixteen or more on Muhurraq which 162 should be mentioned are:

ARAD. This is an important date producing center with some sixteen thousand palm trees, on the southern shore of the Gulf of Arad. It is inhabited by the Baharinah.

HADD. Second in importance only to Muhurraq, Hadd is the leading pearl fishing center of the islands. It has a population of almost 10,000, consisting of Sādāt and Beni Yās. Since the English began to take a direct hand in the administration of the island it has become possibly the most modern of the cities, [242] with many up-to-date homes and an agricultural experiment [691] station as well as a modern penitentiary and the cottage of the British Financial Adviser.

The villages of Basatin, Qalali, Samahij and Dair, on the north and northeast coasts, are also important. Their population follows the Sunnite faith exclusively and those in Qalali belong to the Manani'a tribe.

508 Muhurraq Island has a military and civil airfield used by 712 the British Overseas Air Service. The field has limited fueling and repair facilities for normal traffic as well as minimum lighting, runway lights, and lighted wind indicators. There are hard surface, all weather runways with an elevation of two feet; the

longest runway, to the nearest hundred feet, is 7400 feet long. There are radio communication and direction finder with voice, and the Radio Bahrein tower operates on 6440 kilocycles, 117.9 mc.

The other principal islands of the Bahrein group are:

SITRA, which is separated from Bahrein by the Sitra Canal, which is about a quarter of a mile wide. The southern part of the island is completely barren but in the north there are small villages, mostly inhabited by Baharinah farmers and fishermen. The most important are Wadiyan, Kharijia, Muhazza and Sufala, all of which are important date growing centers.

NABBI SĀLIH, the smallest of the five islands, situated about three quarters of a mile off the coast of Bahrein. There are palm groves and two small fishing centers, Kaflan and Karya. The island has many gardens and orchards as well as palm groves with some fifteen thousand trees. It is entirely inhabited by the Baharinah.

UMM NA'SAN, two miles west of Bahrein, a low and sandy island four miles long and triangular in shape. The island is dominated by two rocky peaks, one rising to an elevation of sixty-six feet at about half a mile from the western point of the island, and the other twenty-five feet high situated about half a mile farther to the east. Near the west coast there is a water source used by the people of the west coast of Bahrein, mostly the towns of Badaiya'a and Zallāq, whose custom it is to send their cattle to graze there during the summer.

Besides these principal islands there are a number of smaller ones, mostly inhabited. From north to south and west to east these are:

KHASAIFA.

JARDI.

SAYA, with its fresh water spring, located about half a mile off the west coast of Muharraq Island.

ABU MAHIR, a small island south of Muharraq and connected to it at low tide. There is a small fort on the island erected for the defense of the water source which formerly supplied the people of Muharraq.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

101
162 formerly supplied the people of Muharraq. The inhabitants, who are divers and fishermen, belong to the Sunnite sect.

NAIM, SULUTA, and KHULAFFAT are three small islands in the Gulf of Arad.

Farther east are:

[312] ABU SHĀHIN, with its fresh water spring.

UMM SHAJAR.

UMM SHIYARA.

Mention should also be made of the three small, rocky islands north of Sitra bearing the name of Kasr (Castle) and farther south, opposite the village of Askar, the little island of Mashāikh with its fishing huts.

Off the east coast there are many others which are rocky islands or mere shoals and of no interest to us. Among them are the small islands of Raka and Cliff, El Ben farther north, and Yusuf closer to the coast.

## ANTIQUITIES

172 The north central part of Bahrein Island is covered with thousands of large tombs in the form of mounds of rock heaped with earth which are among the unsolved mysteries of Near Eastern archaeology. Their number has been variously estimated at from fifteen thousand to several hundred thousand—so many in fact as to be completely out of proportion to the size of the island and its possible ability to support in ancient times a population to match the size of this enormous cemetery.

The tombs are ancient burial vaults of large dressed stones erected at ground level, sometimes with a second story. After the interment the vault was covered with a mound of gravel, stone chips, and earth, obtained largely at the foot of the cliffs surrounding the central basin of the island. The mounds vary greatly in size, ranging from four to eighty feet high and up to one hundred feet in diameter. Some of the largest tombs show the remains of outer walls, while others seem to have been surrounded by rings of heaped up gravel to keep intruders

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



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*Table I.* DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY NATIONALITIES IN BAHRAIN

| *Nationalities* | Census 1941 *Total* | Census 1950 *Sub-Total* | Census 1950 *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bahrain Subjects | 74,040 | | 91,179 |
| Persians | 7,547 | | 6,934 |
| Indians, Anglo-Indians, Pakistanis, Goanese | 1,424 | | 3,043 |
| Saudi Arabs | | 2,526 | |
| Omanis and Muscatis | | 2,466 | |
| Qataris | | 438 | |
| Kuwaitis | | 149 | |
| Yemenis | | 105 | |
| Iraqis | | 224 | |
| Palestinians | | 28 | |
| Syrians and Lebanese | | 52 | |
| Egyptians | | 30 | |
| Others | | 268 | |
| | | | 6,286 |
| Westerners: British, Americans, Others | 6,959 | 1,840<br>290<br>78 | |
| | | | 2,208 |
| Grand Total | 89,970 | | 109,650 |
| Bahrain Subjects | 74,040 | | 91,179 |
| Foreigners | 15,930 | | 18,471 |

Source: *Census 1950*, p. 13.

*Table II.* DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY TOWNS AND VILLAGES

| *Town* | *1941* | *1950* | *% of Increase* | *% of Population* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Manamah | 27,836 | 39,648 | 43.0 | 61.5 |
| Muharraq and Hedd | 21,439 | 25,577 | 19.0 | |
| Other towns and villages | 39,164 | 40,579 | 3.5 | 38.5 |
| Ships at anchor and Awali | 1,531 | 3,846 | | |
| Total | 89,970 | 109,650 | 22.0 | 100.0 |

Source: *Census 1950*, p. 12.

*Table III.* DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY RELIGION

| *Religion* | *1941* | *% of Population* | *1950* | *% of Population* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Muslims | 88,298 | | | |
| Shi'i | 46,354 | 98.0 | 105,401[a] | 96.0 |
| Sunni | 41,944 | | | |
| Christians | | | 2,932 | |
| Jews | | | 293 | |
| Hindus | 1,672 | 2.0 | 975 | 4.0 |
| Others | | | 49 | |

a. Sects among Muslims were not recorded because of local objections.
Source: *Census 1950*, p. 14.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



Over 61 percent of this population lives in the three towns of Manamah, Muharraq, and Hedd;[5] the rest, 38.5 percent, is scattered about in 90 villages and hamlets concentrated mostly in the northern and northeastern tip of the largest island. In the 9-year period between the two censuses the population had increased 22 percent, mainly in the three towns mentioned. The village population remained almost stationary (actually an absolute increase of 3.5 percent and a relative decrease of 5.5 percent). The concentration of increase in the towns can be explained by the better sanitary conditions existing there and the influx of foreigners. Evidently there was little local migration during this period from village to town, although in some cases it was found that villages had been deserted or greatly reduced in size.[6] It is interesting to note that the only population movement took place in some of the Arab Sunni villages.[7]

Tables I and III are in a certain sense misleading, for they give a false picture of homogeneity in the population (84 percent Bahrain subjects, 96 percent Muslims) that does not exist. Society in Bahrain is divided into several groupings, in most cases distinct and recognizable. Association with one group in many instances implies a certain occupational specialization, but the main forces that have determined social division are religion, tribal loyalties, and nationality.

## *THE SHI'IS AND THE SUNNIS*

The Muslim Arab population of Bahrain is divided into Shi'is and Sunnis, who in almost all cases never live in the same village. The Shi'is live in their own tightly-knit communities and do not intermix with the rest of the population to any considerable degree. Fighting — especially in the larger towns, when the two communities do come into contact — frequently breaks out between the two groups, necessitating the intervention of the police and even the British navy.[8] A recent index of the feeling between the two groups is the fact that for the last several years there has been no municipal council for the capital city, Manamah, for the simple reason that no agreement could be reached on the number of seats to be allotted each of the two Muslim groups.

Aside from the small minority of Persians, the Shi'is are all Baharnah. There is no agreement as to the ethnic origin of these people; however, they now speak Arabic and are regarded as Arabs. They are the oldest group among the present inhabitants of the shaykhdom and have been subjected through the centuries to successive conquests, so that altho gh at present they equal or exceed the Sunnis in number — as the 1941 census

[5] See Table II.
[6] *Census 1950*, p. 6.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[8] Abbas Faroughly, *The Bahrain Islands* (New York, 1951), p. 99.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2-Bahrain MZ2



An interesting development in recent years is the stress of the dominant
186 group, the Sunnis, on the unity and brotherhood of all Muslims and Arabs.
659 In 1950, when the second census was made, it was planned to count the two groups separately. This proposal, however, was construed as a British scheme to divide the Muslims and set them against each other. Strong objections were made by both groups, but primarily by the Sunnis, to the government and consequently this aspect of the census was abandoned. No such objections were raised during the census only nine years earlier.

186 Two factors can perhaps account for this rather nascent stress on unity: emerging nationalism and new economic forces. The conception of nationality is a Western contribution and a new arrival in the Persian Gulf. In Bahrain it is still a vague idea and certainly has not replaced to any degree the existing loyalties. It manifests itself in two ways: first, negatively in a desire to expel the foreigner (this has considerable appeal: it is concrete, intellectually easy to grasp, can be used as a rallying cry, and above all does not conflict with established social patterns); and second, positively, in a confused ideal of a pan-Arab, pan-Islamic union. No clear distinction is drawn between the two last concepts and the terms are used interchangeably. It must be admitted, however, that the pan-Arab aspect of the ideal predominates. This new spirit of nationalism has had the effect of creating a greater emphasis on unity among the native population. Furthermore, through this intellectual device the two groups can now present a common front against foreigners to protect their rights and interests, whether real or imaginary.

565 The new economic force for unity is the oil industry. On the surface
178 things seem as they have always been. In fact a change, subtle and hard
464 to detect, has taken place. The oil industry, as indicated previously, has
186 opened the doors of employment to the Shi'is. This has resulted in bettering slightly their economic condition and consequently their relative status vis-à-vis other groups. Furthermore, such employment has meant that they are no longer restricted to agriculture. They can now sell their labor and skills as everyone else in a wider and more favorable market. On the job at the company installations, Shi'i and Sunni are brought together as laborers or artisans and placed on the same footing. For the first time in their history it has become possible for individuals from both groups to collaborate in certain areas of action, not as Shi'is or Sunnis, but as members of an economic group.

### *THE JEWS*

162 A third native religious group is the small Jewish minority comprising
563 about 250 persons. Its members are well known for their industry, their
463 higher standard of living, their higher rate of education, and their amenability to Western influences. They are exclusively engaged in trade and money changing.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



641 563 The Jews have lived in the country in comparative peace and security for centuries. Their position was clear and definite. As non-Muslims they were outside the pale of the law and could not participate fully in the life of the community; but as "People of the Book" they were a *dhimma*, a protected community. In civil matters they enjoyed the same legal rights as all other Bahrain subjects. Here again social lines of demarcation were drawn on a religious basis.

563 578 798 With the appearance of the Palestine problem the position of this small minority became progressively more precarious. Today the Jews are socially ostracized and economically boycotted, and there have been instances where physical violence has been employed against them. The local press of Bahrain is replete with references to Bahraini Jews, the Jews in general, and to Israel. Such references include, among other things, threats to publish the names of those who associate with Jews in Bahrain or buy from them, references to the United Nations as a Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world, and editorial protests to the government against allowing allegedly Israeli airlines to land in Bahrain, or against radio-communications with Israel.[10]

648 439 The government of Bahrain has no official policy of enmity toward Israel as have the other Arab states. Commercial traffic is not prohibited with Israel or with the Jews as a whole, but in practice it is virtually so. This boycott is due in part to social pressure and in part to the fact that a large part of the goods imported into Bahrain is re-exported to Saudi Arabia, a country which has strict regulations against traffic with Jews.

167 563 Owing to their present position, the Jews are the only native community whose interests and aspirations are at complete variance with those of the native population. It is a matter of public knowledge that many of them have either left or are in the process of leaving the country to start a new life in Israel, the United States, or Europe.

### *THE PERSIANS AND THE INDIANS*

162 563 The two major foreign elements in the country are the Persians and the Indians.[11] Their social status and relations with the native population are determined primarily by psychological, political, and economic factors rather than by religion or tribal loyalties.

563 162 648 The Persians are the largest foreign group, but it should be noted that they are foreigners in the legal and political sense only, for they are as much a part of the scene as the legal citizens of the country. Iran has had a long and checkered association with the islands going back to pre-Islamic times. At one period, the islands were directly controlled by it, and as late

[10] See any number of *al-Qafilah*, a weekly newspaper, or *Sawt al-Bahrain*, a monthly magazine. Both are published in Bahrain in Arabic.

[11] As used in this paper, the term "Indians" includes Indians, Pakistanis, Anglo-Indians, and Goanese.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



did, or sell out and return to the mother country. Those who remained are engaged either in trade or employed by the oil company or some other business establishment. In the last few years the government has been refusing to grant citizenship to Persian residents even though they may legally qualify.[12]

The Indians, the second largest foreign community, are in a certain sense in a position similar to that of the Persians. Bahrain, like other principalities in the Persian Gulf, has had a long association with the subcontinent through trade. In 1913, when the Bahrain Order-in-Council was passed, the country became administratively subject to the jurisdiction of the Governor-General of India.

The Indians constitute a prosperous and fairly well educated community. Some are engaged in trade on a big scale or as petty merchants. The rest — and they are the majority — are employed either by the government, the oil company, the British military and civil establishment, or other foreign business concerns in the country. They work mostly as clerks, foremen, cooks, waiters, and domestic servants.

Various explanations have been made as to why Indians are employed in such large numbers in preference to local Bahrainis or persons from other nationalities. In the first place, Bahrain does not have enough young men with a minimum of education and clerical or industrial training to fill these positions. Secondly, in view of British policy to tie Bahrain to India, it was only natural to look to it for the necessary labor supply. Furthermore, India could supply labor well trained by the British and used to their ways. Finally, Indian labor could be obtained at a lower rate than equally skilled labor from other countries.

The status of Indians is a rather peculiar one, for they live in a social zone all by themselves. They are resented by the native population and accepted only as subordinates by Westerners with whom they would like to associate and with whom they would like to be classified. This is true especially of the clerical and professional group among them.

The causes of Bahraini resentment against them are psychological and economic in nature. In the first place, they constitute a community which is definitely foreign and makes a point of it, and in some respects looks down on the local population. This is especially the case among the white-collar workers.

Secondly, on the whole, the Indian community wields power far beyond its number. The people in Bahrain see Indians in government and business establishments and develop the feeling that they are being governed by them along with the British.

In the third place, clerical positions occupied by Indians and other for-

[12] *Census 1950*, p. 6.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



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are the moulders of the new generation of Bahrainis. It is significant that all these teachers come from countries which have just emerged from British or French control.

## *TRENDS FOR THE FUTURE*

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795

Social realignment among the Sunnis and the Shi'is must be thought of in terms of the distant future. It is true that secular and technical education, nationalism, and economic forces are all operating to bring these two groups together. As a result they have begun to cooperate with each other in certain areas of common interest as nonreligious groups; nevertheless, the old loyalties and social patterns are still strongly entrenched, as is very graphically illustrated by the religious riots of 1953 and 1954. It is even conceivable that when and if religion loses the depth of meaning it has at present to both groups, it may still remain as the basis of political alignment or power, as is the case in highly literate Lebanon.

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Nationalism has replaced religious tradition as the basis of the relations of the Jews with the major segments of society. The resultant tension is being resolved through emigration, but a few will no doubt remain. All indications are that the political struggle between the Arabs and Israel will leave them little chance of reintegrating themselves on some new basis into society in Bahrain. It is possible, although highly improbable thanks to the presence of the British, that mass violence may be used against them. If this does take place, the problem in all likelihood will assume an international character. Israel, which has established itself as the protector and defender of Jewish minorities, no doubt would use every measure to dramatize the plight of this minority to the world.

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The animosity of the native population toward Persians and Indians does not arise from fundamental issues of a permanent nature. There is, for instance, no parallel feeling toward Iran, India, or Pakistan; on the contrary, warm sympathy prevails for them as combatants against Western domination. Both the causes and the issues are transitory in character, and

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*Table IV.* FOREIGN TEACHERS IN BAHRAIN

| *Year* | *Egypt* | *Syria* | *Lebanon* | *Palestine* | *Other Arab Countries* | *Other Nationalities* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1944/45..... | 12 | 2 | 12 | — | — | 2 | 28 |
| 1945/46..... | 10 | — | 13 | .. | 1 | 2 | 26 |
| 1946/47..... | 13 | 9 | 12 | — | 1 | 2 | 37 |
| 1947/48..... | 11 | 7 | 14 | — | 1 | 2 | 35 |
| 1948/49..... | 22 | 6 | 14 | — | 1 | 3 | 46 |
| 1949/50..... | 20 | 7 | 14 | 9 | 1 | 3 | 54 |
| 1950/51..... | 9 | 9 | 15 | 10 | 1 | 3 | 47 |
| 1951/52..... | 9 | 7 | 27 | 18 | 2 | 4 | 67 |

Source: Government of Bahrain, Dept. of Education, *Report on the Condition of Education in Bahrain* (Bahrain, 1952), p. 47. (In Arabic.)

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2
Kuwait M11
Saudi Arabia MJ1



companies may need to be defined now that one concessionaire seems likely to create revenue; problems may also arise if, as a result of oil developments, it is planted with a population that will need to be endowed with public services and, no doubt, with a system of taxation.

## BAHRAIN

The Bahrain Archipelago is a group of islands in the Gulf of Bahrain, which is bounded on the east by the Qatar Peninsula and on the west by the mainland coast of al-Hasa. Its total area is 213 square miles. The principal island—Bahrain itself—is about thirty miles long and ten miles wide. It is low-lying and its northern end is well watered by fresh water springs and produces good date crops. Citrus fruit and lucerne are also grown. The oilfields lie round the rocky cluster of hills known as Jebel Dukhan (Hill of Smoke), which is in the barren centre of the island.

To the north-east of Bahrain Island, and joined to it by a causeway and motor road, is the low, sandy island of Muharraq, and between the two islands is a good deep-water harbour (Khor Kaliya). It is used as a small British naval base; an American admiral also flies his flag there. Nearby there is a second, but shallow harbour (Bahrain harbour), which faces north and is usefully equipped. The natural aerodrome on Muharraq Island has been developed into the largest commercial airfield in the Persian Gulf and now serves the airliners of all nations. It is also used by the RAF, and the whine of jet aircraft is a commonplace. The south end of the island of Bahrain is low-lying and sandy. The climate, though oppressive in summer owing to the prevalent heat and damp of the western shores of the Persian Gulf, is more humid and less windy than that of Kuwait. The population of the Archipelago was 109,650 when a census was taken in 1950.[1]

The capital and the seat of government is the port of Manama.[2] It is generally referred to as Bahrain, and is situated between the two harbours. It has a population of 39,648, which includes many rich Arab, Persian, and Indian merchants, as well as some 300 Europeans and Americans. The second town, Muharraq, on Muharraq Island, has a population of 24,566 which is purely Arab.

The British Political Agency is in Manama town, which also boasts an electricity station, a wireless station, post offices, hospitals, clubs, public gardens, and up-to-date schools. The town is supplied with good motor roads, and there are

[1] 1952 estimate, 115,000. [2] Population: 1950, 39,648; 1952 (estimate), 45,000.

132 siderable violence, particularly in June and July and in January and February.

## POPULATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### Population

161 464 At the time of the second census in 1950, the population of Bahrain numbered 109,650, with 91,179 Bahrain subjects and 18,471 foreigners. In addition, about 5,000 Bahrain nationals were believed to be working in other countries, chiefly in Saudi 162 Arabia. Among the foreign residents there were 6,934 Iranians, 3,043 Indians, Pakistanis and Goanese, 2,526 Saudi Arabians, 2,466 Omanis and Muscatis, and 2,208 British and other Europeans and Americans.

144 The Bahrainis represent a medley of Arab and Persian peoples, as well as various Negro admixtures, descendants of former slaves from Africa. The Baharna, the original inhabitants of the islands, are of mixed Arab-Persian origin, while the Arabs derive 795 chiefly from the mainland of Arabia. The population is almost exclusively Moslem: in 1950, only 4 per cent of the local residents belonged to other religious communities, with 2,348 Christians, 975 Hindus and 293 Jews. Both the Shia and the Sunni sects of Islam are prominent. The Baharna and the Iranians are Shiites, while most of the Arabs are Sunnites, including a small contingent which adheres to the Wahhabi 191 branch of central Arabia. Arabic is the national language. Other tongues are employed by the different racial groups, but most educated Bahrainis and town-dwelling laborers are familiar with English.

62 632 The returns of the 1950 census indicated that almost 62 per cent of the people lived in the 3 main towns of Manama, Muharraq and Hedd, and the remainder in some 80 rural villages and settlements. Manama, the seat of government and the largest town, located on the island of Bahrain, had a population of 39,648. Muharraq, the chief town on the adjacent island, numbered ap-

p. 256 (n)

proximately 26,000 residents, and Hedd, a pearl fishing center, around 10,000. The population exceeded that of the 1941 census by almost 20,000: the increase was confined mainly to the towns of Manama and Muharraq, and was attributed in large part to immigration.

Since the organization of the first government school in 1919, education has made considerable progress, but expansion is handicapped by a shortage of trained teaching personnel. In 1950, the Bahrain government supported 13 primary schools for boys —8 in the towns and 5 in the villages. Educational facilities were made available to girls in 1928, and at present 6 primary schools are in operation. Of the 5,770 pupils registered in government schools in 1950-51, slightly over 1,700 were girls. A few private schools are established in Manama, while Koranic schools are found in most towns and villages. The government also maintains a secondary school, a technical school and a school hostel for boys, and provides scholarships for qualified students for advanced study at the American University of Beirut and in Great Britain. In the recent census, the literacy rate in the indigenous population was estimated at 10 per cent.

### Vital Statistics

The registration of births and deaths is not compulsory in Bahrain, and no data for the calculation of vital statistics are obtainable. Local medical authorities agree that the mortality rates in infancy and early childhood are uniformly high. Observations made by the census enumerators in 1950 suggest that the infant mortality is particularly serious in the rural villages, in contrast with the towns, where living conditions have improved within recent years. The maternal mortality rates are correspondingly high.

The size of the population remained practically stationary in the rural districts in the 9-year interval between the first and the second census surveys. The rate of increase in areas outside the towns of Ma-

144 occurred intermittently in the past, chiefly in Manama and Muharraq. The islands are
[744] exposed to the introduction of the disease from neighboring territories, but the enforcement of quarantine regulations has prevented its establishment for several decades.

**Other Infections.** Although a mild degree of louse infestation occurs among the inhabitants in some congested areas, louse-borne typhus is rarely, if ever, reported. Imported cases of cutaneous leishmaniasis, or Oriental sore, and filariasis are occasionally treated in the local medical institutions, but the insect vectors are not known to be present, and indigenous infections have not been recorded. Guinea worm infection is sometimes seen among persons from Iran, but it is not found in the resident population.

### Nutritional Diseases

144 The standards of nutrition have improved
361 materially in the last few years. Under-
571 nutrition is common, but serious defects are seen primarily among the inhabitants of outlying villages and the families of workers from the mainland. Poverty, traditional dietary customs and intestinal parasitism are contributory factors. Subclinical deficiencies in vitamin C are widespread, and scurvy is observed from time to time. Rickets is frequent among the children in the towns. Anemia is prevalent, and hemoglobin levels of 25 to 30 per cent are not unusual among the women.

## SUMMARY

619 Bahrain is an independent sheikhdom
131 which consists of an archipelago of 5 main
282 islands situated in the Persian Gulf near the
315 coast of Arabia. It has long been famous as a pearl fishing center, and, since 1932, has enjoyed prosperity as an oil-producing area.
161 It has a heterogeneous population which
162 numbered 109,650 in 1930, including 18,471
795 foreigners. The people are predominantly of
144 mixed Arab and Persian origin, and about 96 per cent are Moslems.

p. 264(B)

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



comes the north wind, and in violence the south-wester (*Qaus*), which is fiercely hot in August and blows irregularly between December and April. See further, vol. ii, p. 346 f.

## Population

Though no census has been taken, the population of the 4 towns and 104 villages in the principality has been estimated as over 100,000, of whom 60,000, chiefly townsmen, are Sunni, and 40,000, chiefly villagers, Shiah. The latter are for the most part *Baḥārinah* (see p. 299), but this class, which is mainly agricultural, is here hardly above the servile state. The most numerous Sunni community is that of the *Hūwalah*, who are townsmen of Manāmah, Muharraq, Budeyya', Hadd, and Hālah Bin Anas, living by trade and without solidarity among themselves or influence on others. The 'Utūb, Sādah, and Dawāsir are the most influential tribesmen, the first on account of their connexion with the ruling family, the second by virtue of their supposed sacred origin, the Dawāsir because they are well disciplined by their chief and comparatively wealthy; there are also a few Beni Khālid (see below, p. 608). The remainder of the Sunni population live mostly on the coast, and depend for their subsistence rather on the sea than on cultivation. There are at least 5,000 free negroes and 6,000 negro slaves; a few Persians, Hindus, Basra Arabs and Jews complete the population. Life in Bahrein is more various and many-coloured than on the mainland of Arabia; the exclusiveness of a people cut off from intercourse with other races is absent, and the opportunity to indulge a taste for luxury has not been disdained. Direct relations with Persia and India have influenced costume, domestic appliances, and the architecture of the larger houses, in which the pointed arch is a conspicuous feature.

## Industries and Trade

The most important occupation in Bahrein is pearl-fishing, and the fisheries are the most valuable in the Gulf next to those of Trucial Oman. Were the fisheries to cease, most of the urban population would have to leave the country. They employ more than 900 boats, each with a crew of about 20, the total crews amounting to nearly 20,000 men. The pearling season opens in May, and some boats continue operations until about October. Special measures had to be taken in 1915 by the Sheikh, in conjunction with the British Resident, to enable the pearl-fishing population to tide over the crisis caused by the stoppage of the

proximately 26,000 residents, and Hedd, a pearl fishing center, around 10,000. The population exceeded that of the 1941 census by almost 20,000: the increase was confined mainly to the towns of Manama and Muharraq, and was attributed in large part to immigration.

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63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN MZ2

nama, Muharraq and Hedd and the 3 villages of East and West Rafaa and Sakhir was less than 1 per cent. 161 165 163

## Social Economy

Prior to the opening of the Bahrain oil fields, the economy of the islands was based upon pearl fishing and the transshipment of goods between Iran, India and other countries and the neighboring Arabian ports. The waters of the Persian Gulf contain famous pearl fishing banks, and, since ancient times, Bahrain has been recognized as the traditional center of the industry. It constituted the principal source of wealth for centuries, but it reached a low level in the 1920s, due in part to the competition of Japanese cultured pearls in the world markets. Early records are nonexistent, but the former Bahrain pearl fleets probably consisted of 600 to 1,000 vessels. The number has declined progressively: only 83 departed for the banks in 1950. In that year, about 2,000 Bahrainis were engaged in pearl fishing during the season from mid-April to October, undoubtedly a fraction of the total employed when the demand for pearls was at its height. 433 228 489 228

In previous decades, dhow building also was one of the major industries of Bahrain, but its decline has paralleled that of the pearl fisheries. Nine boats were constructed in 1949, as against 100 reported in 1928-29. 396

Today, oil is the foundation of Bahrain's prosperity. The royalties derived from the industry not only have bolstered the declining resources of the government, but have made possible the expansion of public works and social services. Operations are conducted by the Bahrain Petroleum Company, Ltd., which holds long-term concessions from the Sheikh of Bahrain for the development of the petroleum resources of the islands. Oil was discovered in the Jabal ad Dukhan region, near the center of Bahrain Island, in 1932, and production started in 1934. The proven reserves of this field are estimated in the neighborhood of 200 million barrels. The company also operates a 651 653 471 135 600

p. 257(A)

The Geneva T.B. project for Bahrain very unfortunately was cancelled owing to changes of policy and financial aid in the World Health Organisation. This severely dislocated the programme to meet this problem. However, a modified scheme has been evolved making use of the ideas of Geneva and London and will be launched next year when in-patient accommodation will be considerably increased. The number of patients seen this year and treated were 275 men and 87 women. Many were foreigners and returned to their countries. Ninety were admitted and a few promising patients sent to Miraj Sanatorium. It is very satisfactory to report that those treated in Bahrain are showing greater improvement than in the past due to better drugs and surgery. A few have been in hospital for two years. 743 758

The Bahrain Medical Society had a good year of meetings and the annual Persian Gulf conference at Kuwait was well attended from Bahrain and again proved most worth while. The co-operation of doctors and hospitals up and down the Persian Gulf is a noteworthy feature not only on account of valuable mutual aid, but of interchange of knowledge on problems common to all. This also applies to medical officers of the R.A.F. and Royal Navy. 759

The hot weather was of average intensity with no heat exhaustion cases except from ships and these numbered 36 with 2 deaths. This has been causing considerable concern among all medical officers in the Gulf dealing with ships who report similarly, and as this department admits many to hospital it has now assumed some importance here. Certain shipping lines provide adequate facilities, and others do not, among which are certain British ships. The matter was taken up in a personal interview with the Chief Medical Officer, Port of London, where it was found that air conditioning might be considered but has not come into force yet. One air conditioned emergency room on each ship would greatly solve the problem and this is a matter needing prior attention. 758 743

The health of the Islands for the year was again well maintained with no epidemics or serious outbreaks of disease. 164

**Miss W. E. Millson.** Sister-in-Charge Nursing Home and Operating Theatre. 000

It was with great regret that we accepted the resignation of Sister Millson who left to go to New Zealand in June 1953.

She had completed six and a half years of service in three contracts and been the first British Sister for this post.

By sheer hard work and selfless service she tackled these exacting dual duties with great determination and was not daunted by insufficient staff and ever increasing work.

She made a wonderful success of it, and her work will not be forgotten.

# MALE STATISTICS

## 1372—1953

● 164

| OUTPATIENTS | *New.* | *Return.* | *Total.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hospital | 15,182 | 73,991 | 89,173 |
| Muharraq | 12,274 | 16,806 | 29,080 |
| Dispensaries | 5,464 | 7,271 | 12,735 |
| Schools | 15,914 | — | 15,914 |
| Police | 1,801 | 3,580 | 5,381 |
| | 50,635 | 101,648 | 152,283 |

| IN-PATIENTS | |
|---|---|
| Hospital | 1,397 |
| European Nursing Home | 124 |
| Isolation Block | 127 |
| T.B. Block | 61 |
| Mental Asylum | 65 |
| | 1774 |

| OPERATIONS | |
|---|---|
| Major | 644 |
| Minor (Hospital) | 2,098 |
| Minor (Dispensaries | 1,003 |
| | 3,745 |

| LABORATORY AND EX-RAY | |
|---|---|
| Laboratory Tests | 9,440 |
| X-Rays | 4,497 |
| | 13,937 |

| INJECTIONS | |
|---|---|
| Penicillin | 18,481 |
| Streptomycin | 5,096 |
| N.A.B. and Bismuth | 1,275 |
| Osteo-Calcium | 3,118 |
| Emetine | 355 |
| Quinine | 318 |
| Vaccinations | 540 |
| Miscellaneous | 4,802 |
| | 33,985 |

### PREDOMINATING MALE OUT-PATIENT DISEASE

| | |
|---|---|
| Respiratory Disease | 1,749 |
| Opthalmia | 1,465 |
| Abscess, Boil and Ulcer | 1,264 |
| Rheumatism, Myositis, etc. | 955 |
| Fractures and Injuries | 938 |
| Abdominal Disease | 654 |
| Dermatitis | 558 |
| Malaria | 538 |
| Otitis | 489 |
| Venereal Disease | 483 |
| Worms | 443 |
| Piles and Fistula | 387 |
| Ear, Nose and Throat conditions | 305 |
| Dysentery | 268 |
| T.B. (Pulmonary) | 234 |
| Genito-urinary disease | 229 |
| Asthma | 173 |
| Cardiac Disease | 53 |
| Nephritis | 44 |

(TOTAL SEEN : 15,182)

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## PREDOMINATING POLICE OUT-PATIENT DISEASE

| | |
|---|---|
| Respiratory Disease | 283 |
| Opthalmia | 228 |
| Abscess, Boil and Ulcer | 141 |
| Venereal Disease | 132 |
| Injuries | 115 |
| Dysentery | 102 |
| Worms | 35 |
| Malaria | 31 |
| Pulmonary T.B. | nil |

(TOTAL SEEN : 1801)

164

The results of these figures differ little from last year, except that septic complaints are doubled. Malaria is well under control, but venereal disease gives some cause for concern as this shows a high incidence compared with 46 of two years ago.

## MALE IN-PATIENT :

### SURGICAL :

| | |
|---|---|
| Abscess, Boil and Ulcer | 92 |
| Acute Abdomen | 24 |
| Hernia | 46 |
| Injuries | 124 |
| Fractures | 81 |
| Piles | 113 |
| Fistula-in-Ano | 28 |
| Genito-urinary | 46 |
| E.N.T. | 11 |
| Others | 105 |
| Total | 708 |

### MEDICAL :

| | |
|---|---|
| Abdominal | 32 |
| Asthma | 19 |
| Cardiac | 28 |
| Dysentery | 36 |
| Venereal Disease | 16 |
| Malaria | 53 |
| Pneumonia | 81 |
| Respiratory | 64 |
| Rheumatism, Myositis | 27 |
| Nephritis | 7 |
| Central Nervous System | 29 |
| Others | 105 |
| Total | 497 |

### EYES :

| | |
|---|---|
| Cataract | 22 |
| Leucoma | 13 |
| Staphyloma | 6 |
| Trachoma | 9 |
| Conjunctivitis | 8 |
| Trichiasis | 79 |
| Keratitis | 3 |
| Iritis | 9 |
| Glaucoma | 5 |
| Panopthalmitis | 6 |
| Corneal Ulcer | 21 |
| Others | 11 |
| Total | 192 |

## RESULTS

TOTAL No. 1307

| | Cured. | Improved. | Not Improved. | Died. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Surgical | 657 | 12 | 16 | 23 |
| Medical | 362 | 64 | 30 | 41 |
| Eyes | 133 | 40 | 19 | [illegible] |

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## MALE ISOLATION, TUBERCULOSIS AND MENTAL BLOCKS ISOLATION

**SYPHILIS**

| | |
|---|---|
| Primary | 7 |
| Secondary and Sero/Positive | 13 |
| Tertiary | 6 |
| Neurological | 2 |
| Remaining from last year | 2 |

**GONORRHOEA**

| | |
|---|---|
| Acute | 10 |
| Chronic | 2 |
| Complicated | 6 |

**MISCELLANEOUS V.D.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Bubo | 8 |
| Other venereal | 4 |
| Chancroid | 1 |

**DYSENTERY**

| | |
|---|---|
| Acute Amoebic | 15 |
| Chronic Amoebic | 12 |
| Bacillary | 14 |
| Mixed | 2 |
| Diarrhoea | 2 |
| Remaining from last year | 2 |

**MISCELLANEOUS**

| | |
|---|---|
| Hookworm | 2 |
| Other Worms | 2 |
| Dermatitis | 13 |
| Leprosy | 5 |
| Others | 17 |
| Remaining from last year | 2 |

### TUBERCULOSIS

| | |
|---|---|
| Pulmonary | 43 |
| Others | 3 |
| Remaining from last year | 15 |

### MENTAL

| | |
|---|---|
| New patients | 45 |
| Remaining from last year | 20 |

**TREATMENT**

| | |
|---|---|
| Penicillin | 1998 |
| N.A.B. and Bismuth | 489 |
| Emetine | 106 |
| Streptomycin (with P.A.S.) | 2746 |
| Osteo-calcium Vitamin D | 1148 |
| Others | 624 |
| Artificial Pneumo-Thorax | 211 |
| Pneumo-peritoneum | 223 |
| Phrenic Avulsion | 12 |

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## RESULTS

| | Total. | Cured. | Improved. | Arrested. | Still under Treatment. | Not Improved. | Died. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Syphilis | 43 | 32 | 10 | — | — | 1 | — |
| Gonorrhoea | 18 | 17 | — | — | 1 | — | — |
| Dysentery | 47 | 44 | 1 | — | 2 | — | — |
| Leprosy | 7 | — | 3 | — | 2 | 2 | — |
| Others | 34 | 30 | 2 | — | — | 1 | 1 |
| *T.B. | 61 | — | 18 | 1 | 17 | 15 | 10 |
| Mental | 65 | 2 | 21 | — | 22 | 17 | 3 |
| Totals | 275 | 125 | 55 | 1 | 44 | 36 | 14 |

* 4 T.B. patients transferred to Miraj Sanatorium, India.

## MALE EUROPEAN NURSING HOME IN-PATIENTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Acute Appendicitis | 16 |
| Fractures and Injuries | 14 |
| Heat Exhaustion | 13 |
| Respiratory Disease | 8 |
| Abdominal Disease | 8 |
| Septic complaints | 8 |
| Peptic Ulcer | 8 |
| Genito-urinary | 5 |
| Mental states | 5 |
| Acute Abdomen | 4 |
| Dermatitis | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 28 |
| Total | 121 |

There were two deaths—(1) Diabetic Coma ; (2) Perforated Gastric Ulcer.

## MAJOR OPERATIONS

(a) ABDOMINAL :

| | |
|---|---|
| Appendicectomy | 35 |
| Laparotomy | 10 |
| Entero-enterostomy | 5 |
| Gastro-enterostomy and Vagotomy | 1 |
| Gun-shot wounds, intestinal repair * | 1 |
| Colostomy | 1 |
| Perforated Duodenal | 1 |
| Volbulus | 1 |
| Gall Bladder | 4 |
| Cholecysto-Jejunostomy | 1 |
| Meckyl's Diverticulum | 1 |
| Ventral Hernia | 5 |
| Strangulated Hernia | 5 |
| Inguinal Hernia | 67 |
| Amoebic Abscess Liver | 1 |

(b) RECTO-GENITO-URINARY

| | |
|---|---|
| Piles | 106 |
| Fistula-in-Ano | 28 |
| Hydrocoele | 14 |
| Orchidectomy | 6 |
| Suprapubic cystotomy | 9 |
| Renal stone | 2 |
| Ureteric stone | 4 |
| Bladder stone | 5 |
| Prostasectomy | 6 |
| Others | 16 |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (c) | **BONE** | |
| | Excision head of Radius | 2 |
| | Excision fracture fragments | 1 |
| | Kirschner and Steinmann's pin osteosynthesis | 11 |
| | Plating | 3 |
| | Amputation | 5 |
| | Others | 10 |
| (d) | **OPHTHALMIC** | |
| | Cataract—intracapsular | 2 |
| | Cataract—capsulotomy | 22 |
| | Cataract—spoon delivery | 1 |
| | Needling | 2 |
| | Iridectomy | 32 |
| | Iridencleisis | 4 |
| | Dacryocystectomy | 4 |
| | Evisceration | 6 |
| | Enucleation | 8 |
| | Trichiasis—partial tarsectomy | 151 |
| | Others | 2 |
| (e) | **MISCELLANEOUS** | |
| | Sub maxillary stone | 1 |
| | Phrenic Avulsion | 12 |
| | Grafts | 19 |
| | T.B. Glands | 2 |
| | Suture of tendon | 2 |
| | Drainage of chest | 1 |
| | Tumours | 4 |
| | Others | 2 |

**RESULTS**

| | |
|---|---|
| Total number | 644 |
| Cured | 553 |
| Improved | 54 |
| Not Improved | 23 |
| Died | 14 |

**ANAESTHETICS**

| | |
|---|---|
| Spinal | 237 |
| Intravenous | 88 |
| Local | 194 |
| General | 125 |

**MINOR OPERATIONS**

| | |
|---|---|
| Cysts | 17 |
| Circumcision | 46 |
| Stitches | 127 |
| Abscess | 214 |
| Teeth extraction | 906 |
| Aspiration | 14 |
| Tapping | 12 |
| Plasters for fractures | 60 |
| Sounds and Bougie; | 75 |
| Retrograce Pyelogram | 11 |
| Cystoscopy | 33 |
| Artificial Pneumo-Thorax | 211 |
| Pneumo-Peritoneum | 223 |
| Sub-Conjunctival Injection | 3 |
| Pterygium | 5 |
| F.B. Eyes | 27 |
| Others | 114 |
| TOTAL | 2098 |
| Dispensaries | 1003 |
| GRAND TOTAL | 3101 |

## LABORATORY AND X-RAY DEPARTMENTS

| | |
|---|---|
| **BLOOD TESTS :** | **TOTAL 5469** 164 |
| TOTAL Kahn's | 2201 |
| Khan positive | 334 |
| TOTAL Malaria films | 358 |
| M.T. positive | 40 |
| B.T. positive | 16 |
| Haemoglobin estimations | 244 |
| Red Cell counts | 64 |
| White Cell counts | 951 |
| Differential counts | 569 |
| Haemocrits | 10 |
| Erythrocyte Sedimentation Rates | 1026 |
| Widal agglutinations | 40 |
| B. Typhi positive | 21 |
| B. Paratyphi positive | 11 |
| Rh. grouping | 6 |
| **URINE TESTS :** | **TOTAL 1059** |
| Albumin | 178 |
| R.B.Cs | 116 |
| W.B.Cs. | 140 |
| Casts | 69 |
| Sugar | 189 |
| Bile | 38 |
| Normal | 549 |
| **STOOL TESTS :** | **TOTAL 1464** |
| Entamoeba Histolytica—amoebae | 36 |
| Entamoeba Histolytica—cysts | 30 |
| Entamoeba Coli—cysts | 220 |
| Ova Ascaris | 443 |
| Ova Ancylostomata | 32 |
| Miscellaneous | 551 |
| Normal | 249 |
| **SPUTUM TESTS :** | **TOTAL 773** |
| T.B. positive | 60 |
| **Bacteriological Cultures** | 294 |
| B. Shiga and Flexner | 6 |
| Salmonella | 2 |
| Meningococci | 7 |
| **Biochemical estimations** | **TOTAL 174** |
| **MISCELLANEOUS :** | **TOTAL 205** |
| Urethral smears. TOTAL | 58 |
| Conjunctival smears. TOTAL | 17 |
| G.C. Positive | 21 |
| Ear clippings—Leprosy. TOTAL | 38 |
| B. Leprae Positive | 5 |
| Others | 92 |

### TOTAL EXAMINATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| Laboratory | 9480 |
| X-Rays | 4497 |

**BAHRAIN GOVERNMENT MALE DISPENSARIES**

| | *Muharraq* | *°E. Rafaa* | *W. Rafaa* | *Sitra* | *Karranakan* | *Aali* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total Patients | 29080 | 1582 | 3047 | 3252 | 2339 | 3415 | 41815 |
| New Patients | 12274 | 670 | 1252 | 1011 | 1159 | 1372 | 17738 |
| Old Patients | 16806 | 912 | 1795 | 1341 | 1180 | 2043 | 24077 |
| Schools | 7599 | 357 | — | 1195 | 785 | 3148 | 30884 |
| Opthalmia | 1518 | 76 | 188 | 135 | 150 | 196 | 2263 |
| Malaria | 325 | 3 | 17 | 10 | 18 | 19 | 395 |
| Venereal Disease | 134 | 3 | 5 | 68 | 13 | 7 | 230 |
| Dysentery | 189 | 19 | 40 | 16 | 27 | 34 | 325 |
| Worms | 758 | 58 | 143 | 122 | 139 | 128 | 1348 |
| T.B. | 24 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 7 | 3 | 41 |
| Minor Operations | 1003 | — | — | — | — | — | 1003 |
| Injections | 764 | 21 | 94 | 478 | 204 | 104 | 1665 |
| Vaccinations | 54 | — | 140 | — | 115 | — | 309 |

° = *Newly opened.*

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## FEMALE STATISTICS

Report by Dr. I. M. A. Doeg, Lady Medical Officer.

During the year the need for increased accommodation for women patients has made itself increasingly felt. This is more particularly so in the Maternity Department where on several occasions extra beds and "shake downs" have had to be provided to accommodate the overflow of patients beyond the full capacity of the present wards. As regards private room accommodation this has for a long time been completely inadequate for our numbers. In most instances the midwifery cases are remaining in hospital only 7 or 8 days instead of 10 days as formerly—but even so the beds are always full.

During the year a third Indian Lady Doctor has come and the Nursing Staff has been increased enabling us to have two nurses on night duty.

An Ante-natal Clinic has been started on Wednesday evenings from 5—7 p.m. and from the outset has been very well attended.

The Clinics in Muharraq Dispensary have been trebled.

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# FEMALE MEDICAL STATISTICS

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## WOMEN'S HOSPITAL, MANAMA

### OUT-PATIENT DEPARTMENT

1372

| | Adults | Children |
|---|---|---|
| New cases | 7,562 | 5,930 |
| Return cases | 14,289 | 10,658 |
| | 21,851 | 16,588 |

**PREDOMINATING DISEASES**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Diseases of Women | 517 | — |
| Pregnancy | 571 | — |
| Abortion | 82 | — |
| Disease of the Ear, Nose and Throat | 409 | 631 |
| Diseases of the Eye | 683 | 579 |
| Fractures and Dislocations | 18 | 20 |
| Burns | 23 | 56 |
| Other injuries | 81 | 86 |
| Haemorrhoids | 27 | — |
| General surgical conditions | 32 | 46 |
| Ulcers and Skin diseases | 417 | 978 |
| Septic conditions | 150 | 177 |
| Anthrax | 104 | 80 |
| Pneumonia | 28 | 112 |
| Tuberculosis (Pulmonary) | 68 | 7 |
| Tuberculosis (other forms) | 5 | 15 |
| Other diseases of the Respiratory System | 403 | 648 |
| Nephritis and other diseases of the urinary system | 48 | 86 |
| Severe Anaemia | 344 | 44 |
| Diseases of the Circulatory System | 15 | — |
| Diseases of the Liver | 17 | 6 |
| Diarrhoea | 115 | 548 |
| Dysentery | 33 | 50 |
| Intestinal Parasites | 625 | 340 |
| All other diseases of the Alimentary System | 379 | 340 |
| Malaria | 180 | 115 |
| Venereal Diseases | 43 | 9 |
| Rheumatic Conditions | 1,009 | 28 |
| Infectious Diseases | 7 | 120 |
| All other Medical Conditions | 1,228 | 866 |

| | |
|---|---|
| MINOR OPERATIONS | 71 |
| TOOTH EXTRACTIONS | 697 |
| INJECTIONS | |
| Penicillin | 8320 |
| Streptomycine | 467 |
| Others | 4522 |
| Vaccinations | 90 |
| POLICE CASES | 21 |

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



## WOMEN'S HOSPITAL. YEAR 1372.

### LABORATORY (In-Patients and Out-Patients). PATHOLOGICAL EXAMINATIONS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Total Examinations for year | | 9,786 |
| **HAEMATOLOGY** | HB | 1,287 |
| | RBC's | 596 |
| | WBC's | 2,104 |
| | Differentials | 709 |
| | Haematocils PCV's. MCV's | 4 |
| | ESR'S | 548 |
| | Malaria films : | 368 |
| | M.T. positive | 27 |
| | B.T. positive | 12 |
| **SEROLOGY** | Kahn | 718 |
| | Khan positive | 97 |
| | Widal | 61 |
| | B Thyphosus positive | 11 |
| | B Para Typhosus positive | 7 |
| | RH grouping | 33 |
| **URINES** | Total | 1,281 |
| | Albumen positive | 377 |
| | Sugar positive | 42 |
| | Caste present | 150 |
| | RBC'S present | 73 |
| | Pus Cells present | 311 |
| | Bile present | 32 |
| | N.A.D. | 554 |
| **STOOLS** | Total | 815 |
| | E. Histolytica Amoeba positive | 9 |
| | E. Histolytica Cysts positive | 10 |
| | Round worm positive | 229 |
| | Hook Worm positive | 20 |
| | EColi Cysts positive | 126 |
| | Miscellaneous ova, etc. | 277 |
| | N.A.D. | 209 |
| **SPUTUMS** | Total | 171 |
| | T.P. Positive | 15 |
| **CERVICAL SMEARS** | Total | 43 |
| | G.C. Positive | 1 |
| **EYE SMEARS** | Total | 7 |
| Ear Clippings for Leprosy | Total | 30 |
| Skin Scrapings for Fungus | Total | 40 |
| Bio Chemical Estimations | Total | 58 |
| Bacteriological Cultures | Total | 826 |
| | Dysentery positive | 7 |
| Miscellaneous Tests | | 87 |

(Blood Grouping, Bleeding and Clotting Times Filaria, etc.).

N.B.—T.B., G.C. and B Leprae positives given here refer only to new cases).

### X-RAYS

| | |
|---|---|
| In-Patients and Out-Patients | 1,346 |

## IN-PATIENT DEPARTMENT

Total Number of In-Patients treated .. .. .. .. .. 1670

### PREDOMINATING DISEASES AND RESULTS OF TREATMENT :

| | Adults. | Children. | Total. | Cured. | Relieved. | Discharged Otherwise. | Died. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Obstretrical | 827 | — | 827 | 811 | 6 | 5 | 5 |
| Gynaecological | 93 | — | 93 | 72 | 12 | 7 | 2 |
| Fractures, Bone Conditions, Injuries | 20 | 16 | 36 | 23 | 12 | 1 | — |
| Burns | 3 | 8 | 11 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 3 |
| Ulcers and Skin Diseases | 4 | 4 | 8 | 7 | 1 | — | — |
| Septic Conditions | 12 | 10 | 22 | 12 | 8 | 2 | — |
| Genera. Surgical Conditions | 31 | 15 | 46 | 37 | 2 | 4 | 3 |
| Diseases of the Ear, Nose and Throat | 22 | 7 | 29 | 27 | — | — | 2 |
| Diseases of the Eye | 61 | 4 | 65 | 52 | 10 | 3 | 0 |
| Anaemia and Malnutrition | 19 | 24 | 43 | 21 | 12 | 5 | 5 |
| Asthma | 17 | 2 | 19 | 14 | 4 | — | 1 |
| Pneumonia | 12 | 15 | 27 | 19 | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| Pulmonary Tuberculosis | 11 | 2 | 13 | — | 7 | 5 | 1 |
| Tuberculosis, other forms | 3 | 13 | 16 | 1 | 13 | 2 | — |
| All other diseases of the Respiratory System | 16 | 16 | 32 | 26 | 4 | — | 2 |
| Diseases of the Circulatory System | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Nephritis and other diseases of the Urinary System | 17 | 7 | 24 | 14 | 8 | 1 | 1 |
| Diarrhoea | 27 | 54 | 81 | 60 | 4 | 5 | 12 |
| Dysentery | 10 | 1 | 11 | 11 | — | — | — |
| Diseases of the Liver | 4 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 1 | — | — |
| Intestinal Parasites | 25 | 7 | 32 | 28 | 3 | 1 | — |
| All other diseases of the Alimentary System | 18 | 5 | 23 | 17 | 2 | 4 | — |
| Malaria | 17 | 10 | 27 | 26 | — | — | 1 |
| Diseases of the Central Nervous System | 4 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Infectious Diseases | 10 | 18 | 28 | 20 | 1 | 4 | 3 |
| All other Medical Conditions | 74 | 65 | 139 | 100 | 14 | 23 | 2 |
| | 1364 | 306 | 1670 | 1409 | 131 | 77 | 53 |

### DETAILS OF OBSTETRIC CASES :

| | Total. | Cured. | Relieved. | Discharged Otherwise. | Died. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pregnancy | 79 | 75 | 3 | 1 | — |
| Normal Labour | 530 | 529 | — | 1 | — |
| Abnormal Labour | 87 | 82 | — | 1 | 4 |
| Abortions | 98 | 96 | 1 | 1 | — |
| Puerperium | 33 | 29 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Infants born alive | 582 | | | | |
| Infants still-born | 35 | | | | |
| Infants dying during first 10 days of life | 15 | | | | |

### INJECTIONS :

| | |
|---|---|
| Blood Transfusion | 8 |
| Intravenous Injections | 487 |
| Penicillin | 3516 |
| Streptomycin | 1428 |
| Other Injections | 3853 |
| Inoculations | 26 |
| Police Cases | 13 |

### OPERATIONS :

| | |
|---|---|
| Gastrectomy | 1 |
| Gastrostomy | 1 |
| Oesophago-Cardioplasty | 1 |
| Pyloric Stenosis (Ramstedt's Op) | 1 |
| Appendicectomy | 5 |
| Ventral Hernia | 2 |
| Splenectomy | 1 |
| Transplantation of Ureters | 5 |
| Hysterectomy | 5 |
| Ovarian Cysts | 4 |
| Gilliam's Operation | 5 |

164 **OPERATIONS**—*continued.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Myomectomy | 1 |
| Laparotomy | 3 |
| A.P.Colporraphy | 6 |
| V.V. Fistula Vaginal Repair | 2 |
| R.V. Fistula Vaginal Repair | 1 |
| Other Gynaecological Operations | 4 |
| Excision Cancer, face | 1 |
| Excision Glands, neck | 3 |
| Skingraft | 1 |
| Haemorrhoids | 8 |
| Other general Operations | 7 |
| Cataract | 2 |
| Iridectomy | 3 |
| Enucleation Eye | 2 |
| Trichiasis | 87 |
| Other Eye Operations | 4 |
| Caesarean Section | 7 |
| Forceps Deliveries | 37 |
| Craniotomy | 1 |
| Internal Version | 2 |
| Manual Removal Placenta | 3 |
| Evacuation of Uterus | 35 |
| Other Obstetrical Operations | 35 |
| Dilatation and Curettage | 29 |
| Atresia | 16 |
| Abscesses | 8 |
| Sutures | 4 |
| Circumcision | 27 |
| Tonsilectomy | 6 |
| Hare-lip | 1 |
| Other minor Operations | 4 |
| Sigmoidoscopy | 4 |
| P.O.P. | 24 |

## WOMEN'S HOSPITAL—MUHARRAQ

### OUT-PATIENT DEPARTMENT

| | |
|---|---|
| New Cases | 6,581 |
| Return Cases | 17,334 |
| | 23,915 |

**PREDOMINATING DISEASES :**

| | |
|---|---|
| Diseases of Women | 201 |
| Pregnancy | 318 |
| Abortions | 47 |
| Outdoor Labour Cases | 18 |
| Diseases of the Eye | 747 |
| Ulcers and Skin Diseases | 616 |
| Injuries | 86 |
| Sepsis | 317 |
| Diseases of the Ear, Nose and Throat | 610 |
| Pneumonia | 61 |
| Asthma | 34 |
| Tuberculosis | 12 |
| All other diseases of the Respiratory System | 468 |
| Diarrhoea and Dysentery | 576 |
| Intestinal Parasites | 411 |
| Other diseases of the Alimentary System | 458 |
| Venereal Diseases | 22 |
| Malaria | 89 |
| Rheumatic Conditions | 483 |
| Infectious Diseases | 45 |
| Miscellaneous | 982 |

**OPERATIONS AND INJECTIONS**

| | |
|---|---|
| Minor Operations | 170 |
| Penicillin | 4,376 |
| Streptomycine | 11 |
| Other Injections | 2,588 |
| Vaccinations | 6 |

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## MUHARRAQ IN-PATIENT DEPARTMENT

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Total Number of In-Patients | 315 | |
| Normal Labour | | 285 |
| Normal Labour with Atresia | | 8 |
| Abnormal Labour | | 13 |
| Aborations | | 12 |
| Infants born alive | | 292 |
| Infants still-born | | 16 |
| Infants dying in first 10 days of life | | 7 |
| Maternal Deaths | | Nil |

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## HIDD HOSPITAL AND DISPENSARY OUT-PATIENT DEPARTMENT

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New Cases | 1,996 | |
| Return Cases | 6,768 | |
| TOTAL | 8,764 | |

**PREDOMINATING DISEASES :**

| | |
|---|---|
| Injuries | 28 |
| Ulcers, Sepsis and Skin Diseases | 315 |
| Diseases of the Eye | 187 |
| Diseases of the Ear, Nose and Throat | 194 |
| Pneumonia | 25 |
| Asthma | 10 |
| All other diseases of the Respiratory System | 170 |
| Diarrhoea and Dysentery | 163 |
| Intestinal Parasites | 109 |
| Other Diseases of the Alimentary System | 95 |
| Malaria | 36 |
| Rheumatic Conditions | 11 |
| Gynaecological Conditions | 28 |
| Pregnancy | 63 |
| Abortion | 15 |
| Outdoor Labour Cases | 78 |
| Infectious Diseases | 15 |
| Miscellaneous | 289 |

**INJECTIONS :**

| | |
|---|---|
| Penicillin | 2,090 |
| Other Injections | 1,053 |
| Vaccinations | 25 |

## IN-PATIENT DEPARTMENT

| | |
|---|---|
| Normal Labour | 78 |
| Abnormal Labour | 5 |
| TOTAL | 83 |
| Infants born alive | 77 |
| Infants still born | 6 |
| Infants dying first 10 days of life | Nil |

## RAFAA DISPENSARY

d64

| | |
|---|---|
| New Cases | 2,228 |
| Return Cases | 2,486 |
| TOTAL | 4,714 |

**PREDOMINATING DISEASES :**

| | |
|---|---|
| Injuries | 12 |
| Ulcers, Sepsis and Skin Diseases | 205 |
| Diseases of the Eye | 255 |
| Diseases of the Ear, Nose and Throat | 164 |
| Diseases of the Respiratory System | 287 |
| Diarrhoea and Dysentery | 120 |
| Intestinal Parasites | 254 |
| Diseases of the Alimentary System | 164 |
| Malaria | 29 |
| Rheumatic Conditions | 179 |
| Gynaecological Cases | 44 |
| Pregnancy | 90 |
| Abortions | 6 |
| Infectious Diseases | 27 |
| Miscellaneous | 384 |

**OPERATIONS AND INJECTIONS :**

| | |
|---|---|
| Minor Operations | 2 |
| Penicillin | 889 |
| Other Injections | 396 |

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## SUQ AL KHAMIS DISPENSARY

| | |
|---|---|
| New Cases | 2,207 |
| Return Cases | 1,267 |
| TOTAL | 3,474 |

**PREDOMINATING DISEASES :**

| | |
|---|---|
| Intestinal Parasites | 367 |
| Ulcers, Sepsis and Skin Diseases | 367 |
| Diseases of the Eye | 177 |
| Diseases of the Ear, Nose and Throat | 158 |
| Diseases of the Respiratory System | 177 |
| Diarrhoea and Dysentery | 95 |
| Other Diseases of the Alimentary System | 77 |
| Malaria | 88 |
| Rheumatism, etc. | 101 |
| Gynaecological Cases | 9 |
| Pregnancy | 12 |
| Abortions | — |
| Infectious Disease | 7 |
| Miscellaneous | 281 |

**INJECTIONS :**

| | |
|---|---|
| Penicillin | 560 |
| Other Injections | 197 |
| Vaccinations | 13 |

## KARZAKAN DISPENSARY

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| | |
|---|---|
| New Cases | 1,558 |
| Return Cases | 1,722 |
| TOTAL | 3,280 |

**PREDOMINATING DISEASES :**

| | |
|---|---|
| Intestinal Parasites | 392 |
| Diseases of the Eye | 221 |
| Diseases of the Ear, Nose and Throat | 80 |
| Ulcers, Sepsis and Skin Diseases | 197 |
| Diseases of the Respiratory System | 124 |
| Diarrhoea and Dysentery | 51 |
| Other Diseases of the Alimentary System | 33 |
| Malaria | 61 |
| Rheumatism, etc. | 140 |
| Gynaecological Cases | 6 |
| Pregnancy | 7 |
| Miscellaneous | 246 |

**INJECTIONS :**

| | |
|---|---|
| Penicillin | 522 |
| Other Injections | 129 |

## WOMEN'S ISOLATION HOSPITAL

| | *Total.* | *Cured.* | *Relieved.* | *D.O.* | *Died.* | *Remaining in Hospital* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pulmonary T.B. | 29 | 1 | 7 | 12 | 1 | 8 |
| Syphilis | 4 | — | 3 | — | — | 1 |
| Leprosy | 9 | — | — | — | — | 9 |
| Total | 42 | 1 | 10 | 12 | 1 | 18 |

**Anti-Malaria Control.** Control measures were continued on the same lines as in former years linking up with the Oil Company's campaign of the East and West central areas, and in addition a system of residual spraying on a large scale was introduced and the area of activities extended to cover practically the whole of the Island. The maximum labour employed at any time consisted of 27 semi-skilled and 70 unskilled workers under two supervisors.

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Malaria transmission is restricted to two periods, the first from March to June, and the second from October to January. Breeding, however, is perennial and the number of breeding places reported and treated was :—

| | Anopheline. | Culex. | Anopheline and Culex. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Town Areas .. .. .. | 188 | 1,340 | 129 |
| Garden and Country Area .. | 8.050 | 40,617 | 18.163 |
| Total .. | 8,238 | 41,957 | 18,292 |

Town breeding places are water storage containers, exposed sub-soil water, shallow wells, cesspools and faulty drains. The present building campaign is adding daily to the number in the form of cesspools and inadequate drainage. In the gardens and country areas, breeding occurs in badly maintained irrigation channels and drains, wells, borrow pits and stagnant pools resulting from an overflow.

Larvicidal measures consisted of oiling and suspensions to deal with water collections, weeding and canalising water channels and the use of larvivorous fish. A larvicidal oil containing Diesel 70 per cent., crude 20 per cent. and waste motor 10 per cent. with or without D.D.T. 1.5 per cent. was found to be most effective and economical. The measures employed against adult mosquitoes were fogging by Tifa machine, and residual spraying by Knapsack sprayers. Gammexane P.520 and D.D.T. were the chief insecticides used.

The incidence of malaria has been on the decline for some years past and is no longer a major problem. As the disease is not notifiable, it is not possible to define its exact proportions, but a spleen count carried out amongst 4,556 schoolboys gave a rate of enlarged spleen of 3.5 per cent. with the following figures for the most malarious areas :—

| School. | Total number of Boys. | Number of enlarged spleens. | Percentage. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sitra .. .. | 120 | 29 | 24.0 |
| Khamis .. .. | 281 | 48 | 15.0 |
| East Rafaa .. .. | 140 | 21 | 15.0 |
| Tubli .. .. | 60 | 8 | 13.0 |
| West Rafaa .. .. | 63 | 8 | 12.5 |
| Karrakan .. .. | 63 | 6 | 9.5 |

These figures show a decided improvement on those reported in a survey carried out some years ago when the average village spleen rate was much higher. The Bahrain Petroleum Medical Department reported a rate of 3.15 per cent. of malaria cases for the year with 0.4 per cent. occurring in the first transmission period and 2.75 per cent. for the second period. These cases were diagnosed on the presence of parasites in the blood and covered a group of 7,350 local employees from all over the Island.

Both these sets of statistics will be available in the future and will give an indication of the trend of the disease.

**School Medical Service (Boys).** This service was inaugurated in the early part of the year. The staff consisted of a Medical Officer and an Arab nursing orderly. The scope of the service was routine medical examination of all pupils, treatment of minor illnesses with the referring of the more serious cases to hospital, education in elementary hygiene and the supervision of school sanitation.

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There are 19 Boys' Schools on the Islands with an attendance of 4,318 pupils located as follows :—

| School. | | Number of Pupils. |
|---|---|---|
| West Primary | Manama | 666 |
| East Primary | Manama | 195 |
| East Kindergarten | Manama | 453 |
| Secondary | Manama | 165 |
| Technical | Manama | 54 |
| Old Kindergarten | Muharraq | 305 |
| New Kindergarten | Muharraq | 364 |
| Primary | Muharraq | 687 |
| Samhij | | 96 |
| Hidd | | 340 |
| Budaiya | | 167 |
| Khamis | | 271 |
| Tubli | | 62 |
| Sanad | | 20 |
| Aali | | 68 |
| Kazakan | | 86 |
| West Rafaa | | 64 |
| East Rafaa | | 136 |
| Sitra | | 119 |
| | Total | 4,318 |

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All these pupils were examined during the year and the results noting the defects and other relevant information recorded on an individual school medical card.

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The most common defects were :—

| Defect | Number cases... | Percentage Town School. | Country School. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Trachoma and Conjunctivitis | 1250 | 20.9 | 52.7 |
| Defective vision | 413 | 7.5 | 15.4 |
| Enlarged tonsils | 223 | 5.5 | 3.9 |
| Enlarged spleens | 182 | 1.4 | 12.3 |
| Skin diseases | 136 | 0.5 | 10.7 |
| Corneal opacities | 88 | 1.6 | 3.2 |
| Squint | 37 | 1.0 | 0.3 |

The number of defects was on the whole, much higher among boys attending country schools than boys at town schools and their rate of growth was slower between the ages of 11 and 16. (Fig. 1). A lower standard of living, malnutrition and poor sanitary conditions in the villages contribute towards this discrepancy but it is hoped that the extension of anti-malarial activities, the school medical service and, if possible, the provision of a school meal, will help to remedy this state of affairs in due course.

The measurement of the weight and height of all pupils was carried out and recorded graphically on each boy's school medical card. This procedure over a number of years should be of immense value in detecting disease and assessing health, as loss of weight, failure to gain, or cessation of growth may be early indications of such various conditions as tuberculosis, sub-acute rheumatism, malnutrition, chronic disease of an essential organ, etc. While every care was taken to ensure reasonable accuracy, the anthropometric technique employed was liable to a certain measure of error as it was not possible to provide at, or carry around to each school, a beam scale weighing machine, or a proper height measuring scale. In addition, it was often difficult to estimate the correct age, as births are not registered in Bahrain, and many children especially in towns, gain admission before the school entrance age of seven years, and are shown as being of that age. As a point of interest, comparative figures in respect of weights and heights between groups of English and Bahrain schoolboys are shown (Fig. 2) from which it will be seen that at all ages, English schoolboys are heavier and taller than Bahrain schoolboys.

## TRAFFIC BRANCH

(Report by Superintendent J. Hyde, Officer-in-charge of the Traffic Section)

**Vehicles.** During the year 1372, there was a 32.8 per cent. increase over the previous year in the registration of motor vehicles, bringing the total to 2,822, at the end of the year.

**Accidents.** There was an increase in road accidents. The total for the year was 142, 27.9 per cent. more than in 1371. Unfortunately, there were ten fatalities as compared with four for the previous year, the highest since 1364. The number of persons seriously injured was 29, an increase of 20.

Thirty-nine pedestrians were involved, three more than in the previous year. Of these, 12 were children of 15 years or under. There were three fatalities with children, including a girl aged 3 years. The only other female casualty was a child aged 6 years, who was injured.

One hundred and fifteen of the total accidents occurred during the day, the remainder, 27, were during the hours of darkness.

Of the fatal accidents, three occurred on the Awal Road, one at night. One near Manama Bus Station, one behind the West Primary School, Manama, one near Ahmedi's Ice Factory, Manama, one near Muharraq Petrol Station (during darkness), one inside the R.A.F. Camp and one on the Sitra Causeway.

Eight cases were taken to Court. In three cases, the drivers were found not to blame.

One cases is still pending.

Five motor-cycles, 11 pedal cycles and six donkey carts were involved in accidents during the year.

Fifty-five cases were prosecuted in the Courts as a result of accidents. In ten cases the persons were acquitted.

**Traffic Offences.** One hundred and twenty-eight traffic offences were taken to the Courts. The total fines amounted to Rs. 19,896/-. In four cases the offenders were sentenced to terms of imprisonment.

Thirty-two driving licences were suspended for various traffic offences.

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## PUBLIC SERVICE VEHICLES

**Taxi Cabs and Buses.** There was a considerable increase in the number of these vehicles, especially taxi cabs.

It becomes more difficult each year to provide stands for taxi cabs, and it will soon be necessary to restrict their number.

Arrangements are in hand to fit all taxi cabs with fare meters.

**Driving Tests.** One thousand three hundred and fifty-four driving tests were carried out during the year. Five hundred and twenty-three passed the required standard.

701 625 suit them, they spoke no Arabic, and were regarded by the people of Bahrain as expensive foreign mercenaries; they were useless at ordinary police work, and the Indian Officers and N.C.O.'s caused constant trouble by incessant quarrels and intrigues. The Indians were enlisted for four years, but before this period had expired I began to enlist a force of local men as police, a project which I always strongly advocated. It was from this time that the present force was started, but the final transition was not completed until the end of 1932.

574 362 684 **Crime and Prostitution.** The number of serious crimes which are committed every year in Bahrain is small in comparison to the population, which is thought to be about 150,000. Usually about one or two cases of murder are dealt with by the police during the year, but it is possible that occasional murders take place which are not detected, especially murders of women and newly born children. Although in recent years Bahrain has progressed in many ways, there are still a number of Arabs living in Hedd and Muharraq who consider that they are justified in murdering their female relations if the women bring shame on the family. A few of the very old-fashioned Arabs even consider that because the Government does not ignore such murders it is encouraging immorality. The Kadis, however, although ultra conservative in their outlook, disapprove of men taking the law into their own hands and murdering women who misbehave. In some Arab countries the fear of punishment by death for immorality has a very salutary effect, but Bahrain, although described as an Arab state, has very little in common with real Arab countries. The Baharna, who form about three quarters of the population, are not true Arabs, and the rest of the population includes all the nationalities who live around the Gulf. The only real Arabs in Bahrain are the Khalifah and a few families who came over with them from the mainland and a small number of members of mainland tribes who live almost entirely in Hedd, Muharraq, Budeya, and two or three small villages on the south coast.

[162] [548] [164] Immorality is undoubtedly increasing, but the increase in prostitution is not due to the Government but is a matter of supply and demand. During the last two years numbers of foreigners earning good pay have come to Bahrain, usually without their families, from Persia, Iraq, and India, and this has undoubtedly caused an increase in prostitution. Venereal disease is rampant, and the proportion of persons suffering from it, especially in ophthalmic forms, is very high. The medical supervision of prostitutes would undoubtedly result in an improvement in the public health. This suggestion was discussed and approved by the Manamah Municipal Council some years ago, but it has not yet been possible to arrange the medical organisation to cope with this matter.

674 681 Most of the criminal cases which are dealt with by the police are cases of theft, assault, and immorality. Several important gangs of thieves have been rounded up during the last ten years. Some of these gangs were well provided with arms and had regular methods of disposing of stolen property in Bahrain or on the mainland. Foreigners, especially Hassawis, form the majority of the criminals. There are a number of inveterate thieves who spend the greater part of their lives in prison. Such persons, on the mainland, would be punished by cutting off of their hands and finally by decapitation. The punishments inflicted by the Bahrain courts are whippings, fines, and imprisonment, but imprisonment to many of these people is no hardship: the work is not hard, they are given better food than they would obtain themselves, and the only real punishment is being deprived of women.

273 276 **Drugs and Liquor.** Liquor and drugs, such as opium, are forbidden in Bahrain, but in spite of the severe penalties which are enforced by the Bahrain courts against persons contravening the liquor regulations, the habit of drinking liquor and smoking opium is, in my opinion, steadily increasing. Ten years ago very few people drank liquor, and the smoking of opium was entirely confined to foreigners, Persians, Indians, and Baluchis. To-day many of the younger Arabs have acquired a liking for spirits, partly because they have had opportunities for drinking while travelling abroad, and frequent cases have occurred in which Arabs have been found to be taking opium.

276 439 Opium is smuggled into Bahrain from Persia, usually in native crafts, but sometimes hidden in merchandise on the mail steamers. It varies in quality, most frequently it is in large lumps weighing four or five pounds, but sometimes it is in paper-covered sticks sealed up in bundles. It is very

361 bazaar, a movie theatre, branches of the Eastern Bank and the Imperial Bank of Persia, a post office, a broadcasting station and a single gas station.

362 713 Little by little Manama is being modernized and the houses built by the Standard Oil Company for its American and British employees serve as models for the natives in the improvement of their own. There are three hospitals, one operated by the Bahrein Oil Company; a second, for men and women, with a British staff, by the government; and the third by the Arabia Mission of the Dutch Reformed Church in America. However, the facilities of these few establishments are quite limited and even under normal conditions 85% of the population suffers from one or more ailments.

164 548 The diseases endemic in Bahrein are malaria, the entire group of fevers, dysentery both amoebic and bacillary, bilharzia, trachoma and ankylostomiasis. At the head of the list should go the entire family of venereal diseases. Prostitution, forbidden in Saudi Arabia, has increased greatly under the complacent eyes of the authorities and Bahrein has become a kind of "pleasure island" where thousands of native and foreign employees of the oil companies from Arabia spend their 273 leaves and money buying cheap pleasure, drinking arak, a 100 proof, colorless distillation of dates, contributing to vice and the propagation of disease.

164 The island is liable to epidemics of plague and cholera. From 1905 to 1911 Bahrein was visited every second year by plague and during the epidemic of 1911, in Manama, Muharraq and adjacent villages alone, more than two thousand persons died. Since World War I international control of plague and more vigorous quarantine measures by the British administration have limited the recurrence of this disease. Since 1920 epidemics of plague have occurred only at five year intervals.

Cholera epidemics are less frequent, probably because the water supply is less open to contamination than formerly. However, last year's epidemic was as serious in Bahrein as in the other ports of the Persian Gulf.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

The diver puts his foot in a loop in his rope and goes down with the weight of the attached stone. When he has gathered as many oysters as he can, he gives a signal and the basket is pulled up. The stone follows, and last of all the diver, who by this time is not infrequently dead. 228

The average dive is about eight fathoms, and fifty seconds is the usual time under water, though it may be as long as three minutes. There are numerous accounts of much longer submersions, but it is impossible to fix the point where truth ends and romance begins in these tall tales. In any case, though the diver may come up more dead than alive, he is expected to make trips at five or six minute intervals, that is, diving fifty to sixty times in a single working day. Ten to twelve oysters is a good average for one dive.

It is little wonder that the divers are plagued by a multitude of occupational diseases. At the outset, suffocation is a constant danger. To protect their skin against rotting, the divers take the precaution of rubbing in an astringent called *Zift* (pine resin) every night before retiring. Every diver suffers from earache, and water pressure ruptures the eardrums of many of the men so that deafness is common. Water pressure also may break the blood vessels of the lungs, and the diver often comes from the water bleeding from the nose and ears. Sooner or later because of the pressure and salinity of the water many divers go blind. Bad teeth, rheumatism, and neuralgia are common, as well as the more serious acute bronchitis and heart trouble, to say nothing of the risk of being killed or maimed when attacked by dangerous fish. However, even divers who have lost an arm or a leg, or have been blinded, often continue to work. 229 164

It may not be out of place to recall here the beautiful verses of Matthew Arnold and to add "if the diver has a hut":

> *"And dear as the wet diver to the eyes*
> *Of his pale wife, who waits and weeps on shore,*
> *By sands of Bahrein, in the Persian Gulf;*
> *Plunging all day in the blue waves, at night,*
> *Having made up his tale of precious pearls,*
> *Rejoins her in their hut upon the shore."*

16: Marett D-3 (1948-1949) 1953 MJ1 Saudi Arabia MJ1 Bahrain MJ2



justifiably set at 1 year, no person was rotated until his replacement had arrived. There were many delays and these had a bad effect on morale. All in all, there was a tendency for the men to drink more than ordinarily, although we did not have too much trouble with alcoholism per se. We had our share of functional complaints and a few frank psychoses. Our next echelon of medical evacuation was a general hospital in Germany. This gave rise to the problem of those men who wanted to go to Germany to be hospitalized for one condition or another. It can well be imagined that a nice stay in a general hospital in Germany was a desirable change from the conditions in Arabia. Every effort was made to improve the recreational facilities and close co-operation was required of the medical personnel, chaplains, and command personnel. Among other things, a deep-sea fishing boat, which also doubled as a crash boat, was outfitted. This helped appreciably. We had a swimming pool of sorts which kept filling with sand. This was ultimately renovated and made more serviceable. Most of the recreational facilities of Aramco were open to us but there was the problem of transportation. We also had an open air movie theater that operated several nights a week. This was used to the maximum—almost everyone saw all the films. More recently the recreational facilities have been improved many fold.

Venereal disease in Saudi Arabia proper was no problem because prostitution does not exist. Our men had no contact with the local women. The native women are kept in seclusion for the most part, and when seen are shrouded in long, black dresses and heavily veiled, the entire face being covered with sort of leatherlike masks. Some cases in our men were, however, contracted from Indian prostitutes on Bahrein Island, which is located about 25 miles out in the Persian Gulf. We had planes going there almost every day and men were allowed to visit on pass. Bahrein Island is an independent sheikdom under a sort of British mandate and is the site of Bapco (British Arabian Petroleum Company). The city of Manama on Bahrein Island is quite large and served as a local shopping place for American personnel. The prostitutes there were almost 100 percent infected with one or more venereal diseases. Our incidence of infection from this source would probably have been much higher had the town been more readily accessible.

During the few cooler winter weeks our incidence of upper respiratory diseases was increased. This was especially true during the times of transition, such as early winter and early spring when the days were hot and the nights cool. After suffering with the heat for so long, there is a tendency for Americans not to clothe themselves properly when cooler weather arrives. During most of the time, short-sleeved shirts and shorts were worn. Open-

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



133 el-Kabb, runs into the island from the E. coast, penetrating nearly to the centre. The rocks of Bahrein, except those of Jebel ed-Dukhân, which are dark, are pale-coloured limestone of the Eocene Age, cometimes sandy or argillaceous, and containing much flint or other siliceous material, with both gypsum and salt. The interior depression, like the flat shores of the island, has emerged from the sea in more recent times; the latter consists of coral rocks or shelly concrete. There is a small deposit of asphalt 3 miles SSE. of Jebel 312 ed-Dukhân. The Bahrein islands are famous, like the oases of Hasa and Qatîf, for a number of springs, clear but slightly brackish, which are fed by the drainage from Nejd travelling down to the coast under the Dahanah desert. Some of the springs are submarine (*kuwâsh*); the best known of these are that called *Abu Mâkur*, close to Muharraq Island, and that near the E. extremity of *Khôr Fasht*, a large coral reef about 7 miles NW. of Bahrein Island. The best water of the archipelago comes from the *Hancini* wells N. of the central depression on Bahrein, and the *Khâlid* and *Umm Ghuweifah* wells on the adjoining plateau. The springs N. of the Khôr el-Kabb are generally almost pure, but warm, as in Hasa: the best known are called *'Adâri*, *Qassâri*, and *Abu Zeidân*.

### Climate

132 Through the nearness of the sea on all sides, and abundant irrigation, the atmosphere of Bahrein is damp and heavy, with a mean humidity ranging from 79–80 per cent. of saturation. Though [164] there is much malaria and rheumatic disease, the climate is not the most unhealthy in the Gulf. The maximum temperature, usually attained in August, is about 104° F.; the minimum, reached in December or January, about 48°. The average rainfall for the years 1910–13 was 4·55 in. The weather from October to April inclusive is not unpleasant, indoor temperature ranging between 60° and 85°. In January and February N. winds blow, and it is cold enough for fires to be acceptable. Though the weather is hot from the beginning of May to the middle of June, the heat is still tempered by the sea-breeze, and nights are fairly cool. The oppressively hot weather lasts from the middle of June to the end of September; in this period, though there may be irregular land-breezes, the thermometer remains persistently above 100° F. All rains fall between the middle of October and the middle of May, but actual wet days are few. The prevailing wind is the *Shamâl* or north-wester, which blows for forty days from the second week in June and is very violent in winter; next to this in frequency

63 Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN M2 2

Island, but fresh-water springs, said to originate in the mountains of Arabia, are found in the shallow waters about a mile from the shore. Up to around 25 years ago, most of the water used in the towns was brought by donkey carts from wells or springs in the oases; sometimes by boats from the offshore springs. Water for domestic and irrigation purposes is now obtained from springs and shallow wells, and to an increasing extent from deep wells: several hundred artesian wells have been sunk within recent years on Bahrain, Muharraq, Sitra and other islands. In 1948, a special Agriculture and Water Committee was created in the government to control the water supply and prevent unnecessary wastage.

Manama has a municipal water supply, the initial stages of which were completed in 1948. Water, derived from artesian wells, is piped to about 70 per cent of the houses and to community fountains in the older, congested districts and *barasti* settlements. In other towns, water from private wells is used, or day-by-day supplies are purchased in 5-gallon cans from commercial peddlers.

Most shallow wells and spring supplies are unprotected and seriously polluted. Since the installation of a piped water system in Manama, many of the shallow wells have been closed, with a resultant decrease in anopheline breeding and in prevalence of intestinal infections. However, numerous opportunities for contamination still occur in the distribution of water from community sources. Distilled sea water is produced by a plant at Manama, but its sale for household purposes has been restricted since the town supply became available.

### Waste Disposal

The methods of sewage disposal are generally primitive. Septic tanks are employed in connection with many of the newer houses, and in the oil company installations. Cesspits or simple privies are in use in the bazaar districts and the *barasti* quarters, as well as in the smaller towns and villages.

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Pollution of the soil is common, although the practice is discouraged in the towns.

### Fauna and Flora

Except for investigations relating to the anopheline vectors of malaria, few entomologic studies have been undertaken in Bahrain. Five species of anopheline mosquitoes have been identified—*Anopheles stephensi*, *A. culicifacies*, *A. sergenti*, *A. fluviatilis* and *A. pulcherrimus*. *A. stephensi* breeds in shallow wells, seepage pools, water storage tanks and irrigation ditches, and is responsible for a large part of the malaria transmission on the islands. While *A. culicifacies* is probably a vector in some localities, it is generally regarded as of minor importance. *A. gambiae* is not indigenous, but it is sometimes found on board dhows upon arrival in port. Species of *Culex* are widespread. However, no vectors of filariasis have been recorded locally. Species of *Aedes* are known to be present.

A campaign for the control of malarial mosquitoes has been carried on by the government since 1939. Supplementary programs are conducted by the Bahrain Petroleum Company in the vicinity of its installations and throughout the southern half of Bahrain Island. The antilarval measures include the treatment of breeding places with oil or DDT preparations and the stocking of wells and drainage ditches with the larvivorous fish, *Gambusia*. The prevalence of anopheline mosquitoes reached minimal proportions in Manama by 1948, but was still extensive in the surrounding suburbs and date garden areas. The following year, the spraying of the marshes, rubbish dumps and gardens around the main towns and the residual spraying of the houses and the bazaars with DDT and Gammexane preparations were introduced for the suppression of both flies and mosquitoes.

Flies are abundant, although their numbers have been markedly reduced in the towns since the inauguration of the residual

BAHRAIN MZ 2

Bahrain Petroleum Company. Two or three Indian dentists are reported to be practicing in Manama. 759

**Nurses.** In 1951, there were 24 trained nurses on the staffs of the different hospitals—10 in the government hospitals, 12 in the oil industry hospital and 2 in the mission hospital. In addition, 2 male nurses were working in the government institutions and 5 in the industrial. Ten nurse-midwives were connected with the government maternity hospitals and clinic.

**Others.** Bahraini and Indian medical assistants in various categories were employed in the hospitals and dispensaries.

## DISEASES

In the absence of adequate reporting of morbidity and mortality on the islands, the information available regarding the prevalence of specific diseases is necessarily incomplete. Few scientific medical investigations have been undertaken in this area. The records of cases treated in the hospitals and the dispensaries provide data of general value in assessing the health status of the people, but they are limited in scope and applicable as a rule to a small percentage of the inhabitants. Moreover, the population is continually fluctuating, and many cases of illness treated in the local hospitals originated outside Bahrain. 164

### Diseases Spread or Contracted Chiefly Through Intestinal or Urinary Tract

**Typhoid and Paratyphoid Fevers.** Typhoid fever is endemic, but apparently it is not as prevalent as the insanitary conditions regarding food and water supplies would seem to warrant. Cases tend to be sporadic, although water-borne outbreaks attributed to contaminated well supplies sometimes occur. From 48 to 60 cases were reported annually in the 4 years 1948-51—probably a small part of the numbers actually present. Paratyphoid fevers are common. According to local medical authorities, most of the cases seen in the hospitals are para- 164 364 164

p. 241(B)

164 typhoid A infections, a large proportion of which occur among nonresidents.

**Dysenteries.** Both amebic and bacillary dysentery are widespread. The percentage [134] of carriers of *Endamoeba histolytica* is believed to be high, but the relative infection rates in the general population are uncertain. Over 1,000 cases of "dysentery" were treated in government institutions in 1950. The cases among men patients registered in the government isolation hospital in the two years from November, 1948, through October, 1950, totaled 120 for the first year and 176 for the second. Amebiasis was diagnosed in 59 to 71 cases and bacillary dysentery in 56 to 67. Mixed infections were recorded in a few cases, while in the second year, 30 cases were classified as diarrhea. Laboratory confirmation is not attempted, except in hospital cases, and the results of bacteriologic examinations are incomplete [136] in many instances. *Shigella paradysenteriae* (Flexner) predominates among the recognized infections, but Shiga, Schmitz, Sonne and Newcastle strains are encountered with 164 considerable frequency. The health authori- 744 ties anticipate a diminution in the prevalence of dysentery in Manama and Muharraq as a result of the fly control campaigns initiated in 1950.

**Cholera.** Cholera was formerly recurrent in the Persian Gulf ports, all of which are exposed to spread of the infection by coastwise traffic. Within recent years the rigorous application of quarantine measures has curtailed the number of outbreaks. Cholera has not appeared in Bahrain since the middle 1930s, when it was traced to the crew of a dhow visiting the port of Manama.

164 **Helminthiases.** Infection with intestinal 136 worms is almost universal. The rate of infection with *Ascaris lumbricoides* is estimated at 95 to 100 per cent. Heavy infections are encountered frequently, especially in children. Enterobiasis and trichuriasis are common. Taeniasis, caused by the beef tapeworm, *Taenia saginata*, is sometimes seen. A few cases of echinococcosis are treated in the local hospitals each year; the

136 164 majority are believed to have been acquired elsewhere. Cases of ancylostomiasis and schistosomiasis are occasionally observed, primarily among non-Bahrainis, yet no indigenous foci of infection are known to exist.

### Diseases Spread Chiefly Through the Respiratory Tract

164 **Tuberculosis.** Tuberculosis is widespread, but little precise information is available regarding its prevalence in the local population. The disease is believed to be extensive in Arabia, particularly among 164 the Bedouin. In Bahrain, the migration of 464 workers to and from the mainland, over- 513 crowding and the generally low standards 758 of personal hygiene are regarded as factors influencing the spread of the infection. The facilities for diagnosis and treatment are 754 inadequate. The government operates a 15- 758 bed tuberculosis sanatorium and provides treatment for tuberculous cases in its regular hospitals and dispensaries. It also subsidizes the transportation of certain cases to India for treatment, since many individuals do not respond favorably under the climatic conditions prevailing in Bahrain. About 220 to 350 cases were under observation in government institutions annually from November, 1948, to November, 1950. 164 Pulmonary tuberculosis predominates, but a high rate of nonpulmonary infections also is encountered.

**Smallpox.** Bahrain is especially vulnerable to the introduction of smallpox from the neighboring Persian Gulf territories, Pakistan and India, and outbreaks are recorded at frequent intervals. Large-scale epidemics were reported in 1941-42 and in 1948-50, with sporadic cases in the intervening years. The most recent epidemic started in December, 1948, in the Hora section of Manama, and spread in a series of localized outbreaks, persisting into 1950. Eighty-six cases were transferred to the quarantine hospital in 1949, and about one third of that number the following year. The percentage of unrecognized infections

was also believed to be high in many districts. The fatality rates among the hospitalized cases averaged 6 to 22 per cent. The disease subsided in the summer of 1950, and no cases were observed in 1951.

Vaccination against smallpox is not compulsory, but the health authorities endeavor to promote it in the school population. In 1948-49, a house-to-house campaign was carried on in the infected sections of Manama, and vaccination centers were established in the outlying districts. Vaccination is required of travelers to Bahrain, and persons who arrive without valid certificates of immunization are vaccinated by the medical officers upon landing.

**Other Infections.** Pneumonia is prevalent: a large proportion of the cases are probably bronchopneumonias. Measles, mumps and whooping cough are endemic, and often epidemic. Chickenpox and poliomyelitis are also endemic, but the reported cases are usually few in number. Meningococcus meningitis is sporadic, and occasional small outbreaks are recorded.

### Diseases Spread or Contracted Chiefly Through Contact

**Venereal Diseases.** Venereal diseases constitute a major problem, due to the transitory nature of a large section of the population. Local medical authorities believe that the syphilitic infection rate approximates 60 to 70 per cent. Numerous mild nonvenereal infections are observed among children, although the familiar manifestations of congenital syphilis are relatively rare. Gonorrhea is widespread, but chancroid and lymphogranuloma venereum are of minor significance. Cases of venereal disease are treated at the isolation hospital and the various dispensaries.

**Diseases of the Eyes.** Eye infections are prominent throughout this region. Ignorance of the basic principles of hygiene and the prevalence of flies, as well as the irritating effects of sand and wind during the *shamal* seasons, are underlying factors in the spread of trachoma, conjunctivitis and

p. 263(A)

63 Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
MI Middle East
BAHRAIN MZ 2

other eye diseases. Trachoma is widely distributed, and estimates of prevalence range from 35 to 90 per cent, depending upon the locality. Trichiasis is frequent. The most serious effects are often observed among immigrants from Saudi Arabia, the Trucial Coast and Iran. In an average of over 1,200 men patients receiving medical or surgical ophthalmic treatment in the government hospital in each of the two years 1949-50, about 30 per cent were suffering from trichiasis. Special attention is given to the treatment of eye diseases in all the hospitals and dispensaries, and clinics are conducted in some of the boys' schools.

**Diseases of the Skin.** Mycotic infections of the skin are common, but the children appear to be relatively free from favus. In spite of the low standards of hygiene among the poorer inhabitants, rabies is seldom seen.

**Leprosy.** Although leprosy is present among the Baharna, it is rare in the Arab community. Cases are found on all the islands, probably with greatest frequency on Sitra. The severity of the infection seems to be decreasing, and the percentage of childhood cases in recent years has been low. The actual number of lepers in the indigenous population is uncertain: it was believed to be about 100 in 1951. No segregation is practiced, but lepers are forbidden to congregate and beg in the towns.

**Other Infections.** Sporadic cases of tetanus and of tetanus neonatorum occur occasionally. Rabies is not recorded at present.

### Diseases Spread by Arthropods

**Malaria.** Malaria was formerly one of the foremost disease hazards in Bahrain, but in recent years its importance has declined progressively with the expansion of the anopheline control program. The present morbidity is believed to be insignificant in comparison with that encountered before the inauguration of the government's anti-malaria campaign in 1939. Treatment statistics are of doubtful value, yet they are

P. 263(B)

164 useful in portraying the persistence of the
758 disease. Records for 1949-50 indicate that between 1,700 and 2,000 persons were treated annually for malaria in the government hospitals and dispensaries alone.
164 There are normally two seasons of transmission—from the middle of March through June, with a peak early in June, and from the middle of September to the middle of January, with a peak in November. When climatic conditions are exceptionally favorable for anopheline breeding, however, transmission may take place throughout the year, with a minimum of activity in the winter months.

Because of its location on the edge of the date garden belt, Manama has always been highly malarious. As the result of control operations, the degree of infection has lately been reduced to a low level in the town, but up to 1950 it was still extensive on the outskirts. In limited malaria surveys made in January and again in May and June, which were reported in 1938,[1] the spleen rate among 234 boys of 4 to 14 years of age examined in Manama averaged about 39 per cent, while the corresponding rate among 137 boys in Muharraq was 13 per cent. The parasite indices in January were calculated at about 22 per cent in Manama and 6 per cent in Muharraq.

136 In general, *Plasmodium vivax* infections
164 predominate in June and *P. falciparum* in
[167] November. In the opinion of some local medical authorities, the prevalence of *P. falciparum* was enhanced by the mobility of military and civilian personnel in this region during the war years 1939-45, but it is now diminishing. In 249 blood films prepared in January in connection with the above investigation, malaria parasites were detected in 34: *P. falciparum*, in 10; *P. vivax*, in 13; and *P. malariae*, in 10; while one showed both *P. falciparum* and *P. malariae*. *Anopheles stephensi* is considered to be the principal vector, but *A. culicifacies* is probably implicated to some extent in certain localities.

164 **Plague.** Severe outbreaks of plague have

p. 264(A)

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1961) 1964
MI Middle East
BAHRAIN MZ 2

164 occurred intermittently in the past, chiefly in Manama and Muharraq. The islands are [744] exposed to the introduction of the disease from neighboring territories, but the enforcement of quarantine regulations has prevented its establishment for several decades.

Other Infections. Although a mild degree of louse infestation occurs among the inhabitants in some congested areas, louse-borne typhus is rarely, if ever, reported. Imported cases of cutaneous leishmaniasis, or Oriental sore, and filariasis are occasionally treated in the local medical institutions, but the insect vectors are not known to be present, and indigenous infections have not been recorded. Guinea worm infection is sometimes seen among persons from Iran, but it is not found in the resident population.

## Nutritional Diseases

146 361 511 The standards of nutrition have improved materially in the last few years. Undernutrition is common, but serious defects are seen primarily among the inhabitants of outlying villages and the families of workers from the mainland. Poverty, traditional dietary customs and intestinal parasitism are contributory factors. Subclinical deficiencies in vitamin C are widespread, and scurvy is observed from time to time. Rickets is frequent among the children in the towns. Anemia is prevalent, and hemoglobin levels of 25 to 30 per cent are not unusual among the women.

## SUMMARY

619 131 282 315 Bahrain is an independent sheikhdom which consists of an archipelago of 5 main islands situated in the Persian Gulf near the coast of Arabia. It has long been famous as a pearl fishing center, and, since 1932, has enjoyed prosperity as an oil-producing area.

161 162 795 144 It has a heterogeneous population which numbered 109,650 in 1950, including 18,471 foreigners. The people are predominantly of mixed Arab and Persian origin, and about 96 per cent are Moslems.

p. 264(B)

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 MI Middle East
Bahrein M22



one went to the Sheikh for the maintenance of his household and family; one was for current Government expenses and development projects; and one for investments abroad as a reserve for future contingencies. With the increase in income—directly from oil revenue and indirectly from customs duties—as a result of the Company's activities, Government services increased and a number of development projects were undertaken. By 1951 there were three hospitals on the islands—the American Mission Hospital and the Company hospital mentioned above, a Government hospital for men and women operated by a British staff, including a section for the mentally ill—as well as a number of municipal clinics. General health conditions were not good: malaria and other fevers and dysentery were prevalent; bilharzia, trachoma and hookworm took a heavy toll; and above all, a large proportion of the population was infected with venereal diseases. Medical services were supplied to every Bahreini free of charge.

Though there had been some educational facilities before the development of the oil industry,[22] it was not until 1934 that the Government engaged a number of Iraqi teachers and enlarged the facilities. By 1951 there were nine elementary schools, one secondary school, founded in 1940, and one school for girls opened in 1939, all tuition-free. The schools were staffed with 258 teachers, who instructed some 6,000 boys and girls. The Government, in conjunction with the Company, also provided scholarships to graduates of the secondary schools for study abroad.

The Government built roads, bridges, harbors and a large airport; water was supplied from artesian wells instead of being brought in by boat; and efforts were made to improve housing conditions. Though without a single newspaper in 1951, Bahrein had a broadcasting station, built in 1940 for Allied war purposes, a dial telephone system, forty miles of roads and 2,000 automobiles. Most of the streets of the main towns were electrically lighted, and a sewerage system had been installed. The net result was a higher standard of living for the Bahreinis, not only in comparison with their own pre-oil standard, but also with the people of the neighboring states.[23]

[22] In 1926 there was one school for boys only, and it was poorly attended. James Bell, "He Said Forward! to the Backward," *Life*, Nov. 17, 1952.

[23] U.N., *Summary 1952-53*, 58-59; Sanger, *The Arabian Peninsula*, 148-149;

## CONCLUSIONS

161 The most striking fact which has emerged from the second census of Bahrein is that although there has been an increase in the total population of about 20% in nine years yet this increase is confined to Manamah and Muharraq alone, the growth of the population of Manamah being twice as much as in Muharraq. Even if the number of men who are working abroad is taken into consideration the lack of increase in the rural districts discloses an unsatisfactory state of affairs in the villages which was only revealed by the census. During the preliminary registration, which in the case of the villages took about a fortnight, and the night of the census, the census staff recorded 43 deaths in a village population of about 31,500 (the Arab villages were not included in this total). In one small village with a population of 248 persons there were eight deaths in ten days and in every case the deaths were of very young children, yet no epidemic existed.

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464 There is no unemployment in Bahrain and the cost of living in the villages is no higher than it was a few years ago. There is no reason to suppose that the lack of increase in the rural population is due to economic causes.

744 The people in the towns and in the villages which are near the towns make more use every year of the public health facilities which are provided by the Government. Cleanliness and sanitation have improved and the anti-malaria work which the Government has carried out has done much to reduce malaria, but few women patients come to the hospitals from distant villages, although today almost all the villages are on bus routes. From what information can be obtained, without vital statistics, it would appear that infant mortality rate in the villages is extremely high. It used to be equally high in the towns but conditions in this respect in the towns have much improved.

At the end of the year the amount in the Police Provident Fund was Rs. 2,11,507. The balance of the Police Fund was Rs. 1,563/-, the sum of Rs. 5,744/- was paid out in loans to Police and Natives, most of the payments being for building or repairing houses. 625 657

**Crimes and Accidents.** There was a slight increase in the number of serious crimes which is thought to be partly due to the large influx of foreigners, especially Omanis, during recent years. 674 186

On 25th January, 1953, some Omanis who were living in the brothel area, missed one of their party, Abdulla bin Salim. They went to his house which was found to be locked. One of them climbed over the wall and on entering the house he found Abdulla with his throat cut. The victim was a bad character, a procurer in the brothel area. Police investigations produced no evidence to justify a prosecution.

On 13th December, 1952, a youth named Abdul Husain bin Isa, who worked as a car cleaner and who habitually slept in a garage in Manama, was found by the owner of the garage, when he came to take out his car, lying dead on his bed with a wound in his back and signs of having been throttled. The garage doors were locked, one key was in the possession of the youth and the owner of the garage had another key. The garage, however, could have been entered by an inner door. There appeared to be no motive for the murder as the victim was not of the type to be associated with an affair of sex. The Police arrested the owner of the garage and his brother and laid a charge of murder against them in the Bahrain Court. The family of the murdered man were insistent that he had been murdered by the owners of the garage. The case was heard and the accused were acquitted owing to lack of evidence. 674 695 681

On 17th May, 1953, one Abdul Husain bin Haji Sulman bin Khalaf, a local Bahraini, was walking in a lane near his house, at night. His brother, Ibrahim, came on him from behind and stabbed him twice with a knife. He was seriously injured but after hospital treatment he recovered. The reason for the attack was a family quarrel. The attacker was sentenced to four years imprisonment with hard labour.

On 7th November, 1952, two men were cleaning their hands with petrol at one of the garages in Manama. Another man lit a match which ignited the petrol causing serious burns to both of the men, one of whom subsequently died in hospital.

An Omani came from Dubai and reported to the Police that two years before his son, aged 16, who was working in a garage in Bahrain, died from burns. It was established that the boy had died in hospital as a result of burns but no evidence was forthcoming about the cause of the burns.

A man who was arrested for pickpocketing attempted to commit suicide by cutting his throat with a razor blade, in the Police Station.

There were two deaths from electrocution. A boy of 12 years caught hold of an electric wire in a shop and was killed, and a man climbed an electric standard, in order to catch birds, touched a live wire and was killed immediately. [165]

Five cases of accidental drowning occurred, two men were lost when their small fishing craft capsized, an old man, reputed to be nearly 100 years old, fell into the sea from a fishing boat during stormy weather off Barbar and two children were drowned on the shore west of Manama town. In none of these cases was there any suggestion of foul play.

On 23rd August, 1953, some boys were out shooting on the shore near Jasrah. A shot from the gun of Mohamed Ahmed Al Ghatam entered the neck of one Ibrahim bin Mohamed Al Khalifah and killed him. The owner of the gun immediately left Bahrain. His father was ordered to pay Rs. 5000 to the relatives of the victim and to remove himself from Jasrah and an order was passed against the son forbidding him to return to Bahrain for an indefinite period. The families were related and were branches of the Ruling Family.

There were 280 cases of theft reported to the Police against 303 cases in 1371. Of these cases 55 were presented in Court, 133 cases were undetected and 92 cases were not proceeded with for lack of evidence. Most of the cases were pickpocketing and thefts of clothes.

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G: Bahrain G-5 date) 1953 M22 Bahrain M22

## ACCIDENTS RETURN 1972

Total Number of Accidents .. 142

| ACCIDENTS Involving Death or Injury to Persons | | | ACCIDENTS Involving Damage to Vehicles. | | ACCIDENTS Involving Damage to Property. | | ACCIDENTS Involving Injury to Animals. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 55 | | | 95 | | 8 | | 3 | |
| Number of Persons Injured. 79 | | | Number of Vehicles Damaged 145 | | Property Damaged. 8 | | Number of Animals Injured. 3 | |
| Slightly. 40 | Seriously. 29 | Fatally. 10 | Slightly. 107 | Seriously. 36 | Slightly. 5 | Seriously. 3 | Killed. 1 | Injured. 2 |

COURT PROCEEDINGS AS RESULT OF ACCIDENTS .. .. .. 55

| BAHRAIN COURT | | | | AGENCY COURT | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number Cases. | Number of Persons Accused. | Convictions. | Acquittals. | Number Cases. | Number of Persons Accused. | Convictions. | Acquittals. |
| 45 | 45 | 40 | 5 | 10 | 10 | 10 | Nil. |

The two animals shown above as "Injured" are : Two Donkeys.

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## ROAD ACCIDENTS DURING EACH MONTH—1952

| (Month) | No. of Accidents | Injuries | Fatals |
|---|---|---|---|
| Moharram | 11 | 8 | — |
| Safar | 11 | 9 | 2 |
| R/Awal | 10 | 5 | — |
| R/Thani | 9 | 2 | 1 |
| J/Awal | 13 | 9 | — |
| J/Thani | 11 | 6 | — |
| Rajab | 15 | 4 | 1 |
| Shaban | 12 | 3 | — |
| Ramadan | 12 | 4 | 1 |
| Shawal | 11 | 2 | 2 |
| D/Qadah | 17 | 4 | 2 |
| D/Haj | 10 | 7 | 1 |

## PEDESTRIANS INJURED OR KILLED

| No. | Sex. | Age. | Injured. | Fatal. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Male | 45 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 50 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 35 | — | 1 |
| 1 | " | 6 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 60 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 30 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 15 | — | 1 |
| 1 | " | 10 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 35 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 10 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 11 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 50 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 6 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 45 | — | 1 |
| 1 | " | 12 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 4 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 30 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 30 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 30 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 40 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 8 | — | 1 |
| 1 | " | 60 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 15 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 47 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 50 | — | 1 |
| 1 | " | 30 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 53 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 60 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 50 | — | 1 |
| 1 | " | 35 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 50 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 12 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 35 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 30 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 45 | — | 1 |
| 1 | " | 8 | 1 | — |
| 1 | Female | 10 | 1 | — |
| 1 | " | 3 | — | 1 |
| 1 | " | 6 | 1 | — |
| 38 | | | 31 | 6 |

Eisenmann et al G-5 (1942-1951) 1954
MI Middle East -
BAHRAIN of 1952

proximately 26,000 residents, and Hedd, a pearl fishing center, around 10,000. The population exceeded that of the 1941 census by almost 20,000; the increase was confined mainly to the towns of Manama and Muharraq, and was attributed in large part to immigration.

Since the organization of the first government school in 1919, education has made considerable progress, but expansion is handicapped by a shortage of trained teaching personnel. In 1950, the Bahrain government supported 13 primary schools for boys —8 in the towns and 5 in the villages. Educational facilities were made available to girls in 1928, and at present 6 primary schools are in operation. Of the 5,770 pupils registered in government schools in 1950-51, slightly over 1,700 were girls. A few private schools are established in Manama, while Koranic schools are found in most towns and villages. The government also maintains a secondary school, a technical school and a school hostel for boys, and provides scholarships for qualified students for advanced study at the American University of Beirut and in Great Britain. In the recent census, the literacy rate in the indigenous population was estimated at 10 per cent.

### Vital Statistics

The registration of births and deaths is not compulsory in Bahrain, and no data for the calculation of vital statistics are obtainable. Local medical authorities agree that the mortality rates in infancy and early childhood are uniformly high. Observations made by the census enumerators in 1950 suggest that the infant mortality is particularly serious in the rural villages, in contrast with the towns, where living conditions have improved within recent years. The maternal mortality rates are correspondingly high.

The size of the population remained practically stationary in the rural districts in the 9-year interval between the first and the second census surveys. The rate of increase in areas outside the towns of Ma-

1.256(6)

63 Simmons et al G-8 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN 1932

nama, Muharraq and Hedd and the 3 villages of East and West Rafaa and Sakhir was less than 1 per cent.

## Social Economy

Prior to the opening of the Bahrain oil fields, the economy of the islands was based upon pearl fishing and the transhipment of goods between Iran, India and other countries and the neighboring Arabian ports. The waters of the Persian Gulf contain famous pearl fishing banks, and, since ancient times, Bahrain has been recognized as the traditional center of the industry. It constituted the principal source of wealth for centuries, but it reached a low level in the 1920s, due in part to the competition of Japanese cultured pearls in the world markets. Early records are nonexistent, but the former Bahrain pearl fleets probably consisted of 600 to 1,000 vessels. The number has declined progressively: only 83 departed for the banks in 1950. In that year, about 2,000 Bahrainis were engaged in pearl fishing during the season from mid-April to October, undoubtedly a fraction of the total employed when the demand for pearls was at its height.

In previous decades, dhow building also was one of the major industries of Bahrain, but its decline has paralleled that of the pearl fisheries. Nine boats were constructed in 1949, as against 100 reported in 1928-29.

Today, oil is the foundation of Bahrain's prosperity. The royalties derived from the industry not only have bolstered the declining resources of the government, but have made possible the expansion of public works and social services. Operations are conducted by the Bahrain Petroleum Company, Ltd., which holds long-term concessions from the Sheikh of Bahrain for the development of the petroleum resources of the islands. Oil was discovered in the Jabal al Dukhan region, near the center of Bahrain Island, in 1932, and production started in 1934. The proven reserves of this field are estimated in the neighborhood of 200 million barrels. The company also operates a

p. 257(A)

was also believed to be high in many districts. The fatality rates among the hospitalized cases averaged 6 to 22 per cent. The disease subsided in the summer of 1950, and no cases were observed in 1951.

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## RESULTS OF THE CENSUS

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POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION. The number of people in Bahrain on the night of 3rd March 1950 (12th Jamad-al-Awal, 1369) was 109,650. This represents a growth in the population of about 20,000 since the first census was taken in 1941 ( 1359). The increase was not evenly distributed; in 1941 about 55% of the population lived in the three towns, Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd and the rest of the inhabitants of Bahrain lived in the villages. The proportion of town and country dwellers has changed, the three towns now contain 61% of the population and the villages contain 39%, (these figures do not include Awali). There are about 90 villages and many small hamlets and settlements in Bahrain.

In Manamah the census showed a population of 39,648, an increase of nearly 12,000 (43%) in nine years. The population of Muharraq and Hedd was 25,577, an increase of 4,138 (20%) over the 1941 figure. In the villages, excluding the two Rafaas, there was an increase of only 344.

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From records in the Passport Office at the time of the census it appeared that about 6,000 persons, almost all of them males, who normally resided in Bahrain, were absent from the country. It can be assumed that most of these men were working with oil companies and contractors in the neighbouring states. In 1941 very few Bahrain Arabs were working abroad. The proportion of men who are employed outside Bahrain is very high.

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The large increase in the population of Manamah is not due to urbanization but it is due to immigration. The village communities especially in the Shia villages are very closely knit and insular so the census clerks had no difficulty in ascertaining whether there had been

621 166 any exodus from the villages to the towns. It was found that there had been no movements from the villages to Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd. With a few exceptions the population of individual villages was the same as it was nine years ago. The only population movements which took place were among the Arab villages. In Dour, the last village on the eastern coast, which in 1941 contained 166 people only one house remained occupied; the population of Jow, a mile or two north of Dour, decreased from 427 in 1941 to 214 in 1950. Some of the people from these two places crossed to Qatar, others moved to Rafaa. The population of the two Rafaas, and Sakhir, was 2,929 in 1941, it is now over 4,000.

## NATIONALITY AND RELIGION

167 Assuming that the growth of Manamah's population was mainly due to more foreigners having settled in the town, which is very evident, it might be expected that the total number of foreigners in the country would be very much larger than the number which was recorded in 1941. In 1941 there were 15,930 foreigners. In 1950 the number was [563] 18,471. The largest foreign minority were, and still are, the Persians who in 1941 numbered 7,547 but in 1950 only 6,934 persons registered themselves as Persians. This [641] figure is open to doubt. For many reasons it is advantageous for Persians to acquire Bahrain nationality, if they are Bahrain subjects they can buy land and can travel to Persia on Bahrain passports. During the last year or two the Government has refused all applications by Persians for Bahrain nationality. It is probable therefore that a number of Persians described themselves as Bahrain subjects in the hope that they would be accepted as such./ As most foreigners in Bahrain carry no papers which could establish their nationality it was not possible for the census staff to verify the nationality of Persians.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



Over 61 percent of this population lives in the three towns of Manamah, Muharraq, and Hedd;[5] the rest, 38.5 percent, is scattered about in 90 villages and hamlets concentrated mostly in the northern and northeastern tip of the largest island. In the 9-year period between the two censuses the population had increased 22 percent, mainly in the three towns mentioned. The village population remained almost stationary (actually an absolute increase of 3.5 percent and a relative decrease of 5.5 percent). The concentration of increase in the towns can be explained by the better sanitary conditions existing there and the influx of foreigners. Evidently there was little local migration during this period from village to town, although in some cases it was found that villages had been deserted or greatly reduced in size.[6] It is interesting to note that the only population movement took place in some of the Arab Sunni villages.[7]

Tables I and III are in a certain sense misleading, for they give a false picture of homogeneity in the population (84 percent Bahrain subjects, 96 percent Muslims) that does not exist. Society in Bahrain is divided into several groupings, in most cases distinct and recognizable. Association with one group in many instances implies a certain occupational specialization, but the main forces that have determined social division are religion, tribal loyalties, and nationality.

### *THE SHI'IS AND THE SUNNIS*

The Muslim Arab population of Bahrain is divided into Shi'is and Sunnis, who in almost all cases never live in the same village. The Shi'is live in their own tightly-knit communities and do not intermix with the rest of the population to any considerable degree. Fighting — especially in the larger towns, when the two communities do come into contact — frequently breaks out between the two groups, necessitating the intervention of the police and even the British navy.[8] A recent index of the feeling between the two groups is the fact that for the last several years there has been no municipal council for the capital city, Manamah, for the simple reason that no agreement could be reached on the number of seats to be allotted each of the two Muslim groups.

Aside from the small minority of Persians, the Shi'is are all Baharnah. There is no agreement as to the ethnic origin of these people; however, they now speak Arabic and are regarded as Arabs. They are the oldest group among the present inhabitants of the shaykhdom and have been subjected through the centuries to successive conquests, so that altho gh at present they equal or exceed the Sunnis in number — as the 1941 census

[5] See Table II.
[6] *Census 1950*, p. 6.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[8] Abbas Faroughly, *The Bahrain Islands* (New York, 1951), p. 99.

by Sunni Arabs who were prosperous when the pearling industry flourished but who depend today upon fishing, the oil company and transporting jus from Hawar for their living. In the summer the heat and the shortage of water (for although Jaw has a well it is brackish and more to the taste of the date palms that grow around it than to the people) drive most of the inhabitants to migrate to Sitra. Jaw was once spread some distance along the shore, as can be seen from the ruins that surround it, and in addition to having been a pearling centre it was inhabited by the people of Zubara when they wanted to escape the tyrannical rule of the Wahhabis in the 19th century. Jaw is the point on Bahrain nearest to Zubara and the Qatar coast, and for that reason it was always garrisoned when there was a threat to Bahrain from the mainland, but today the Police Camel Corps, which is stationed there, is to prevent the smuggling into Bahrain of Arabs from the Trucial Coast who come seeking work.

North of Jaw on the road to the Refinery is Asker and opposite it the island of Mushaikha, where an old tomb is the centre of pilgrimage for one of the Moslem sects, the Buharas. The interior of the tomb is filled with bottles of rose water, brought by pilgrims as offerings. Asker itself is a village much like Jaw and Dour.

### JIDHAFS

We must now return to Manama and follow the other road that leads out of the town, this time in the direction of Budaiya. After passing through some miles of gardens the road reaches Jidhafs, a large village, which is also said to have been at one time the capital of Bahrain. Its inhabitants have a reputation for being enterprising and go-ahead, they have recently demonstrated this by deciding to build a club, the first in any of the villages, although in the towns there are many. Jidhafs contains one of the Shiite Juma Mosques and Friday Prayer is said there. It may seem strange that this should be a claim to fame, but according to Moslem custom only certain mosques are used for the Friday Prayers which is intended to encourage large congregations and to prevent the dispersal of the faithful in all the other mosques.

Like all the villagers, those of Jidhafs enjoy a visit to the town every now and then, and in the evenings bus loads of men and many cyclists can be seen coming in to town to enjoy themselves by going to the cinema or sitting gossiping with their friends in the coffee-shops to the blare of wireless music.

South of Jidhafs in the direction of Suq al-Khamis is the village of Ain al-Dar; although today it presents a quiet and peaceful appearance it was once the headquarters of a notorious gang of robbers who used a ruined house, inhabited by a lunatic, as a cache for storing their loot.

### BUDAIYA

This strange town, on the north-western tip of Bahrain Island, is connected with Manama by a good motor road which runs through the village of Jidhafs. Budaiya used to be a large town, divided into Two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya.

two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya.[1] It was the home of the Dawasir tribe who came to Bahrain shortly after it was conquered by the al-Khalifah and established themselves here. The tribe acquired great wealth and prestige, owning many pearling dhows, and by degrees they became so powerful that they were able to raid with impunity the neighbouring Bahrana villages. They even challenged the authority of the al-Khalifah, but Shaikh Hamed, on becoming Deputy Ruler in 1924, threatened to punish them if they did not behave. This they considered as an infringement of their liberties and they therefore announced to the Ruler that if he prevented them behaving as they were accustomed, they would leave Bahrain and settle in Saudi Arabia. Shaikh Hamed refused to give way and the Dawasir left Bahrain. This, however, was not the last of them, for during many years it was believed that they were preparing to invade Bahrain. To prevent this a force was maintained in the Islands. However, the scare eventually died down and Budaiya after lying deserted, was later partly re-occupied by other Bahrainis, while some of the Dawasir gradually returned, many of them settling in Manama and Muharraq.

The ruins of great houses and mosques still remain, while scattered between them are the houses of the new inhabitants, who do much fishing in the prolific waters near the town, and also work in Manama and Awali. Before reaching the Police Post that marks the entrance to Budaiya the road passes through the Government Experimental Garden where new agricultural methods are tried and where cows and sheep, kept under scientific conditions, are studied for their productivity. From the Budaiya Pier launches go to Jidda, the prison island, many of whose inmates come over daily to work in the Budaiya Garden. The Pier is also used by the Ruler when he visits his island of Umm an-Nasaan.

The small Government school at Budaiya just south of the Government gardens, in addition to teaching the usual Primary School subjects gives lessons in agriculture for many of the boys' fathers own or work in gardens in the neighbourhood.

### DIRAZ

Diraz is a village about half a mile north of the Budaiya Road and about 1½ miles from Budaiya itself. It consists mainly of stone houses, many of which are two-storied. The village stands on high ground among the sand dunes and is very similar to Beni Jumra which faces it a little way off on the opposite side of the road. It is so surrounded by clumps of date palms that its size is not appreciated from the road. A feature noticeable here, as well as in many other parts of Bahrain, is that date palms grow in groups at the bottom of depressions in the sand and are not irrigated by water channels but obtain moisture from below the surface of the ground.

North-west of the village there are mounds which indicate the existence of a much larger settlement in the past and an extensive area of ground is covered with glass and pottery sherds. Among the ruins



[1] [The town of Budaiya . . . Ap 1951]

## RESULTS OF THE CENSUS

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**POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION.** The number of people in Bahrain on the night of 3rd March 1950 (12th Jamad-al-Awal, 1369) was 109,650. This represents a growth in the population of about 20,000 since the first census was taken in 1941 ( 1359). The increase was not evenly distributed; in 1941 about 55% of the population lived in the three towns, Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd and the rest of the inhabitants of Bahrain lived in the villages. The proportion of town and country dwellers has changed, the three towns now contain 61% of the population and the villages contain 39%, (these figures do not include Awali). There are about 90 villages and many small hamlets and settlements in Bahrain.

In Manamah the census showed a population of 39,648, an increase of nearly 12,000 (43%) in nine years. The population of Muharraq and Hedd was 25,577, an increase of 4,138 (20%) over the 1941 figure. In the villages, excluding the two Rafaas, there was an increase of only 344.

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From records in the Passport Office at the time of the census it appeared that about 6,000 persons, almost all of them males, who normally resided in Bahrain, were absent from the country. It can be assumed that most of these men were working with oil companies and contractors in the neighbouring states. In 1941 very few Bahrain Arabs were working abroad. The proportion of men who are employed outside Bahrain is very high.

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The large increase in the population of Manamah is not due to urbanization but it is due to immigration. The village communities especially in the Shia villages are very closely knit and insular so the census clerks had no difficulty in ascertaining whether there had been

621 any exodus from the villages to the towns. It was found
166 that there had been no movements from the villages to Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd. With a few exceptions the population of individual villages was the same as it was nine years ago. The only population movements which took place were among the Arab villages. In Dour, the last village on the eastern coast, which in 1941 contained 166 people only one house remained occupied; the population of Jow, a mile or two north of Dour, decreased from 427 in 1941 to 214 in 1950. Some of the people from these two places crossed to Qatar, others moved to Rafaa. The population of the two Rafaas, and Sakhir, was 2,929 in 1941, it is now over 4,000.

## NATIONALITY AND RELIGION

●167 Assuming that the growth of Manamah's population was mainly due to more foreigners having settled in the town, which is very evident, it might be expected that the total number of foreigners in the country would be very much larger than the number which was recorded in 1941. In 1941 there were 15,930 foreigners. In 1950 the number was
[563] 18,471. The largest foreign minority were, and still are, the Persians who in 1941 numbered 7,547 but in 1950 only
[641] 6,934 persons registered themselves as Persians. This figure is open to doubt. For many reasons it is advantageous for Persians to acquire Bahrain nationality, if they are Bahrain subjects they can buy land and can travel to Persia on Bahrain passports. During the last year or two the Government has refused all applications by Persians for Bahrain nationality. It is probable therefore that a number of Persians described themselves as Bahrain subjects in the hope that they would be accepted as such./ As most foreigners in Bahrain carry no papers which could establish their nationality it was not possible for the census staff to verify the nationality of Persians.

563 Indians and Pakistanis (3,043) mostly living in
167 Manamah, were the next largest foreign community followed by Saudi-Arabians (2,526) who included many Hassawis employed as agricultural labourers; Omanis, Muscatis and Arabs from the Trucial Coast (2,466) were mostly people who entered Bahrain in recent years seeking work; British, Americans and other Europeans numbered 1,683, this total does not include ships crews at Sitra and at Jufair (584). In Manamah and Muharraq the British and American population was 270, including R.A.F. personnel. Other nationalities included Iraqis (224), Qataris (438), Kuwaitis (149), Yemenis (105). In the population of Bahrain at the time of the census over 30 nationalities were represented.

[208] Owing to local feeling Sunnis and Shias were not
795 registered separately but sectarial distribution outside Manamah and Muharraq is sharply defined. The Shia villages contain no Sunnis and the Sunni villages contain very few Shias. Muharraq contains a small number of Shia Baharna, who are scarcely distinguishable from the Arabs and a long established community of Persian Shias. In Manamah the Shias, both Baharna and Persians, are a large and important section of the population; certain quarters of the town are inhabited almost exclusively by Baharna and some of the suburbs are occupied almost entirely by Persians.

795 Bahrain is predominantly Moslem. There are less
162 than 4,000 persons belonging to other religions, of these 2,348 are Christians, not including men on ships in the harbours, 293 are Jews and 975 are Hindus.

AGE AND SEX.

162 Reliable information about ages was difficult to obtain because few of the local inhabitants knew their own ages. There is as yet no registration of births

162 and deaths in Bahrain. In the distribution of sexes males predominated, the census figure showed 58,601 males and 51,049 females. If the number of Bahrain men who are working abroad were included in this figure the proportion [169] of men would be very high. A reason for the heavy preponderance of males is that most of the people who have come to Bahrain to work during recent years did not bring their wives and families with them, this fact is particularly noticeable in the case of Indians, Hassawis, Persians and Omanis. If Indians and Europeans are deducted from the total number of males and 30% of the males are reckoned as being under 15 or over 65 years of age the total local man power available in Bahrain would be about 38,000.

## OCCUPATION

162a 464 Details of occupation were difficult to obtain; in most cases the replies to questions were vague, men described themselves as "labourers" which included cultivators oil field workers and labourers employed by contractors [208] and by the Government. A significant point was that nobody described himself as a diver though a few years ago half of the able bodied men in Bahrain would have given their occupation as divers. Now-a-days men dive during the season, in the summer, and have regular employment during the rest of the year. Generally it can be said that the cultivators who work in the gardens are always Shia Baharna and Hassawis, Arabs never work on the land in Bahrain, the village Baharna are also employed as fishermen, weavers, coral cutters and labourers in the oil fields. Few of them willingly take on work which keeps them away from their villages at night. The men of the Arab villages work in the oil fields and at sea. The townsfolk of Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd, who are of mixed nationalities, include merchants, shopkeepers, Government servants, mechanics and oil field workers and labourers.

## REVIEW OF 1372

The two most important events during the year were the conclusion of a new oil agreement between the Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company and His Highness Shaikh Sulman's first visit to Europe to attend the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth.

The new oil agreement was on a 50—50 basis on the same lines as other agreements which have recently been made between governments and oil companies in the Middle East, it also provided for a payment to the State on oil imported into Bahrain for refining. As a result of this agreement the total revenue for the year under review was 373½ lakhs of rupees, approximately £2,800,000, though the new scale of payments was not in operation throughout the whole of 1372.

Expenditure was higher than in 1371. Excluding the one third of the oil revenue, which is paid to the Privy Purse, 48 per cent. of the State's expenditure was on social and public services; Education, Public Health, Public Protection and grants to Municipalities absorbed 18½ per cent., 15-3/8 per cent., 10-4/5 per cent., and 3 per cent. respectively, including capital expenditure on new schools, dispensaries and police quarters. The demand for more schools and hospitals is continuous and insistent but few Bahrain people realise the heavy recurrent cost of medical and education services which can be maintained on the present scale only as long as the present revenue continues.

Trade flourished and the revenue from customs was higher than in the previous year; during recent years customs collections have risen annually. Local prosperity was apparent from what might be described as a building boom. Many new houses and shops were built in the towns and suburbs by private enterprise. The type of house varied from European style bungalows and blocks of flats, built by merchants and shaikhs for letting, to small stone houses which are gradually replacing barastis, palm branch huts. Several serious fires in barasti areas, which destroyed many dwellings, gave an impetus to building. Working men who owned pieces of ground built small houses and the Government received hundreds of applications from people who wished to buy building plots. Unfortunately the Government owns very little land in and around the towns, much of it having been given away or sold cheaply many years ago.

The standard of living in Bahrain is very much higher than it was a few years ago and the health of the people is noticeably better than it used to be. For these reasons and owing to a steady influx of foreigners, mostly from Oman and the Trucial Coast, who come to Bahrain to work, it is believed that there has been a substantial increase in the population which at the time of the last census, in 1950, was found to be 110,000.

The state of public security was good in spite of the presence of large a number of foreigners who are not as naturally law abiding as the people of Bahrain. There were no political or labour disturbances.

Relations with Quatar deteriorated owing to incidents connected with the visit of a party of Bahrain schoolboys and school teachers to Zubara during the Spring holiday. The commercial development of Qatar tended to reduce Bahrain's transit trade and deprived some of the Bahrain merchants of agencies which used to include both Bahrain and Qatar. Relations with Saudi Arabia and Iraq were friendly, a deputation headed by Shaikh Isa bin Sulman, His Highness's eldest son, represented Bahrain at the coronation of King Faisal in Baghdad.

**Abolition of visas.** An order was issued at the beginning of the year allowing nationals of Oman, the Trucial Coast, Muscat, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the Yemen to enter Bahrain without being in possession of visas for Bahrain, issued by the British Consular or other authorities, provided that they had valid national passports or travel documents endorsed for Bahrain. Unfortunately this arrangement enabled a large number of Persians to enter Bahrain carrying travel papers describing them as being subjects of Trucial Shaikhdoms. The Government has no wish to restrict Arabs from other parts of the Gulf from coming to work in Bahrain, where there is still a demand for unskilled labour, but it views with distaste any increase in the Persian minority which exists in Bahrain. When it became evident that a number of Persians were entering Bahrain under the guise of being permanent residents of Oman or the Trucial Coast the passport authorities were ordered to allow such persons to remain in Bahrain not longer than 15 days. It is estimated that during the year about 9,075 immigrants from Oman and the Trucial Coast entered Bahrain in order to find work, they were issued with permits to remain in Bahrain for one year, subject to renewal. In almost every case the immigrants were men.

**Illegal Entries.** The number of persons who were arrested and repatriated to their countries, having attempted to enter the country without travel documents, was 124, consisting of 68 Pakistanis, 23 Omanis and 33 Persians. The number of persons who succeeded in entering Bahrain without being caught is undoubtedly large. The Pakistanis crossed the Gulf to Muscat by dhows and continued their journey by foot up the coast to Doha, there they chartered a dhow to take them to the nearest port in Saudi Arabia, on their way to Mecca. The Nakhuda, however, landed them on the Bahrain coast, somewhere near Jaw, probably telling them that it was the coast of Arabia. These unfortunate pilgrims were eventually sent back by steamer to Karachi.

During the year the Bahrain courts heard four cases against Bahrain Nakhudas who had landed passengers in Bahrain knowing that they were illegal entrants. They were severely dealt with. Most of the passenger smuggling is done by Qatar Nakhudas who land the people on unfrequented stretches of coast or on shoals on the Eastern side of Bahrain. Two Persian Nakhudas were prosecuted in the Agency Courts and sentenced to imprisonment and fines for the same offence.

In January 1953 information was received that a certain Persian Nakhuda, Ghulam Reza, a naturalised Bahrain subject, had arranged to ship a number of Persians to Bahrain. His launch arrived with 63 Persians on board who were refused permission to land, not being in possession of papers. They were transferred to another launch bound for Kuwait. Later some of the same passengers were found in Manama and it was discovered that the Nakhuda had, after leaving Bahrain, transferred the passengers to another vessel and landed them on the coast where they were met by motor buses which conveyed them to Manama. Ghulam Reza was subsequently arrested, prosecuted, imprisoned for one year and fined Rs. 4,000. His charge was Rs. 150 a head for landing Persians in Bahrain.

**Bahrain Nationality.** During the year 31 applications were received from people of various nationalities applying for Bahrain nationality. Of these 19 were accepted, being from persons long resident in Bahrain and possessing immovable property ; three of these were Indian subjects and three were Pakistanis. The courts investigated 44 applications by Persians who claimed to have been born in Bahrain. Proof of birth, especially in the case of older people, cannot easily be produced. Only 9 of these applicants were able to prove that they were born in the country. At the beginning of the year an order was issued to the effect that no Persian whose application for Bahrain nationality was accepted would be issued with a passport until two years had elapsed from the date on which he was granted nationality. As a result of this order only a small number of Persians submitted applications. The main object of the Persians who applied for Bahrain nationality was to obtain passports with which to enter Saudi Arabia where their presence was not appreciated.

**Passport Official's Course.** Ali bin Abdulla, a clerk in the Passport Department, did a course in England studying and learning passport and immigration methods and procedure. The course was arranged by the British Government, the results appear to be satisfactory.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

## PASSPORT DEPARTMENT

Passport control by the Bahrain Government was begun in 1928, when a passport official was appointed whose duty was to register the names of all passengers landing from steamers in Bahrain. Soon afterwards all passports which were in order were stamped with the Bahrain passport control stamp.

In 1929 the Government began issuing its own passports to its subjects. The book passports are similar to those of other countries; the binding of the passports is scarlet. Passports are valid for two years, but can be renewed for eight more years. Application for passports is made on a printed form; the cost of a book passport is Rs 7/- and for each renewal Rs 5/-.

Soon after the introduction of book passports the Government began to issue travel documents for use within the Gulf, costing Rs 2/-, which are valid for one year only and are not renewable. The proposal that special travel documents should be issued for pilgrims to Mecca and the Shia holy cities in Iraq has not yet materialised.

For the last seven years the British Consular authorities abroad have, on behalf of the Bahrain Government, given visas to persons travelling to Bahrain, and to Bahrain subjects abroad.

Bahrain passports are not considered valid by the authorities in Persia. Persians living in Bahrain are given special exit and return passes, valid for twelve months, which enable them to go to Persia and return, and a special arrangement is made in the case of genuine Persian divers working in Bahrain boats. Other Persians who wish to visit Bahrain have to obtain special permission from the Bahrain Government, and such permission is only given on the written and stamped guarantee of a respectable local merchant, who assumes responsibility for the person returning and for his good conduct in Bahrain. Should occasion require it, these privileges could be cancelled, and no Persian would be entitled to visit Bahrain without the necessary visa on his passport.

Bahrain nationals travelling to any foreign countries outside the Gulf obtain a visa from the Political Agent, Bahrain. Travel documents issued by recognised authorities in other Gulf States to their own nationals are recognised by the Bahrain Government, and the holders are admitted without a visa.

Various fees and stamp duties are collected by the Passport Department, and at one time the collection from passport fees was the third largest item of revenue in the Budget. The Passport Officer, who has been the head of the department since it started, is Mr. Jalal-lu-din Ahmed.

In spite of the vigilance of the passport officials, especially during the last year, great numbers of indigent Persians have entered Bahrain, illegally, at various points on the coast. Many of these people obtain work with the Bahrain Petroleum Company and fill posts which should be occupied by Bahrain subjects. The enormous increase in Persians, most of whom entered Bahrain without permission, is especially noticeable in Manamah, where almost every other person in the bazaar and nine out of ten of the beggars appear to be Persians. When once these highly undesirable aliens have entered the country it appears to be almost impossible to repatriate them. Being foreigners, they are not under the control of the Bahrain Government.

## MUNICIPALITIES

**Constitution and History.**

**Manamah.** Municipalities exist in Manamah and Muharraq. The Manamah municipality was founded in 1919, under the presidency of Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa. As in the case of almost every innovation in Bahrain, the first proposal to form a municipality met with open and hidden hostility, not from the small people, but from the important landowners in the town, who feared that their vested interests would be affected. In after years the people who objected most activly became strong supporters of the municipality. The ill-feeling soon subsided, and in 1927 another municipality was formed in Muharraq at the request of the people of that town.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

ing by the momentary disorder, made commerce impossible. There is reason also to believe that in most cases the mutinies were supported by European powers, which carried on the main trade of the Persian Gulf. An illustration was the mutiny of 1740, in which the British East India Company openly favored the mutineers, and the Dutch, who at first backed the loyalist troops, suddenly made a *volte face* and supported the rebels. It is certainly strange that negotiations between the loyalists and the mutineers were carried on in English, and that an Englishman served as spokesman for the mutineers, while the Persian Admiral had to use an interpreter to deal with his own men.

Despite the difficult situation, the Persians were strong enough to keep peace and order in these waters until 1747, when the assassination of Nadir started another Civil War and the fleet was forgotten amid other cares. Naturally, the local chiefs or tribal shieks profited by the turn of events to recover their lost strength and consolidate their independence. Among those who bid for power were the Utūb.[1]

## THE UTUB

The Utūb, one of the clans of Jumailah, a subdivision of 'Aniza tribe, were originally from the province of Aflaj in central Arabia. Following the general pattern of the nomadic Arab migration, they naturally looked towards the regions of the Persian Gulf where the prosperous pearl fishing and trade offered them the opportunity for better living.

Unlike the invasion of the great tribes, the Utūb had infiltrated in small groups and with the consent of the actual occupants, the Beni Khalid, they had settled on several points of the Persian Gulf littoral, the territory of Kishm and Zobara, with the main center at Grain (now Koweit), all of which were under the sovereignty of Persia.

They had formed a confederation in order to protect themselves against the economic and political pressure of other tribes. This confederation of the Utūb was led by three families: Al Sabah, Al Khalifah, and Al Jalahimah. Special duties were

1. "Geneology of Sheiks of Bahrein," p. 48.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

August 2, 1928, which developed in detail the matters discussed in the preceding note and affirmed Persian sovereignty over Bahrein. England answered on February 18, 1929, developing the arguments in her first note and reiterating her previous contentions.

Meanwhile, the Bahrein Government instituted visa regulations and established a land registry office. Since the promulgation of the decree of December 21, 1927, all real properties had to be registered, but no one except "a subject of Bahrein" had right to own property in the island.

Obviously this was to deprive Persians of their rights of ownership in Bahrein. Many sold their land and migrated to Persia, and those who stayed behind had to accept Bahrein citizenship.[1]

Also, previously passports had not been required from Persians travelling to Bahrein, and Persia protested against the change. According to the Persian note, the change "was the explicit recognition by the English authorities of the indisputable right of Iran [Persia] over Bahrein."

Publication of the news of oil concessions obtained previously by Major Holmes from the Bahrein Government, provoked on July 23, 1930, another note from Persia, in which she declared the concession invalid and "reserved—the right to reclaim or to demand restitution of all profits resulting eventually from that concession, without prejudice of all damages relating to it." This strong protest did not deter the English syndicate from ceding its rights to the Standard Oil Company of California, which began systematic exploitation.

The concession to prospect and explore for oil in Bahrein had been obtained on December 2, 1925, to Major Frank Holmes, representing Eastern and General Syndicate, a British company headed by Edmond Davis. For two years, the syndicate tried without success, to interest first British, and later American concerns, in the development of the Bahrein concession. Finally, on

1. This decree was still stiffened by the decrees of 1930 and that of May 23, 1941.

7:Khadduri S-4 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2
Iran MA1



and the Wahhabi Amirs. It was partly owing to this threat of neighboring rulers, but mainly to internal feud among members of the Khalifa family (chiefs of the Utubi tribes) that Great Britain found ample reasons for intervention.

In 1820, when Great Britain had already made her appearance on the scene in the Persian Gulf, the chiefs of Bahrayn sought British support for security from outside attack as well as for internal stability. This coincided with Britain's interests in the security of her trade relations and in the suppression of piracy and the slave trade in the Persian Gulf. It was in pursuance of this objective that Britain signed the first of a series of treaties with the Shaykhs of Bahrayn without encroaching upon their independence; but these treaties resulted later in the gradual change of the islands from independent to dependent status.

The foregoing brief sketch shows that Bahrayn, during its long and checkered history, was able to maintain a large measure of internal independence even when it had fallen under foreign control. Apart from its uncertain status in antiquity, which is hardly necessary to determine for our purpose, the islands passed under Arab rule at the opening of the seventh century and remained, either as an integral part of the Arab Empire or as a semi-independent entity, until the sixteenth century. Arab rule, accordingly, may be said to have lasted for more than eight centuries. The Portuguese rule roughly lasted for a century (*circa* 1507 to 1622), and the Persian rule (1622–1783) for a little over one and a half century. From a purely historical standpoint, the Persian period has left no special impact on the inhabitants of the islands, whether racial or cultural, which would distinguish it from other periods. Contrary to the Iranian contention (as stated in its note of August 2, 1928), the inhabitants of the islands have either originally migrated from Arabia or have been Arabicized under long Arab rule. They speak the Arabic language, though many of them speak Persian too, and their manners and customs are Arabian. Finally, they have been ruled since 1783 by their own Arab chiefs, even though they acknowledged British protection—a period which lasted longer than that of Persian rule. Iran's historical claim, based on a very limited past attachment, seems to carry with it the air of propaganda; it could hardly challenge Arab historical claims.

### IV. British Protection

From the time when Napoleon invaded Egypt in 1798 a period of Anglo-French rivalry for the domination of Eastern waters began, and the Persian Gulf was but one portion of the field in which the struggle was fought out. When Napoleon had been eliminated, the Eastern waters, including the Persian Gulf, became an undisputed field of British influence and commerce. Britain began to prepare the way by combatting piracy and the

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



The Jews have lived in the country in comparative peace and security for centuries. Their position was clear and definite. As non-Muslims they were outside the pale of the law and could not participate fully in the life of the community; but as "People of the Book" they were a *dhimma*, a protected community. In civil matters they enjoyed the same legal rights as all other Bahrain subjects. Here again social lines of demarcation were drawn on a religious basis.

With the appearance of the Palestine problem the position of this small minority became progressively more precarious. Today the Jews are socially ostracized and economically boycotted, and there have been instances where physical violence has been employed against them. The local press of Bahrain is replete with references to Bahraini Jews, the Jews in general, and to Israel. Such references include, among other things, threats to publish the names of those who associate with Jews in Bahrain or buy from them, references to the United Nations as a Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world, and editorial protests to the government against allowing allegedly Israeli airlines to land in Bahrain, or against radio-communications with Israel.[10]

The government of Bahrain has no official policy of enmity toward Israel as have the other Arab states. Commercial traffic is not prohibited with Israel or with the Jews as a whole, but in practice it is virtually so. This boycott is due in part to social pressure and in part to the fact that a large part of the goods imported into Bahrain is re-exported to Saudi Arabia, a country which has strict regulations against traffic with Jews.

Owing to their present position, the Jews are the only native community whose interests and aspirations are at complete variance with those of the native population. It is a matter of public knowledge that many of them have either left or are in the process of leaving the country to start a new life in Israel, the United States, or Europe.

### *THE PERSIANS AND THE INDIANS*

The two major foreign elements in the country are the Persians and the Indians.[11] Their social status and relations with the native population are determined primarily by psychological, political, and economic factors rather than by religion or tribal loyalties.

The Persians are the largest foreign group, but it should be noted that they are foreigners in the legal and political sense only, for they are as much a part of the scene as the legal citizens of the country. Iran has had a long and checkered association with the islands going back to pre-Islamic times. At one period, the islands were directly controlled by it, and as late

[10] See any number of *al-Qafilah*, a weekly newspaper, or *Sawt al-Bahrain*, a monthly magazine. Both are published in Bahrain in Arabic.

[11] As used in this paper, the term "Indians" includes Indians, Pakistanis, Anglo-Indians, and Goanese.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



as the 19th century even the British recognized that Iran had some rights in Bahrain. The Iranian government has never relinquished its claims to the islands, a fact which has had a direct bearing on the position of the Persian community.

Under these favorable circumstances, Persians have been able until recently to move in and out of Bahrain without hindrance or restriction. Over the centuries a prosperous community developed, made up mostly of merchants, so that today some of the wealthiest inhabitants of Manamah are Persians. Generally speaking, this community is more enterprising, better educated, and has a higher standard of living than the local inhabitants of the land. But although the Persians grew prosperous and acquired property in houses and some land, their hearts were never in Bahrain — they were across the Gulf in the mother country. Bahrain is regarded by the Persians as an outpost for commercial activity but not for permanent settlement.

The Persians are resented by both the Arab inhabitants and the British. They are resented by the Arabs because they constitute a foreign community which is somewhat aloof from the rest of the population; in part, also, because of envy of their general prosperity and because they are regarded as interlopers who are taking the wealth of the country away. Two other serious objections to them are that they are Shi'is by religion and tend to look toward Iran rather than the Arab world for political association.

As for the British, they resent them for numerous reasons. In almost every way they constitute a threat, minor and insignificant though it may be, to the consolidation of their position in the shaykhdom. This is especially true since Bahrain has become the chief base for British naval, air, and political activity in the Persian Gulf. Specifically, the British resent the Persian community because it has always opposed what it regards as the "Indianization" policies of the British in Bahrain. It has played the double role of an opposition party and a fifth column. The recent difficulties of the British government and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Iran brought the problem of Anglo-Iranian relations to a sharp focus. The situation has constituted a threat to British prestige in the Gulf. In Bahrain Mosaddaq was regarded as a liberator — in the early part of 1953 pictures of him could be seen in many shops in Manamah.

The policies of the government of Bahrain have been detrimental to the position of the Persian community. In 1927 visas for entry to Bahrain became required of Persian subjects. In December of the same year a land registry office was established and a decree passed requiring that all land be registered; it also stipulated that only Bahrain subjects could own real property. With the passage of the decree a good many Persians had only two alternatives: either to acquire Bahrain citizenship, which many of them

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



foreigners are "kept in their place" there circulate by word of mouth — a method of communication highly developed in the Middle East — and exaggerated several times in the process. One of the central themes of the local Bahrain press is a comparison between Saudi Arabia and Bahrain in this respect. As is to be expected, this is causing a feeling of frustration among the natives and creating an atmosphere of restiveness and increasing antagonism toward foreigners.

In Kuwait a rather ambitious development program has been under way for several years, made possible by increasing oil royalties. There is an atmosphere of feverish activity, psychologically exaggerated because of its concentration in a small area. By contrast, life in Bahrain is slow and development sober but limited, in view of the comparatively small oil revenues. This causes some jealousy which finds an emotional outlet in an increasing suspicion of foreigners and increasing demands on the major companies, such as the Bahrain Petroleum Company, to do more for the country than they have been doing so far.

## *FOREIGN ARAB GROUPS*

A rather large number of foreign Arabs live in Bahrain. They can be divided into two main groups which in custom and social mores have little in common. The first group is composed of Arabs from Saudi Arabia, Oman, Muscat, Qatar, and Yemen. These people have always been part of the scene. They come and go as they have always done, with hardly any restriction on their movement. Many of them are related to people in Bahrain by blood or marriage and are looked upon as "cousins," *awlad al-'amm*, a term which carries with it all the emotional overtones of the traditions of tribal life. Some of them are merchants; a large number, especially of those from Oman, Muscat, Qatar, and Yemen, are employed by the oil industry as common laborers, and others work with local industries. Their community life and standard of living do not vary a great deal from that of the local population; in fact they are hardly distinguishable from it.

The second group of foreign Arabs, made up of a small number of Egyptians, Syrians, Lebanese, Iraqis, and Palestinians, is comparatively new to the area. On the whole, their standard of living is probably higher than that of any other group with the exception of the Westerners. Few are engaged in trade; the majority are white-collar workers.

Although they are largely new arrivals, they already exert considerable influence on the life of the country. Unlike all other foreigners, they are genuinely welcomed and looked up to by the local population. They are the missionaries of Arab nationalism. Most of the high-school and a good number of the elementary-school teachers in Bahrain come from this group (see Table IV); in this key position, it can be truly said of them that they

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



are the moulders of the new generation of Bahrainis. It is significant that all these teachers come from countries which have just emerged from British or French control.

## *TRENDS FOR THE FUTURE*

Social realignment among the Sunnis and the Shi'is must be thought of in terms of the distant future. It is true that secular and technical education, nationalism, and economic forces are all operating to bring these two groups together. As a result they have begun to cooperate with each other in certain areas of common interest as nonreligious groups; nevertheless, the old loyalties and social patterns are still strongly entrenched, as is very graphically illustrated by the religious riots of 1953 and 1954. It is even conceivable that when and if religion loses the depth of meaning it has at present to both groups, it may still remain as the basis of political alignment or power, as is the case in highly literate Lebanon.

Nationalism has replaced religious tradition as the basis of the relations of the Jews with the major segments of society. The resultant tension is being resolved through emigration, but a few will no doubt remain. All indications are that the political struggle between the Arabs and Israel will leave them little chance of reintegrating themselves on some new basis into society in Bahrain. It is possible, although highly improbable thanks to the presence of the British, that mass violence may be used against them. If this does take place, the problem in all likelihood will assume an international character. Israel, which has established itself as the protector and defender of Jewish minorities, no doubt would use every measure to dramatize the plight of this minority to the world.

The animosity of the native population toward Persians and Indians does not arise from fundamental issues of a permanent nature. There is, for instance, no parallel feeling toward Iran, India, or Pakistan; on the contrary, warm sympathy prevails for them as combatants against Western domination. Both the causes and the issues are transitory in character, and

*Table IV.* FOREIGN TEACHERS IN BAHRAIN

| *Year* | *Egypt* | *Syria* | *Lebanon* | *Palestine* | *Other Arab Countries* | *Other Nationalities* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1944/45..... | 12 | 2 | 12 | — | — | 2 | 28 |
| 1945/46..... | 10 | — | 13 | .. | 1 | 2 | 26 |
| 1946/47..... | 13 | 9 | 12 | — | 1 | 2 | 37 |
| 1947/48..... | 11 | 7 | 14 | — | 1 | 2 | 35 |
| 1948/49..... | 22 | 6 | 14 | — | 1 | 3 | 46 |
| 1949/50..... | 20 | 7 | 14 | 9 | 1 | 3 | 54 |
| 1950/51..... | 9 | 9 | 15 | 10 | 1 | 3 | 47 |
| 1951/52..... | 9 | 7 | 27 | 18 | 1 | 4 | 67 |

Source: Government of Bahrain, Dept. of Education, *Report on the Condition of Education in Bahrain* (Bahrain, 1952), p. 47. (In Arabic.)

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East,
BAHRAIN M22

proximately 26,000 residents, and Hedd, a pearl fishing center, around 10,000. The population exceeded that of the 1941 census by almost 20,000: the increase was confined mainly to the towns of Manama and Muharraq, and was attributed in large part to immigration.

Since the organization of the first government school in 1919, education has made considerable progress, but expansion is handicapped by a shortage of trained teaching personnel. In 1950, the Bahrain government supported 13 primary schools for boys —8 in the towns and 5 in the villages. Educational facilities were made available to girls in 1928, and at present 6 primary schools are in operation. Of the 5,770 pupils registered in government schools in 1950-51, slightly over 1,700 were girls. A few private schools are established in Manama, while Koranic schools are found in most towns and villages. The government also maintains a secondary school, a technical school and a school hostel for boys, and provides scholarships for qualified students for advanced study at the American University of Beirut and in Great Britain. In the recent census, the literacy rate in the indigenous population was estimated at 10 per cent.

### Vital Statistics

The registration of births and deaths is not compulsory in Bahrain, and no data for the calculation of vital statistics are obtainable. Local medical authorities agree that the mortality rates in infancy and early childhood are uniformly high. Observations made by the census enumerators in 1950 suggest that the infant mortality is particularly serious in the rural villages, in contrast with the towns, where living conditions have improved within recent years. The maternal mortality rates are correspondingly high.

The size of the population remained practically stationary in the rural districts in the 9-year interval between the first and the second census surveys. The rate of increase in areas outside the towns of Ma-

1. 256 (5)

164 758 useful in portraying the persistence of the disease. Records for 1949-50 indicate that between 1,700 and 2,000 persons were treated annually for malaria in the government hospitals and dispensaries alone. 164 There are normally two seasons of transmission—from the middle of March through June, with a peak early in June, and from the middle of September to the middle of January, with a peak in November. When climatic conditions are exceptionally favorable for anopheline breeding, however, transmission may take place throughout the year, with a minimum of activity in the winter months.

Because of its location on the edge of the date garden belt, Manama has always been highly malarious. As the result of control operations, the degree of infection has lately been reduced to a low level in the town, but up to 1950 it was still extensive on the outskirts. In limited malaria surveys made in January and again in May and June, which were reported in 1938,[1] the spleen rate among 234 boys of 4 to 14 years of age examined in Manama averaged about 39 per cent, while the corresponding rate among 137 boys in Muharraq was 13 per cent. The parasite indices in January were calculated at about 22 per cent in Manama and 6 per cent in Muharraq.

136 164 [167] In general, *Plasmodium vivax* infections predominate in June and *P. falciparum* in November. In the opinion of some local medical authorities, the prevalence of *P. falciparum* was enhanced by the mobility of military and civilian personnel in this region during the war years 1939-45, but it is now diminishing. In 249 blood films prepared in January in connection with the above investigation, malaria parasites were detected in 34; *P. falciparum*, in 10; *P. vivax*, in 13; and *P. malariae*, in 10; while one showed both *P. falciparum* and *P. malariae*. *Anopheles stephensi* is considered to be the principal vector, but *A. culicifacies* is probably implicated to some extent in certain localities.

164 **Plague.** Severe outbreaks of plague have

high walls around a central courtyard are all that it consists of, and some of the Omani guns still remain in the towers. The fort was built in 1800 by the Ruler of Muscat, Sultan bin Ahmed, who in that year seized Bahrain from the Khalifah and sent his brother, Sayed Said, to govern the Islands they were soon expelled but later returned. The Muscatis remained in their fort for nine years, but after their expulsion in 1809 by the Khalifah-Saudi alliance the fort was left deserted.

Near Muharraq town is the fort of Abu Mahur, already mentioned in connection with the Portuguese map and named after one of the largest undersea springs in Bahrain, which is situated near it. The fort, which dominates the southern approach to Muharraq and Manama, was built on the island-peninsular of Abu Mahur by Shaikh Abdulla al-Khalifah, who ruled jointly with his brother Sulman, builder of the fort at Rifaa ash-Sharqi. In 1843 Shaikh Abdulla was expelled from Bahrain by his son Muhammad, who was also unable to enjoy a peaceful reign, for after a dispute with Qatar Muhammad was replaced as Ruler of Bahrain by his brother Ali and the British shelled the fort of Abu Mahur, which was destroyed with the exception of one tower. More recently the remains of the fort and the island was given to the Baluchi retainers of the Khalifah, but in 1930 the Baluchis were given land elsewhere and the island was turned into a Quarantine Station. This is therefore a fort which visitors are not advised to visit.

### THE QANATS

"Qanat" is the Arabic name for the underground water channels which are found in many parts of Bahrain, particularly in the south-west of the island. Here, among others, is a long channel running inland from Sadad, another brings water to Karzarkan from the spring called Ijraiyi, a mile and a half to the north, and a third channel runs from the spring of Malakiya to the village of the same name. These are but a few of the many channels in Bahrain.

These channels are present in great numbers in Persia and are also found in eastern Saudi-Arabia and Syria. It is probable that those in Bahrain were first built by the Persians. It is stated in at least one history that they were the work of the Persian King Anushirvan who captured Bahrain from the Arabs in the fourth century A.D. They have often been mentioned by travellers to Bahrain and in a local history it is stated that during a war that took place in the eighth century between the people of Bahrain and an army sent by the Caliph, the Bahrainis made good use of these same channels by passing through them till they reached the rear of the enemy forces and then making a successful surprise attack.

The channels were built to prevent the wastage of water from evaporation which would have occurred had the water been carried in surface channels. By this method the water is sheltered from the sun and its flow is not hindered by falls of sand or the movements of sand dunes. It seems that the channels were first built as open ditches and then roofed with slabs of sea rock, called feroush. The roofs of the channels are sloping and after construction they were covered with sand to the

# Part II.—THE HISTORY OF THE BAHRAIN ISLANDS.

175 Of all the Persian Gulf shaikhdoms the Bahrain islands have had by far the most interesting and varied history, of which this brief outline must of necessity mention only the most outstanding events. The riches of Bahrain's ancient pearling industry have drawn the attention of many rulers to the islands, whose strategic position and fresh-water springs have meant that for centuries there has been a settled population.

101 175 It is believed that the names Niduk-ki and Dilmun (or Tilwun) which appear in Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions found in Iraq were the ancient names of the Bahrain islands, in which case events in Bahrain's history are recorded from the third millennium B.C., as long as 5,000 years ago.

Unfortunately only one cuneiform inscription has been found in Bahrain itself, an inscription which has been translated as follows: "The Palace of Rimugus, the servant of Inzaq (Mercury) of the tribe of Aqiru."[1]

This inscription appears to have been removed from a Bahrain mosque by its finder, Captain Durand, and its present whereabouts is unknown.

The place-name Niduk-ki appears in the Babylonian myth of the Creation, while the Assyrians also had a tradition that their civilisation, and more especially the invention of the cuneiform script, originated in Dilmun. The tumuli of Bahrain bear a very striking resemblance to Phoenician graves, a fact noticed by many writers from the time of Strabo to the present day. Archæologists who have studied them are, however, still unable to agree as to their origin beyond saying that they are of great antiquity. [171]

175 The first historical reference to Bahrain appears in an inscription concerning the conquests of Sargon of Akkad, who reigned in the third millennium B.C. In this inscription he is described as having reduced Niduk-ki and another seaport, and during the following centuries there are many references to Niduk-ki and Dilmun, giving the impression that the places referred to were both islands and trading centres. In 1820 B.C. a king of Larsa, in Southern Mesopotamia, sent a trading expedition to Bahrain, obtaining there stone, metals, wood and ivory, materials probably brought to Bahrain from India. Towards the end of the eighth century B.C. another Sargon, the Assyrian monarch also gained control of Dilmun by means of threats and economic pressure, and we have an interesting description of the contemporary Bahraini ruler: "Uperi, king of Dilmun, who lives like a fish, thirty double hours away in the midst of the sea of the rising sun, heard of my lordly might and brought his gifts."



1 [For footnote see Cat. 114, p. 87 -- Analyst]

228 The Bahrain Government has tried hard to encourage the diving
656 industry, by the remittance of the registration fees on diving boats,
178 by customs concessions and by other means, but it is certain that the industry will never return to its palmy days when so many of the people of Bahrain were connected with it or depended on it.

228 Visitors to the pearl banks are advised to set out at about midnight
431 from Bahrain. Launches can be hired in Manama or Muharraq and
609 if they leave at twelve midnight, the banks will be reached at two or three in the morning. The remainder of the night can be spent lying at anchor and in the early morning the opening of the shells can be watched, followed by the preparations for the day's work and the actual diving. The divers have no objection to being photographed at their work and welcome foreigners on board their boats, they do, however, appreciate a present from visitors and it is a good plan to take out some fresh dates or other fruit, for the boats, particularly at the end of the season, are usually low in fresh provisions and such a gift is very welcome.

## CHAPTER VII

## LOCAL INDUSTRIES

### THE POTTERIES

323 PEARLING is not the only ancient industry in Bahrain, for the presence
[438] in many parts of the islands of pottery sherds indicates that pottery has been made here for many centuries. Today this industry is restricted to the village of Aali whose inhabitants work in the same way as did their forefathers, scorning modern innovations.

[472] From the hills around Rifaa the clay is brought to Aali ; brown and red clay for the coarser objects and white clay for finer work. The raw clay is beaten and then mixed with water until it is ready for throwing by the younger members of the potter's family, for each pottery is a separate family concern. All the processes which go into the making of pottery take place in small sheds, in each one a potter can be seen at work, his feet in a pit working the wheel which is on a level with his waist. Rapidly he flings lumps of clay on to the spinning wheel and with deft fingers works the shapeless mud into graceful jars, bowls and other utensils. When each piece is completed it is set in the sun to dry before being taken to the oven. Most of the ovens
● [172] are built in the prehistoric tumuli south of the village, which have been excavated. A hole is made in the roof of the tomb and another at the side; in the former the objects to be baked are placed and the latter is filled with firewood. When the fires are lit the tombs become miniature volcanoes with thick smoke belching from their peaks, slowly the fires die down, the smoke clears and the baked pottery is removed and the ovens are prepared for the next baking.

316 339 is quarried, lorry loads of wood are brought out, and, as in the manufacture of lime, layers of gypsum are interspersed with layers of wood and the pile fired. The slabs of gypsum are then removed and beaten into a fine powder which, when mixed with water, acts like cement. It has the advantage of being quick setting and is still used by those who cannot afford to buy imported cement.

### WEAVING

288 438 291 [697] Weaving is carried on in some of the villages of Bahrain, in Abu Saiba, south of the Budaiya Road and elsewhere. "Awzars," simple garments worn by the villagers around their waists in the summer, are woven from imported cotton, while in many coastal villages the sailors spend the winters weaving sail-cloth. The prisoners on Jidda Island are also employed in weaving, on imported Irish looms, but their activities can hardly be classed as a local industry.

## CHAPTER VIII

## THE ANTIQUITIES OF BAHRAIN

### THE WORLD'S LARGEST GRAVEYARD

●172 764 THE tumuli of Bahrain have never been counted, but their number has been estimated at 50,000. In these tumuli Bahrain possesses one of the unsolved mysteries of archaeology, for despite the numerous expeditions that have been made to discover their origin, this is still in dispute.

There are three groups of tumuli in Bahrain. The largest group is that which lies on the plain between Aali and the Rifaas. The second group is to the far north of Bahrain, on each side of the Manama-Budaiya Road between Jidhafs and Diraz. The third group, consisting of a few dozen graves, is in the clearing to the north of the Suq al-Khamis Mosque.

The first group of tombs is daily passed by hundreds of people travelling between Manama and Awali, but the best examples of tumuli in this group are not along the main road but are near the village of Aali. These mounds are the largest in Bahrain and while some of them are used by the villagers for baking their pottery, the majority are just as they were left after their opening by various archaeologists. Most of these tombs face south-west and P. B. Cornwall[1] has suggested that the reason for this is that the builders of the mounds worshipped the Evening Star, Venus, which at sunset lies to the south-west. The majority of the tumuli have two storeys and, in the chamber tombs, there are niches cut into the sides of the passages. The sides and roofs of the graves themselves are of local stone and were originally covered with a layer of gypsum. Some of the tumuli are surrounded by low walls of mud and gravel. Finds in these tumuli have included the bones of men and animals, ivory statues, pieces of circular boxes, golden ornaments and earthenware vessels decorated with black stripes.

There is little agreement among the experts as to the origin and dating of these burials and each has drawn his own deductions from the

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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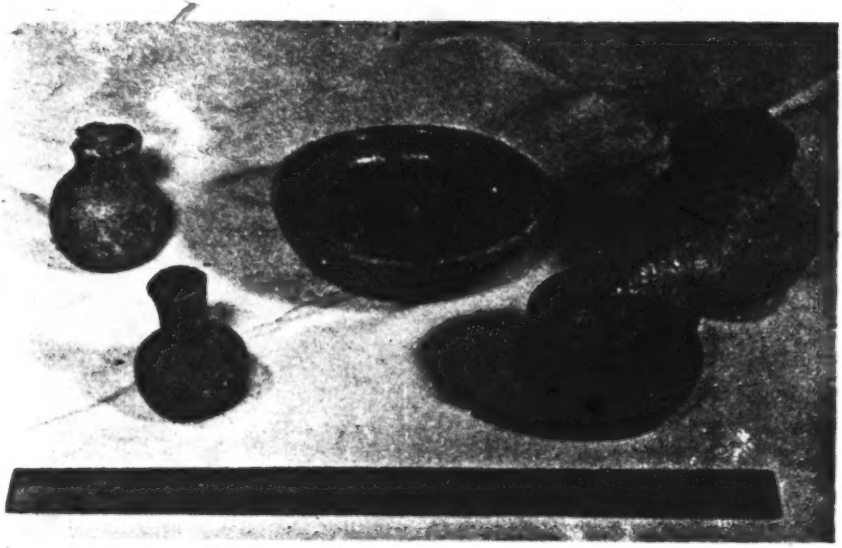
The North Wall of the Portuguese Fort. *Photo : Sir Charles Belgrave.*

228

Divers at work. To the right a diver can be seen wearing a cotton garment as a protection against jelly-fish. *Photo : Sir Charles Belgrave.*

323



A bowl and some jars found in a tumulus on the Budeiya Road. *Photo : General Stores*

172

The Ruins of the Suq al-Khamis Mosque. *Photo : The Author.*

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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712

North Bahrain in 1635. A map taken from a Portuguese book on India (see *Chapter VIII*).

*Photo : Courtesy of Royal Egyptian Geographical Society.*

625

Bahrain State Police, Mounted Section.

*Photo : K. P. Narayan*

finds that have been made. Mackay, who opened 34 tumuli in 1924-, believed that they were the work of nomads who brought their dead from the mainland of Arabia. He gives as proof for this theory the fact that the pottery he found was round-bottomed, indicating that it was used in sandy country, and also the finding of ostrich eggs. After a study of the bronze objects and taking into consideration other finds Mackay considered that the tombs dated from between 1500 and 1200 B.C.

172 ● 764

Cornwall also believes that the Aali tombs date from the second millennium B.C.[3] and holds to the belief that the ancient "Dilmun" of cuneiform inscriptions was the Bahrain Island of to-day. Dr. W. F. Albright, who has also studied some of the finds from these tombs, places them in the first half of the second millenium B.C.

Inscriptions are of particular help to archaeologists but only one cuneiform inscription has been discovered in Bahrain, the stone slab found by Captain Durand[4] and described in Part II. This is the only cuneiform and indeed the only pre-Islamic inscription that has been found in Bahrain.

Proceeding from Manama to Budaiya the road passes through the village of Jidhafs, and beyond it through some more tumuli. Many of these mounds are also of some size and there are a number of interesting specimens which have been opened, disclosing the complex interiors and the protecting walls built from large blocks of stone. In each of these tombs there were a number of burials, in some the skeletons lay at full length, in others they were in a crouching position. Finds in these tombs also included glass and pottery, jewellery, household implements and objects carved from ivory and bone.

Mackay, who also opened some of these tombs, dates them from the third century B.C., while P. B. Cornwall believes that they were built during the Sassanid period (226-640 A.D.). It is known that the Persians seized Bahrain during the reign of Shapur II, following raids by the Arab inhabitants on the Persian coast ; Shapur reigned from 300—325 A.D.

These two views are very different, but there is yet a third divergent view about these same tumuli. While the Bahrain Government was building a new road in this area it also opened some tumuli and the contents, which included ivory, glass, stone and pottery, were sent to the British Museum for identification. Their verdict was that beads found in the tumuli were a mixture of Arab and pre-historic work ; that the bronze objects were of Sassanid origin ; that a bronze bust was of the second to fifth century A.D.; and that a granite pot, with legs, decorated with oblique lines and circles in bands, was of very early date, possibly 2500 B.C. or even prehistoric. The Museum considered that the tombs were probably built between the sixth and eighth century A.D., which was the date of Islamic pottery found in them, and the experts explained the presence of such a mixture of objects by the fact that excavated material has always been valued throughout the Middle East and was often used by its finders.

172 764 The tumuli on the Budaiya road are therefore as interesting as those to the south, in the Aali group, and are well worth a visit. Also on the north side of the road is a large mound believed to have been a temple of some sort; this can be distinguished by its large rooms and high protecting wall.

The third and smallest group of tombs is the group to the north of the Suq al-Khamis Mosque. While no detailed study has been made of these tumuli, the Manama Municipality, while collecting sand in this area, unearthed a tomb containing a small stone bowl with a simple circular design around the rim. According to the British Museum, this bowl dated from about 2500 B.C. and so it would seem that it has some connection with the granite bowl found near the Budaiya Road.

### THE SUQ AL-KHAMIS MOSQUE AND BILAD AL-QADIM

172 778 346 The oldest existing Moslem building in Bahrain and one of the most ancient Islamic relics in the Persian Gulf is the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, situated in the centre of the clearing about three miles from Manama on the road to Awali. Although its unusual twin minarets serve to identify it to the visitor, they are of comparatively recent construction and the ruined columns and walls within the low wall are all that remain of the ancient structure.

For many years the mosque has been slowly decaying, but in 1950 the Bahrain Government carried out some restoration work and the blocks and columns which for many years had lain in the sand were restored to their original position, the floor was cleared of the scrub growing there and it is now possible to obtain a better idea of the original shape and appearance of the mosque. Its former importance is shown by its careful construction from heavy columns and blocks hewn from Bahrain stone. There are few other ancient mosques in Bahrain which have been built with such care, most of them are simple erections of wood and mud, closely resembling the typical open mosques found, to this day, in Saudi Arabia.

The Suq al-Khamis Mosque differs from these other mosques in that it is of the more advanced courtyard type. The mosque itself is surrounded by an outer wall which was originally 27 by 30 yards but which is now slightly smaller. The interior of the mosque consists of three naves on each side of a central courtyard, the columns of the naves, which have been replaced by the Bahrain Government, are built from drum-shaped stones 1 ft. by 2 ft. and joined together with mortar. The pillar facades of the courtyard are still standing as they were built by the makers of the mosque. The Qibla (west) wall consists of broad pillars with half-column profiles and, according to Diez,[5] the strengthening wall of ragstone that can be seen at the base of the pillars and colums of the courtyard was erected when the mosque was rebuilt in the fifteenth century. The side walls of the courtyard are formed from double columns and the entrance or east wall of single columns. An interesting find that was made while the Bahrain Government was working on the mosque was of two graves below the east wall. The

graves were like those in the ancient graveyard nearby, they did not point towards Mecca as do Moslem graves, and so it would seem that the mosque was built on top of part of the ancient burial ground. The pillars and columns of the mosque were connected by keel-pointed arches and the ceiling was supported by two teak pillars 13 feet in height on the top of which rested a beam. The pillars and beam have been removed from the mosque and are in the possession of the Bahrain Government. It would seem that owing to the comparative weakness, of the pillars the roof can only have been made of some light material probably brushwood or palm-branches covered with earth.

172 778 346

Diez states that when he visited the mosque, early in the century, there was a long inscription in the Qibla wall of the courtyard which showed that the mosque in its latest form was built in the year 740 A.H. (1339/40 A.D.). This tablet, together with some inscribed blocks which used to be above the Qibla wall, have fallen from their place and while some pieces of them are still in the possession of the Bahrain Government many have disappeared. These inscriptions and the square inscribed stone over the door of the western minaret are all of the same period, but it seems probable that the shorter inscription near the door of the minaret dates from the eleventh century A.D. At the feet of the pillars of the west wall of the courtyard are the remains of two Qibla stones. These have also fallen into disrepair since the visit of Diez, the top half of each stone has disappeared and the writer has been unable to trace them. The presence of these Qibla stones is unusual, only in the mosques of Ibn Tulun in Cairo and of the Prophet at Medina are they present. Qibla stones were used before the introduction of the mihrab niche to indicate the direction of prayer.

172 778 346 212

The two Qibla stones bear inscriptions that show them to be of Shiite origin and so the mosque in its present form is a Shiite one. The inscription on a wooden pillar which once supported the roof and which has also disappeared, was of the same period and bore a similar inscription. The wooden pillars formerly in the mosque led Diez to ascribe the original mosque to the tenth or eleventh centuries A.D. It is interesting to note that wooden pillars of the same style and with the same ornamentation were found in the mosque at Samarra, in Iraq, which was founded by the Caliph al-Mu'tasim in 836 A.D. The mosque also had a school and a well attached to it, the traces of the latter can still be seen near the graves to the east of the mosque itself.

In the corner of Bilad al-Qadim nearest to the Suq al-Khamis mosque is another ancient inscription, in the mosque known as Masjid ar-Raf'ia. This is also a Qibla stone, set into the west wall of the mosque, but although it is in Kufic characters the work does not seem as fine as in the Kufic inscriptions in the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, possibly because this mosque was of less importance than the one at the Suq. The inscription bears the names of Muhammad, Ali, Fatima, Hussein and Hassan and is therefore also of Shiite origin. Bilad al-Qadim itself presents a sorry spectacle and with the exception of the

south-west corner the town is deserted and in ruins. Also on this plain is the Abu Zaidan Mosque, built over a spring of the same name. This mosque has recently been repaired by the Government and is much used by the Shia people of Manama, especially by the women during weddings.

To the north of the Budaiya Road is the ruined mosque of Abu Mahara, a strange little building with two storeys and a tall column in the centre of the spring. This mosque was built in the year 889 A.H. (1484 A.D.) as shown by an inscription to this effect in its west wall.

There are many other mosques in Bahrain, some of which contain inscriptions giving the date of their foundation, but they are of comparatively recent date and the mosques themselves are of no architectural interest.

### THE FORTS OF BAHRAIN

Portuguese and Persians, Arabs and Omanis, all these have at one time or another attacked and occupied Bahrain and have retained control of the islands by the construction and garrisoning of forts and castles. The oldest surviving fort in Bahrain is the Qalat al-Ajaj, built by the Portuguese some time after their occupation of Bahrain in 1521. This fort lies on the northern shore of Bahrain Island some three miles from Manama and the easiest way to visit it is by driving along the Manama-Budaiya Road and then by turning off to the north when the ruins of the fort can be seen through the date palms.

On the sea shore below the fort can be seen the steps by which the Portuguese entered their boats, but with the exception of these remains there are no relics of the Portuguese in Bahrain. A number of cannon have been found, but there is a surprising absence of inscriptions, coins or gravestones.

The exact date of the construction of the fort is not known, but the fort was repaired in 1562 and 1586, this need for continual repair was no doubt due to the many revolts which took place in Bahrain against the Portuguese. Shaikh Khalifah an-Nabhani, in his history of Bahrain, mentions that he visited the fort and saw this latter date inscribed in four places on the walls of the fort, but today there is no sign of these inscriptions.

Page 62 shows a map of north Bahrain Island and Muharraq taken from a Portuguese book of the seventeenth century. It is interesting to see that whereas the Portuguese fort, in fact, has five sides, with square towers at four corners and a turret at the fifth, in the map the fort appears as square in shape while the moat is five-sided. The fort is at present in such a bad state of repair that it is almost impossible to discover the purposes of the various towers and chambers found in it, but an idea can be obtained of the great skill and care that went into the making of the walls by an examination of the towers and wall on the west side of the fort. The moat is no longer filled by the sea due to its neglect, although after the expulsion of the Portuguese the fort continued to be used by the Persian garrison in Bahrain.

A further examination of the map reveals that in the time of the

Portuguese there was a church in Bahrain (bottom left-hand corner) and it is possible that the ruins that can be seen by the side of the road leading to the fort were once a church. Also in the map is a village of black-roofed houses with one tall minaret-like building, probably the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, whose twin minarets, as stated above, are of comparatively recent origin. The map also shows a number of small black houses facing on to a bay, these could represent the town of Manama, then a village, which is known to have existed in the time of the Portuguese. What is more surprising is the large two-storeyed fort on Muharraq Island ; this cannot be explained as easily as the other items, for there is to-day only one fort on Muharraq Island, that of Arad, which is known to have been built by the Omanis in 1800. It could be that they built their fort on the ruins of another older one, but it is also possible that this fort represents Muharraq town, which, until comparatively recently, was protected by a wall. On the map to the right of the fort is a small building with two flags, probably the tomb of some local notable, and to the left of the fort there is another group of houses representing either Muharraq or one of the coastal villages. Finally there is the island of Abu Mahir, whose fort is indicated by a small tower set in the sea to the left of Muharraq Island. The book from which this map is taken is in the Bibliothéque Nationale de Paris and the map is here reproduced by kindness of the Royal Geographical Society of Egypt.

361 172 712

Some miles south of the Jebal ad-Dukhan there is a hill called 'Amr and crowning it is a fort, a simple construction of loose stones, built, according to tradition, by Shaikh Jabbara, who became ruler of Bahrain about 1698 A.D. Far from gardens and fresh water, this fort was in fact in an ideal position from which to guard Bahrain against foreign enemies, for the sea is visible to the east and the west. The story of Shaikh Jabbara will be told in Part III.

172 712

The palace of Shaikh Farir is said to have been situated at Rifaa ash-Sharqi, overlooking the central plain of Bahrain island and, to-day, the oil town of Awali. The fort of Rifaa ash-Sharqi in its present form was built by Shaikh Sulman bin Ahmed al-Khalifah, one of the early Khalifah rulers, who started work on it in 1812. The wooden doors that he caused to be set up can still be seen at the entrance to the house of the Amir of Rifaa, the inscriptions that they bear, when the numerical values of the letters are added up, indicate that the fort was built in the above year.

Returning to Manama, we pass the Qalat ad-Diwan, to-day used as the H.Q. of the Bahrain State Police. Although this fort has been modernised, the main outline is still recognisable as it was built on the orders of Nadir Shah, after he seized Bahrain in 1739. This fort contained the Persian garrison in Bahrain till they were expelled by the Khalifah. Shaikh Isa (1869-1932) often used the Qalat ad-Diwan as his summer palace until it was taken over by the Police.

625

In Muharraq Island a rather comic toy-like fort sits on the sea-shore of Arad Bay facing Muharraq town. A simple construction of

172 high walls around a central courtyard are all that it consists of, and some
712 of the Omani guns still remain in the towers. The fort was built in 1800 by the Ruler of Muscat, Sultan bin Ahmed, who in that year seized Bahrain from the Khalifah and sent his brother, Sayed Said, to govern the Islands they were soon expelled but later returned. The Muscatis remained in their fort for nine years, but after their expulsion in 1809 by the Khalifah-Saudi alliance the fort was left deserted.

Near Muharraq town is the fort of Abu Mahur, already mentioned in connection with the Portuguese map and named after one of the largest undersea springs in Bahrain, which is situated near it. The fort, which dominates the southern approach to Muharraq and Manama, was built on the island-peninsular of Abu Mahur by Shaikh Abdulla al-Khalifah, who ruled jointly with his brother Sulman, builder of the fort at Rifaa ash-Sharqi. In 1843 Shaikh Abdulla was expelled from Bahrain by his son Muhammad, who was also unable to enjoy a peaceful reign, for after a dispute with Qatar Muhammad was replaced as Ruler of Bahrain by his brother Ali and the British shelled the fort
[744] of Abu Mahur, which was destroyed with the exception of one tower. More recently the remains of the fort and the island was given to the Baluchi retainers of the Khalifah, but in 1930 the Baluchis were given land elsewhere and the island was turned into a Quarantine Station. This is therefore a fort which visitors are not advised to visit.

### THE QANATS

312 "Qanat" is the Arabic name for the underground water channels
172 which are found in many parts of Bahrain, particularly in the south-west of the island. Here, among others, is a long channel running inland from Sadad, another brings water to Karzarkan from the spring called Ijraiyi, a mile and a half to the north, and a third channel runs from the spring of Malakiya to the village of the same name. These are but a few of the many channels in Bahrain.

312 These channels are present in great numbers in Persia and are also
191 found in eastern Saudi-Arabia and Syria. It is probable that those in Bahrain were first built by the Persians. It is stated in at least one history that they were the work of the Persian King Anushirvan who captured Bahrain from the Arabs in the fourth century A.D. They have often been mentioned by travellers to Bahrain and in a local history it is stated that during a war that took place in the eighth century between the people of Bahrain and an army sent by the Caliph, the Bahrainis made good use of these same channels by passing through them till they reached the rear of the enemy forces and then making a successful surprise attack.

312 The channels were built to prevent the wastage of water from evapor-
172 ation which would have occurred had the water been carried in surface channels, By this method the water is sheltered from the sun and its flow is not hindered by falls of sand or the movements of sand dunes. It seems that the channels were first built as open ditches and then roofed with slabs of sea rock, called feroush. The roofs of the channels are sloping and after construction they were covered with sand to the

level of the ground. Every 10-20 yards along the length of the channels are airholes, round chimneys lined with stone and varying in diameter from 2 to 5 feet. The top of the shaft, which resembles a well head, is surrounded by a low wall. Page 116 shows the channel which has been uncovered and in which the construction of the airholes can clearly be seen. At the shaft of the water channel which runs west of the village of Shakhura there is a large subterranean room which serves the purpose of a bathing hall. It has a high arched roof with columns branching out from a central pillar. It is roofed over and has a hard gypsum floor covered with fine white sand. There is a continual stream of cold water through the chamber, which is still used by the inhabitants from the surrounding villages as a bathing place to which they go in the heat of the summer and sit in comfort in the shady coolness below. It is rumoured that there are more such chambers, but this is the only one that the author has personally visited.

The channels in most cases carry water from springs in the hills a few miles inland to the coastal gardens. Many of them are still used, although others have long since fallen into ruin, but very skilful work was involved in their building and the fact that water still flows in many of them is a conclusive proof of their scientific construction. So far, no inscriptions have been found within them, but there is no doubt that if they were examined with care some signs would be found of their exact origin.

In these four sections most of the antiquities of the Bahrain Islands have been described, for they are unfortunately rare and, with the exception of the Tumuli, the mosques, the forts and the Qanats there, is little of archaeological interest in Bahrain. There are possibilities of future discoveries, however, especially in Bilad al-Qadim which should, as the ancient capital, yield something of interest to any archaeologist who explores its ruins. The numerous Arabic inscriptions would also be worth further study and their translation should add something to the history of Bahrain by giving the names of the various rulers who, at one time or another, built mosques or other buildings and had their good deed inscribed on stone.

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In addition to these works a number of books appear in the general bibliography at the end of this guide which may be consulted for further information about Bahrain's antiquities.

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

172

Aerial view of the tumuli of Aali. In the background, to the right of the photo, the Jebel ad-Dukhan can be seen.

367
529

Adari Pool.

two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya. It[1] was the home of the Dawasir tribe who came to Bahrain shortly after it was conquered by the al-Khalifah and established themselves here. The tribe acquired great wealth and prestige, owning many pearling dhows, and by degrees they became so powerful that they were able to raid with impunity the neighbouring Bahrana villages. They even challenged the authority of the al-Khalifah, but Shaikh Hamed, on becoming Deputy Ruler in 1924, threatened to punish them if they did not behave. This they considered as an infringement of their liberties and they therefore announced to the Ruler that if he prevented them behaving as they were accustomed, they would leave Bahrain and settle in Saudi Arabia. Shaikh Hamed refused to give way and the Dawasir left Bahrain. This, however, was not the last of them, for during many years it was believed that they were preparing to invade Bahrain. To prevent this a force was maintained in the Islands. However, the scare eventually died down and Budaiya after lying deserted, was later partly re-occupied by other Bahrainis, while some of the Dawasir gradually returned, many of them settling in Manama and Muharraq.

The ruins of great houses and mosques still remain, while scattered between them are the houses of the new inhabitants, who do much fishing in the prolific waters near the town, and also work in Manama and Awali. Before reaching the Police Post that marks the entrance to Budaiya the road passes through the Government Experimental Garden where new agricultural methods are tried and where cows and sheep, kept under scientific conditions, are studied for their productivity. From the Budaiya Pier launches go to Jidda, the prison island, many of whose inmates come over daily to work in the Budaiya Garden. The Pier is also used by the Ruler when he visits his island of Umm an-Nasaan.

The small Government school at Budaiya just south of the Government gardens, in addition to teaching the usual Primary School subjects gives lessons in agriculture for many of the boys' fathers own or work in gardens in the neighbourhood.

### DIRAZ

Diraz is a village about half a mile north of the Budaiya Road and about 1½ miles from Budaiya itself. It consists mainly of stone houses, many of which are two-storied. The village stands on high ground among the sand dunes and is very similar to Beni Jumra which faces it a little way off on the opposite side of the road. It is so surrounded by clumps of date palms that its size is not appreciated from the road. A feature noticeable here, as well as in many other parts of Bahrain, is that date palms grow in groups at the bottom of depressions in the sand and are not irrigated by water channels but obtain moisture from below the surface of the ground.

North-west of the village there are mounds which indicate the existence of a much larger settlement in the past and an extensive area of ground is covered with glass and pottery sherds. Among the ruins



[1] [the town of Budaiya .. Analyst]

there is a deep depression surrounded by large blocks of stone which was once a great spring said to have irrigated much of north-western Bahrain. This spring, known as Ain Sejour, is traditionally associated with the name of the Caliph Abd al-Malik (685-705) who is reputed to have come to Bahrain with an army to chastise the people who had given refuge to politico-religious refugees from Iraq. According to local histories the Bahrainis worsted the invaders in a war by a clever use of the underground water channels and a truce was signed. Later the Caliph is said to have murdered the Bahraini leaders and to have filled in this well "to reduce the pride of the people of Bahrain," since then it has been dry and the land around it has reverted to desert. It seems unlikely that the Caliph himself came to Bahrain, he probably sent one of his generals and later tradition ascribed the leadership to the Caliph himself.

Several well-to-do families own houses in Diraz, and when pearling flourished its people were important nakhudas (captains) and pearl merchants. Many of the villagers are still divers and keep their boats on the shore near the little mosque north of Budaiya Garden. For use in these boats the villagers weave their own sail-cloth on local looms.

### JESRA

On the edge of the open plain about 4 miles south of Budaiya is Jesra, the point where the pipeline from Arabia crosses to Bahrain, here also is a village whose Arab inhabitants are mainly retainers of the Ruling Family. Several Shaikhs have also built substantial houses in the village, as well as gardens irrigated from artesian wells. Another road leads from Jesra to Rifaa al-Gharbi, following the route of the pipeline across the desert.

### MALAKIYA

Four miles south of Jesra the road, after passing through the villages of Karzakan and Dumistan, enters the little village of Malakiya, set in the centre of thriving date gardens, some of which belong to merchants in Manama. The only claim to interest in this village is a large tomb which is held in great veneration by the Shia community of Bahrain and is visited by pilgrims from all parts of the Islands. The tomb is of a certain Amir Zaid, but there is some difference of opinion about his identity. Some contend that he was Zaid bin Sohan, one of the Companions of the Prophet, but according to other local authorities he was a certain Amir Zaid bin Umaira al-Abdi who witnessed a covenant of truce made between the people of the Islands and al-Mua'lla bin al-Hadrami, the Moslem conqueror of Bahrain. A third version is that the worthy Amir was the leader of the people of Bahrain in a war that took place between them and the Caliph Abd al-Malik (See paragraph on Diraz). It has not yet been decided which of these versions is in fact the true one, but this does not deter Shia pilgrims from visiting Malakiya.

of the Egg," a small village with many seafaring inhabitants. To the north of Sitra there is a very pleasant sandy beach looking towards Umm a-Hasan where there is excellent bathing; the view also includes Nabih Salih and Jaziyra. There is deep water to the north of Sitra, and it is here that the Bahrain Government is building the new Port of Manama with a pier running into deep water from the shore between Umm al-Hasan and Jufair.

### JIDDA

This island is about 2½ miles from Budaiya. It is small and rocky and in appearance unlike any of the other Bahrain Islands. Its high cliffs rise abruptly from the water and a few fort-like buildings are silhouetted against the sky-line. On the south side of the island there is a level strip of land which is extensively cultivated. Jidda is Bahrain's penal settlement; here all long term prisoners are detained, spending their time cutting stone, weaving and working in the gardens. There is a small house on the top of the cliffs above the jetty which catches all the wind in the summer and which is used by the Adviser to the Bahrain Government. Being a prison island, Jidda is forbidden to general visitors.

The stone quarries at Jidda are of great age and it is likely that the large stones which line the graves in the burial mounds were cut here. There is an Arabic inscription roughly cut on one of the cliffs which reads as follows:

"During the month of Shaban in the year 968 (April/May, 1561) there was completed the cutting of the 100,000th rock for the mending of the tower of the Bahrain fort in the wazirate of the Great Wazir Jilal ad-Din Murad Mahmud by the hand of the slave . . . " (a few words after this are unreadable).

### UMM AN-NASAAN

This, the second largest of the Bahrain islands, lies a few miles across the shallow water to the south of Jidda. It is sandy and flat, with the exception of two small limestone hills towards its centre which break the monotony of its shape. At the north end of the island there are several natural springs and artesian wells from which extensive date gardens are irrigated; they were planted by the late Ruler of Bahrain, H.H. Shaikh Hamed, who also established on the island a herd of black buck and gazelle, the former being imported from India and the latter from the mainland of Bahrain.

There is evidence of ancient habitations on Umm an-Nasan, foundations of many old houses are visible and sherds of pottery can be picked up. Local legend has it that Nasaan, after whom the island is named, was one of the early rulers of Bahrain, but this legend has not been substantiated by historical research.

## HOWAR ISLANDS

101 This group of 16 islands is about twelve miles south-east of Ras al-Barr. It consists of one large island, Howar itself, which is about eleven miles long and a mile in breadth, and fifteen other islands much smaller in size. In the centre of the main island there is a rocky [361] eminence known as al-Jebal. There are only two villages, the larger [625] one at the northern end on the shore of the bay consists of stone huts with mat roofs (Kubbar); it also has a small mosque. The Bahrain [162] State Police maintain a garrison on the island, in a fort which dominates the bay and from the roof of which the Qatar peninsular is visible. [312] The islands are inhabited by fishermen from Bahrain and also by men who come to cut gypsum which they sell in Bahrain. The water supply of the island is very limited and consists of old cisterns cut out of living rock which are filled by rain. Attempts to drill for water have failed, but in the years when there is normal or plentiful rainfall the island provides good grazing for camels and sheep. Fishing in the 138 bay is excellent, the water is comparatively deep and a launch can 503 come alongside the short jetty. The southern tip of the island is so close to the Qatar coast that when the tide is out boats cannot pass between the island and the shore, but at one place between Howar and Qatar, a long narrow channel has been hewn out of the coral sea bed to allow boats to pass through a shallow stretch of water. This submarine canal was made by a certain Isa ibn Tarif, a notorious pirate, who played an important part in the history of Bahrain during the middle of the last century; he used the channel as a passage to his fortress on the Qatar coast from where he sallied forth to attack the shipping around Bahrain.

132 The climate of Howar is noticeably better than in Bahrain, it is drier and cooler during the summer nights, but has no other amenities to attract visitors fleeing from the dampness of Bahrain, and at present its only visitors go there for work and not for pleasure.

## ZUBARA

361 On the coast of the Qatar peninsular opposite the Bahraini village
172 of Jaw is the ruined town and the bay of Zubara, which has already been mentioned in detail in the history of Bahrain in Part II. The town of Zubara is on the east of the bay and stretches about 1½ miles along the coast and 2 miles inland. The ruins of the town are still impressive. The high wall which surrounds the wide straight streets and the fine mosques, the obvious care with which the town was laid out, speaks well for those who governed it. Further east of the town, at a distance of about two miles across the desert, is the great fort; some of the walls and the mosque are still standing. At the corners of the walls are towers with slits for rifles and the domed roof of the mosque presents an attractive picture. The whole building is made from local stone and little gypsum was used in its construction. Within the fort there are two wells one of which is dry, but the other still

contains a substantial amount of water which is protected from evaporation by the narrowness of the well's neck. The Bahraini members of the Naim tribe who live here do not occupy the fort but live in two villages in the neighbourhood, which have the advantage of being near wells. On the whole, however, Zubara is most unfertile, the soil is thick with salt which appears on the surface and it is easy to see that the only *raison d'etre* of the town was the sea and commerce. The fort itself was once connected with the sea by a long, deep canal, some 100 feet wide, which served the dual purpose of filling the moat about the fort and permitting ships to approach it. Today the eastern section of the canal has been filled in by sand, and the sea only reaches about 1½ miles inland.

Gazelle abound in Zubara, and also jackals.

101 formerly supplied the people of Muharraq. The inhabi-
162 tants, who are divers and fishermen, belong to the Sunnite sect.

NAIM, SULUTA, and KHULAFFAT are three small islands in the Gulf of Arad.

Farther east are:

[312] ABU SHĀHIN, with its fresh water spring.

UMM SHAJAR.

UMM SHIYARA.

Mention should also be made of the three small, rocky islands north of Sitra bearing the name of Kasr (Castle) and farther south, opposite the village of Askar, the little island of Mashāikh with its fishing huts.

Off the east coast there are many others which are rocky islands or mere shoals and of no interest to us. Among them are the small islands of Raka and Cliff, El Ben farther north, and Yusuf closer to the coast.

## ANTIQUITIES

172 The north central part of Bahrein Island is covered with thousands of large tombs in the form of mounds of rock heaped with earth which are among the unsolved mysteries of Near Eastern archaeology. Their number has been variously estimated at from fifteen thousand to several hundred thousand—so many in fact as to be completely out of proportion to the size of the island and its possible ability to support in ancient times a population to match the size of this enormous cemetery.

The tombs are ancient burial vaults of large dressed stones erected at ground level, sometimes with a second story. After the interment the vault was covered with a mound of gravel, stone chips, and earth, obtained largely at the foot of the cliffs surrounding the central basin of the island. The mounds vary greatly in size, ranging from four to eighty feet high and up to one hundred feet in diameter. Some of the largest tombs show the remains of outer walls, while others seem to have been surrounded by rings of heaped up gravel to keep intruders

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

away from the main structure. It is impossible, however, to determine the height of the walls or rings because of the many centuries of torrential rains which have intervened and the probable theft of materials by later tomb builders.

Since 1878 there have been at least six attempts to establish by excavation the identity of the people who built these curious structures. In 1898 the British Museum dispatched Bent to work on the mounds but up to 1906 only three had been opened. In later years Colonel Prideaux worked on sixty-seven of them and Ernest Mackey on thirty-four, and quite recently thirty more were examined by P. B. Cornwall. The early explorers probably looked for writing of some kind but no traces have been found. Furthermore, as the result of dampness, the salinity of the soil and the ravages of insects and rodents, the condition of bones and artifacts is extremely poor. There is some pottery but it seems to have been intentionally broken, perhaps as part of the burial ceremonies, for only a single jar has been found in its original state. There are a few articles of ivory and bronze, heavily damaged by water and salt. Finally there are very faint traces of what may have been textiles and wooden articles. Many tombs contain the bones of a ram or sheep, pointing to animal sacrifice.

There seems to have been no fixed custom in the disposal of the remains. The body was placed sometimes on its side, sometimes in a niche cut in the stone wall. In many cases the bones were scattered about or mixed with those of sheep or other animals, while elsewhere they were collected in neat heaps. Careful study of all the findings has produced nothing to support any conclusion except that the burials are very ancient. The picture is that of an unknown primitive group with somewhat inconsistent burial customs.

The varying treatment of the bones, according to a suggestion made by Petrie, may indicate that in some instances the remains were brought to Bahrein from the mainland in accordance with a custom that was fairly prevalent in the Orient. Moreover, it has been noted that all of the tomb entrances face

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

172 southwest toward Arabia[1] — an indication that it was from there that the people originally came. The existence of similar tombs along the Arabian coast tends to support this hypothesis. Finally, for what it is worth, there is an Arab tradition that the tribe of Thamud, driven out of Yemen and across the desert, found a home on the island of Bahrein about the beginning of the second millenium B.C.

Attempts to date the Bahrein tombs by the nature of the contents have brought to light only contradictory evidence. The finding of a jar that resembles a Babylonian jar of 2500 B.C. must be weighed against the finding of bronze weapons dating from 1500-1200 B.C. It is possible that future explorations of the thousands of tumuli will yet supply an answer to the riddle, but the meager results obtained from the examination of 134 of them can hardly be called encouraging.

## EDUCATION

658 The Bahrein government decided in 1934 to engage a number of Iraqi teachers for its schools. Iraq had done all in her power to attract the emirats of the Gulf into her orbit, and by 1934, when the British and Persians were fighting over the question of sovereignty over Bahrein, Iraq had made known her intention of creating a consulate in the island and establishing a school for the children of Iraqi subjects residing there. This was an effort to compete with the Persians, who since the end of World War I had conducted a school, "Tarbiat," founded originally for the education of Persian children but open also to children of other communities.

871 658 875 Bahrein today has nine elementary and one secondary school, the latter founded in 1940, and one school for girls, opened in 1939. The program of study of the Iraqi schools was adopted. At the end of 1937, a group of fifteen Syrian teachers were engaged by the government to teach in the newly founded schools. In 1940, the government engaged six Iraqi teachers to

1. According to Cornwall W.25°s. is the most frequent reading: were they oriented toward Mecca?

to the days when the Rulers of Bahrain lived here and ruled the Islands from the castle. Below the fortresss is the spring of Hanani, whose water is the best in Bahrain, and a plain where, in the rainy season, a small lake forms and on disappearing leaves in its place a bright lawn of grass. Rifaa has been expanding rapidly during recent years, the town is spreading to the south-east, and it now possesses boys' and girls' schools and a Municipality. Some members of the Ruling Family still live in the town which has expanded owing to the development of the oil industry, in which some 500 of its male inhabitants are working.

The situation of the town is ideal for strategical purposes, from it it is possible to see Manama, Muharraq and Sitra while the land around it is free of vegetation which could have served to hide the enemy. It has an excellent climate and is drier than Manama in the summer. To the north of the town are two small graves where members of the Khalifah family are buried; these fell in battle during a civil war which took place in the 19th century.

There is a tradition connected with the fortress of Rifaa. It is said to have been built in the 17th century by the Wazir of the then Ruler, a certain Shaikh Jabbara. For years the Ruler and his wazir worked together, but one day the Shaikh was told about the beauty of the wazir's wife, and he desired her. He was tricked into believing that he had visited her, though in fact he was entertained by her maid-servant. He was so angry at the deception, about which the wazir knew nothing, that he killed him. The Wazir's widow thereupon fled from Rifaa to the mainland, from where she wrote to the Shah of Persia sending him a minature palm tree of pearls and gold and saying that so rich was Bahrain that such a tree was given to a child as a toy. She succeeded in exciting the avarice of the Persian Shah, who sent an army to Bahrain, defeated and killed Shaikh Jabbara, and annexed the Islands to Persia, thus avenging the Wazir's wife. This same Shaikh Jabbara is said to have lived in the fort of Amr, south-east of the Jebel, which is mentioned in Chapter VIII.

There is a third Rifaa, a small community built by BAPCO for its Indian and Pakstani employees; this is mentioned in the Chapter on Bahrain's Oil.

### AWALI

Meaning "The High Places," this name was given by Shaikh Hamed, the late Ruler of Bahrain, to the oil camp when it was first established in its present location. Before the oil company arrived in Bahrain the site was deserted—for who would live in the middle of a waterless desert ? But the company wanted to build their town near the oil field, and so the small, 240 foot, hill was chosen. Today Awali somewhat resembles a London surburb or a small American town. As in London, varied gardens and different coloured exteriors of the houses serve to disguise their basic similarity. In these gardens children play while their mothers chat to each other over the fences. Happy

312 many of the travellers who have visited the islands. Men with deflated sheepskins dive down to the spring and place the mouth of the skin over the place where the fresh water emerges ; the skin then fills with fresh water and when full the diver comes to the surface. Before artesian wells were drilled in Bahrain both Muharraq and Manama obtained much of their water in this way, but today, owing to artesian piped wells and water systems, the undersea springs are little used except those to the north of Bahrain near the pearling banks. A Turkish traveller who visited Bahrain in 1554, Sidi Ali, says of the submarine springs, "The sailors provided with a leather sack, dive down into the sea and bring the fresh water from the bottom for Rais Murad's (the Governor of Bahrain) use. This water is particularly pleasant and cold in spring time. God's Power is boundless !" There is a 173 legend concerning the spring of Abu Mahur which says that in the time of the Caliph Merwan (684-685) a certain Ibn Hakim, a chief in Qatif, wished to marry the lovely daughter of a Bahrain shaikh. His suit was refused and so he attacked the islands and captured all the wells which supplied the towns on Bahrain Island, but the guardian diety of the Bahrainis caused the well Abu Mahur to appear in the sea near Muharraq to succour his people.

### NABIH SALIH

101 A most attractive island is Nabih Salih, set in the Khor-al-Kab between Umm al-Hassan and the mainland of Bahrain. With its 529 thick cultivation, for the date palms run right down to the sea shore, and its many springs, including a large pool much frequented by [788] bathers, Nabih Salih is a very popular place for visitors. In addition to its pool it is a place of pilgrimage for the Shia of Bahrain who go to pay their respects to the tomb of Salih after whom the island is named. The date palms of the island are particularly fine, they compare very favourably with those elsewhere in Bahrain, which is mainly due to the pool already mentioned, Safahiya, which irrigates much of the island. [505] Nabih Salih can be visited by launch or sailing boat, the nearest point to it on Bahrain is Ain al-Hakim ; boats can also be obtained from Umm al-Hasan or from Sitra. People have been known to swim to the island, but this is not the only way of getting there and in the summer this method is inclined to be rather exhausting.

### SITRA

[101] South of Nabih Salih and close to the coast of Bahrain is Sitra 361 Island, which in addition to its many villages and gardens contains the Tank Farm and Drum Plant of BAPCO and the land end of the jetty. The site of these installations is a strip of bare and often sea-swept sands, but to the north of the island there are many gardens and a sizeable pool, Ain Raha, which is much visited by the people of Muharraq and Manama. Among the villages of North Sitra are Wadiyan, Sufala, Kharijya and Kuriya. Near the third village is a school and police station. To the south of the island is Umm al-Baidh, literally "Mother

and wounded, and finally at the end of the day the Portuguese won a complete victory, and their occupation of Bahrain dates from this time. 175

Rais Zarafa obtained information that the body of King Mocrin, who died a few days after he was wounded, was being taken to Hassa for burial. He intercepted the ship and seized the King's body. The head of Mocrin was cut off and carried back to Hormuz, a bilingual inscription was set up in the city commemorating the bold exploit of Antonio Correa, and the King of Portugal granted him permission to add a King's head to his coat of arms and to assume the title of "Baharem" after his name. The only description available of the taking of Bahrain is from Portuguese sources, and it is likely that the numerical strength of the forces is not accurately described, but in any case the defenders must have far outnumbered the Portuguese and their Hormuzian allies.

In 1522 the King of Hormuz organized a rebellion throughout the Gulf against the Portuguese. On a given night there were simultaneous risings in Hormuz, Bahrain, Muscat, and Sohar. At Hormuz the Portuguese garrison was besieged in the fortress, but eventually relieved by reinforcements from Muscat. In Oman the rebellion was not successful, and, seeing that it had failed, the King of Hormuz fled to Kishm, where he was afterwards murdered. He was succeeded by his son, aged 13, who made a new treaty with the Portuguese in 1523.

The rebels in Bahrain met with better success. According to an Arab history, the people of Bahrain had suffered very severely from the tyranny and oppression of the conquerors. On the appointed night, led by their chief, Shaikh Hussein bin Said, they attacked the Portuguese garrison and completely surprised them. They seized the Portuguese Governor and hung him on a date tree, and they expelled the remnants of the garrison. Shaikh Hussein then proclaimed himself the ruler of Bahrain. After some time, however, he made terms with the Portuguese and was appointed by them as a local governor with a Portuguese official, de Menzies, as his assistant and adviser. Bahrain returned again to the Portuguese rule.

There is a story told in one of the local Shia histories of Bahrain about its occupation by the Portuguese. 173

The islands were ruled, on behalf of Portugal, by a Mohammedan Governor, or Wali, who belonged to the Sunni sect, although the people of Bahrain were Shias. The Wali had a Wazir, who was also a Sunni, and he hated the Shias so bitterly that he never ceased plotting to injure and destroy them by every possible means.

2: Belgrave G-4 (no date) 1935 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



173 One day the Wazir came to the Wali holding in his hand a pomegranate. On the pomegranate was inscribed "La illah ila Allah wa Mohammed rasool Allah" and the names of the Caliphs Abu Bakr, Omar, Othman, and Ali. The Wali examined the pomegranate carefully and saw that the writing was actually embedded in the pomegranate itself, not merely cut upon the skin; without doubt it could not have been written by any human hand.

He said to the Wazir, "This is a miracle, an evident demonstration against the belief of these apostates. Now what is your opinion about these Shia people in Bahrain?"

The Wazir replied, "Allah has shown you the right way. Verily these are a fanatical people. You should summon them all and show them this pomegranate, and if they accept this divine proof and are converted to the right belief, then Allah will reward you. If they do not accept this proof, you should order them to provide an answer to the miracle, and, if they cannot explain it, then degrade them, make them pay tribute, seize their women, kill all their men."

The Wali accepted his Wazir's advice and summoned all the chief men of the Shias, the Ulema, the nobles, and all who were intelligent and religious, and he showed them the pomegranate and told them what he had decided. They looked at the pomegranate and they were amazed, their faces changed colour, and the muscles of their shoulders shook. Then the oldest of them all stepped forward and said, "Give us three days' time, and in three days we will seek an acceptable answer. If we find no answer in this time, do with us as you wish."

The Wali granted their request, and they left him in fear and trembling and assembled in one of their houses to consider the matter. They chose ten of their most religious men, and out of the ten they chose three, and to one of the three they said, "Go this night out into the desert alone and worship Allah and implore our Imam to help us and to give us some sign which will show us an escape from this calamity."

The mullah went out into the desert and stayed all night, worshipping Allah, weeping and praying for help, but when the dawn came he had seen nothing, and he returned sadly to his people.

On the next night the second mullah went out, but he, too, returned in the morning, having seen and heard nothing, and there was wailing and lamentation among the women in all the villages of Bahrain.

On the last night the third mullah went out. He was a very pious man and his name was Mohamed bin Isa. He went bareheaded and

barefooted into the desert, and the night was very dark, for there was no moon. He wept and he prayed and he implored Allah to save the believers from destruction. A little before the dawn he saw the figure of a man which approached him and said, "Why do I see you, Mohamed, in this condition? Why are you out in the desert at night?"

The mullah replied, "Oh, man, leave me alone. I am here for an urgent purpose, to prevent a great calamity, and I cannot speak or complain about it except to my Imam."

Then said the man, "Yah Mohamed, I am the Imam. Tell me what it is that you need."

"If you are really the Imam," said the mullah, "you could read what is in my heart and you would know what I need without my telling."

The man replied, "Indeed I do know. You came out because of what was written on a pomegranate."

When the mullah heard this he was convinced and became all ears while the Imam spoke the following words:

"In the house of the Wazir there is a courtyard, and in the centre of the courtyard there grows a pomegranate tree. When the tree bore fruit in the summer the Wazir made a mould of clay the size of a pomegranate and cut it into two halves. Inside each half he wrote the writing which you saw on the pomegranate. Then he placed the halves of the mould over a young pomegranate and bound it tightly while the fruit was still immature. In this way he affected it and caused it to become as it is now.

"To-morrow, when you return, say that you have found the answer, but refuse to deliver it except in the house of the Wazir. When you go to the house, enter the courtyard and look to the right. You will see a stairway leading to an upper room. Say to the Wali that you will give your answer in that upper room. The Wazir will refuse to allow this, but you must insist. When the Wazir goes up the stairs, follow him closely and do not on any account leave him alone in the room. As you enter the room look towards the window, and on a shelf above it you will see a white bag. Take the bag, and you will find the very mould which the Wazir used for his device. Then take the pomegranate from the bag, force it into the mould, and place it before the Wali so that he can see the trick which was practised by his Wazir. Tell the Wali that you have another miracle, and ask him to order the Wazir to break the pomegranate and see what will befall."

2: Belgrave G-4 (no date) 1935 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



173 When the mullah heard this advice he was overjoyed and kissed the ground at the feet of the Imam and returned to his people to tell them the good news. On the next morning they all assembled before the Wali, and the mullah did all the things that the Imam had ordered, and everything happened as he had been told, but when the Wali commanded his Wazir to break the pomegranate, smoke and ashes burst forth from it and covered the face and beard of the Wazir.

Then the Wali turned to the mullah and asked him, "Who told you about this trick?"

The mullah answered, "Our Imam and the demonstration of Allah towards us."

Then the Wali rose up from his seat and took the mullah by the hand and called on Allah to bear witness to the trick which had been played on the Shias, and he summoned his servants and his executioner and cut off the head of the Wazir and asked pardon from the people of Bahrain.

175 In 1529 Bahrain was again in rebellion against the Portuguese. The islands were governed by a relation of the King of Hormuz. The King of Hormuz himself had been sent to Portugal, as he became too rich in Hormuz. The Portuguese demanded a higher tribute, and in order to pay this the Hormuzians tried to obtain more money from Bahrain, but the Governor refused to pay.

The Portuguese Viceroy, Nuno da Cunha, appointed Tavarez da Sousa as commander of the seas, and it was intended that he should take command of an expedition against Bahrain. Apparently he was loath to go there, and he persuaded the Viceroy to appoint in his place Simon da Cunha, the Viceroy's brother. After waiting some time for reinforcements from Portugal the fleet sailed from Hormuz. It consisted of five vessels carrying 400 men, and some native craft, but it is said that they had only one and a half casks of gunpowder.

[132] They reached Bahrain in September, the hottest, dampest, and most unhealthy month in the year. They wasted half their small supply of powder in saluting the port. The Bahrain chief hung out two flags on the tower of his fortress, one white and the other red, to show that he was prepared either for peace or for war, but the Portuguese captains were determined to fight. For three days they pounded the walls of the fort with their cannon, and then their supply of gunpowder gave out. In the meantime the Arab leader offered to surrender, on certain conditions, but the Portuguese were determined not to lose the chance of

241 Almost all the cultivators are Baharna or Hassawis, who are of the
565 Shiite sect, descendants of Baharna who emigrated to Arabia. The
461 Sunni Arabs do not work in the gardens. The people living in the villages which are scattered among the date gardens originally earned their livelihood entirely by working in the gardens; now many of them are employed by the oil company or in Manama. During the date
[221] picking season, which in many ways resembles the hop picking season in England, temporary villages of palm branch huts spring up among the date gardens when people from other parts of Bahrain come to pick the crop.

565 The village people are the aboriginal inhabitants of the country and in the past they suffered much during the many invasions of Bahrain when their homes, gardens and water channels were destroyed and even in times of peace they were regarded as milch cows, whose wealth was extracted by their rulers. But in recent times their position has changed, they are more prosperous than they used to be and are on terms of equality with their neighbours.

BOAT BUILDING

●174 It is claimed by some authorities on Middle Eastern history that the Phoenicians originated in Bahrain and sailed their craft up the Gulf, which then extended much farther northwards than it does today. and following the Euphrates to the point where the river is nearest to the Syrian coast, they landed and settled there. This may or may not be true but there is no doubt that the people of Bahrain have been sailors for at least as many centuries as the pearl industry has been in existence and their stitched boats not only sailed the Persian Gulf but entered the Indian Ocean.

501 Most of Bahrain's boats were in former days employed as pearlers,
396 and although the Kuwait shipyards built the largest craft it was natural that Bahrain, nearer the Indian source of timber and itself the centre of the pearling industry, should have its own yards. It should also be remembered that Kuwait is a comparatively modern town, having been founded early in the 18th century, before which date it did not attain importance as a harbour for north-east Arabia.

Today most of the boat building is carried on in Muharraq, although there are some yards at the western end of Manama. In former days, before iron nails were obtainable, Arab boats were not nailed but stitched together, with a giant needle and cord as thread, yet these boats of such fragile construction were able to weather the heaviest gales that swept the Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

In recent years launches have been made in greater numbers than sailing boats, so builders have inclined to specialise in the construction of those boats to which engines can best be fitted. For this reason many "jalibuts" have been built, they can be identified by their vertical bow and the straightness of the keel. The origin of this name is doubtful and many suggestions have been made to explain it. Possibly

# Part II.—THE HISTORY OF THE BAHRAIN ISLANDS.

175 Of all the Persian Gulf shaikhdoms the Bahrain islands have had by far the most interesting and varied history, of which this brief outline must of necessity mention only the most outstanding events. The riches of Bahrain's ancient pearling industry have drawn the attention of many rulers to the islands, whose strategic position and fresh-water springs have meant that for centuries there has been a settled population.

101 175 It is believed that the names Niduk-ki and Dilmun (or Tilwun) which appear in Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions found in Iraq were the ancient names of the Bahrain islands, in which case events in Bahrain's history are recorded from the third millennium B.C., as long as 5,000 years ago.

Unfortunately only one cuneiform inscription has been found in Bahrain itself, an inscription which has been translated as follows: "The Palace of Rimugus, the servant of Inzaq (Mercury) of the tribe of Aqiru."[1]

This inscription appears to have been removed from a Bahrain mosque by its finder, Captain Durand, and its present whereabouts is unknown.

[171] The place-name Niduk-ki appears in the Babylonian myth of the Creation, while the Assyrians also had a tradition that their civilisation, and more especially the invention of the cuneiform script, originated in Dilmun. The tumuli of Bahrain bear a very striking resemblance to Phoenician graves, a fact noticed by many writers from the time of Strabo to the present day. Archaeologists who have studied them are, however, still unable to agree as to their origin beyond saying that they are of great antiquity.

175 The first historical reference to Bahrain appears in an inscription concerning the conquests of Sargon of Akkad, who reigned in the third millennium B.C. In this inscription he is described as having reduced Niduk-ki and another seaport, and during the following centuries there are many references to Niduk-ki and Dilmun, giving the impression that the places referred to were both islands and trading centres. In 1820 B.C. a king of Larsa, in Southern Mesopotamia, sent a trading expedition to Bahrain, obtaining there stone, metals, wood and ivory, materials probably brought to Bahrain from India. Towards the end of the eighth century B.C. another Sargon, the Assyrian monarch also gained control of Dilmun by means of threats and economic pressure, and we have an interesting description of the contemporary Bahraini ruler: "Uperi, king of Dilmun, who lives like a fish, thirty double hours away in the midst of the sea of the rising sun, heard of my lordly might and brought his gifts."



1 [For footnote see Cat. 116, p. 87 -- Analyst]

The inhabitants of Dilmun also sent tribute to Sennacherib the son of Sargon, after he had sent them some of the debris of Babylon, which he had destroyed, as a sign of the fate in store for cities that incurred his displeasure.

After the fall of the Assyrian empire in the seventh century B.C. we hear no more about Bahrain until the time of the Macedonian adventure in the East, when Alexander sent three vessels on voyages of exploration down the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf. Two ships under the commands of Archias and Androsthenes sailed only as far as the island of Tylos, which has been identified with Bahrain. Later Roman geographers seem to have become somewhat confused in their descriptions of the Persian Gulf, and while Arrian applies the name of Tylos to Bahrain, on the map of Ptolemy Bahrain appears as Ichara and Tylus and Arathus are shown at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Whatever were the ancient names of Bahrain, it is interesting to note that the name Aradus is still applied to part of Muharraq in the Arabic form *Arad*.

After the fall of the Mesopotamian civilisations no foreign power seems to have controlled Eastern Arabia until early in the fourth century A.D., when Arab tribes from that area raided Fars and sacked many of its cities. The young Sassanid king Shapur II repelled the invaders and carried the campaign into their own territories. He landed on the Arabian coast and annexed East Arabia and Bahrain to Persia, which acquisitions were later placed under the authority of the King of Hira, an Arab buffer state on the south-west border of Sassanid Persia.

## THE COMING OF ISLAM

A somewhat confusing aspect of the history of Bahrain is the change in nomenclature which took place in the Persian Gulf during Portuguese activity there. From the third to the sixteenth century, the name "Bahrain" was applied to the whole coast of Eastern Arabia from Kuwait to Qatar, while the main Bahrain island was known as *Awal*, but since the last date the name "Bahrain" has been applied to the islands. In the following passages the modern names will be used to simplify matters.

When the first Moslems came to Eastern Arabia they found there a people strangely mixed in their beliefs. There were Christians and Jews, Zoroastrians who followed the state religion of Sassanid Persia, and pagan Arab Bedouin. The local governor for the Persians was a Christian Arab, Mundhir bin Sawa by name, and according to Syrian Christian records of the late seventh century, there were in Arabia at this time five Nestorian bishops, one of whom appears to have been bishop of the Bahrain islands. The Christian viceroy and many of his Court accepted Islam, but on his death, and again on the death of the Prophet Muhammad, the bedouin, who made up the bulk of converts, if indeed they had really been converted, "apostasized," and it required expeditions from Medina to restore the country to the Moslems.

175 For the next 350 years Bahrain and Eastern Arabia were ruled by governors on behalf of the Caliphs, but from time to time there were politico-religious revolts against the central authority, and both Shia and Kharajite schismatics sought refuge on the Bahrain islands, where for short periods they were able to defy the power of the Caliphs. Isolated by the sea from the rest of Arabia, Bahrain was often, during its history, the refuge of political and religious fugitives.

The Servile War that ravaged lower Iraq during the second half of the ninth century also detached Bahrain from the Caliphate, and although on the fall of the Slave State the Caliph regained some of his former territories, a power was shortly to appear which finally removed both Bahrain and the mainland from his control.

### THE CARMATHIANS[2]

An offspring of the extreme Ismaili sect, but with many other contributing features, the Carmathian movement was most successful in Eastern Arabia where a State was established with its capital at al-Mu'miniyah. The Carmathian rule in East Arabia was probably beneficial for the inhabitants of this area which during most of its history played the part of a neglected border province and which was now the centre of an empire. The success of the new belief in Arabia at the turn of the ninth and tenth centuries has been partly explained by the presence in East Arabia of a number of Magians and Jews, happy to aid any power hostile to the Caliphs, and also of the Arab tribesmen, who resented authority and were delighted to raid their neighbours in the name of the Carmathians.

The first Carmathian ruler was Abu Sa'id al-Jannabi, and it was during his reign that in 903 the Carmathians seized Hajar many of whose inhabitants fled to the Bahrain islands; while under Abu Tahir, Abu Sa'id's son and successor, the Carmathians shocked the Moslem world by sacking Mecca and removing the Black Stone from the Ka'aba to their capital, where it remained for thirty years. It is not known when the Carmathians occupied the Bahrain islands, but while they were in them they put them to good use. Not only did they send exiles there, but also established on the islands a customs station, from which they levied taxes on Arabian Gulf shipping ; in addition they received half the proceeds of the pearling industry.

### THE ARAB DYNASTIES

About the year 1058 Abu-l-Bahlul, a leading inhabitant of the Bahrain islands, revolted against Carmathian rule and made himself prince ; he defeated a Carmathian army sent against him and appealed to the Caliph in Baghdad for aid and recognition, but shortly after his victory he was driven from Bahrain by the Ruler of Qatif, Yahya b. 'Abbas. War followed between the successors of Yahya and Abdulla al-Ayuni, who had succeeded the Carmathians in Hasa, in which the latter triumphed and seized Bahrain, which he and his family ruled for many years. Little is known about Ayuni rule in Bahrain, but in 1154

[p.78]

2 [For footnote see cat.116, p.87--Anal.]

175 we have a description of Bahrain left by the famous Arabo-Spanish geographer Idrisi. After giving a remarkably accurate description of the islands, in which he describes in detail the method of pearl diving, the agriculture and the various fresh-water springs and pools, he records the apparently Utopian state of the administration :

"The island is governed by an independent chief. The inhabitants of the two banks are satisfied with his justice and his piety, and when he dies he is replaced by a person who equals him in virtue and justice."[3]

Although Idrisi says the chief is independent, he qualifies this by stating that the Governor of Qais, himself a tributary of the Caliph at Baghdad, received tribute from Bahrain. A number of Arab writers have left us descriptions of Bahrain in the fourteenth century, a period in which the islands changed hands many times. In 1346 Bahrain appears in story of the struggle between the ruler of Hormuz, Kutb ed-Din, and his nephews, in which the latter take refuge in the islands, and in the following year we have the first reference to Manama when the Hormuz ruler visited the town. In 1384 there was a war between the ruler of Bahrain and Qatif, independent at this time, and the ruler of Qais island, in which the latter was victorious and received in the peace settlement a number of Bahrain islands and an annual tribute of 500 dinars.

Early in the fifteenth century Bahrain was united with Qatif and Hasa under Shaikh Ibrahim al-Maliki, but previous to the year 1475 the islands were under the control of Hormuz, and in this year they were granted to a certain Agwad b. Samigh in return for the aid he had given the ruler of Hormuz in capturing the islands from his brothers. In 1487 the tyrannical reign of Agwad's son was terminated by an Omani invasion of Bahrain, when 'Umar b. al-Khattab was appointed governor.

## THE PORTUGUESE[4]

The voyages of Vasco da Gama and other Portuguese mariners towards the end of the fifteenth and the start of the sixteenth century resulted in the opening up of the Persian Gulf to European ships, and in 1507 the Portuguese, under Alfonso de Albuquerque, conquered Hormuz and set about developing it into a great trading centre. The first sign of Portuguese interest in Bahrain was the visit there, in 1514, of de Albuquerque, but his only act was to confirm existing treaties between the local shaikh and the king of Hormuz, who had been retained by the Portuguese as a "puppet" ruler ; however, he also took a great interest in the pearl industry and realized its possible value to Portugal. Some time after this visit Mukarram, king of Hasa and son-in-law of the Shaikh of Mecca, seized Bahrain and Qatif from Hormuz, and in 1521 the king of Hormuz gave the loss of Bahrain as his reason for failing to pay the agreed sum of tribute to his Portuguese overlords. This loss of revenue and the interference caused to trade between Iraq and Hormuz by the ships of Mukarram angered the Portuguese, and the governor of Hormuz, Diego Lopez, despatched



3 + 4 [For footnotes see ed. 116, p. 87 -- Analyst]

175 a fleet against Bahrain under his nephew Antonio Correa. The Portuguese fleet was accompanied by another sent by the Ruler of Hormuz under his vezir, Rais Sherif. After having been delayed by storms, the fleet arrived at Bahrain and the Portuguese set about attacking the defenders. Although the Hormuzi force stood aloof until they were sure the Portuguese were gaining the upper hand, the Europeans finally triumphed. Mukarram was wounded and died a few days later; the remains of his army fled to the mainland, whither they were pursued by Rais Sherif, who returned to Bahrain in triumph with the head of Mukarram, which he sent to his sovereign in Hormuz. A bi-lingual inscription was erected in Hormuz to commemorate the victory, and on his return to Hormuz, Antonio Correa was granted the honour by the King of Portugal of bearing on his family arms the title "Barem" in honour of this event.

Soon after the fall of Bahrain the King of Hormuz, restive under Portuguese domination, organized simultaneous revolts against their rule in Muscat, Hormuz, Bahrain and Sohar. In the first two towns the revolts were soon crushed, but more success was met with in Bahrain where Hussein b. Sa'id led the inhabitants in executing the hated Portuguese governor and expelling the garrison, but after a short period of independent rule Hussein came to terms with the Portuguese and accepted their adviser.

The year 1529 saw another challenge to Portuguese authority in Bahrain occasioned by their exiling the vezir of Hormuz, a relative of the governor of Bahrain, for refusing to pay additional taxes. When the Bahrain governor copied the example of his relative, a Portuguese fleet was sent to Bahrain under the command of Simeon da Cunha, brother of the Viceroy of India. Despite the governor's reluctance to come to blows with the Portuguese, they attacked the Bahrain fort, but found themselves short of gunpowder. Fever then reduced the number of able-bodied men to thirty-five. However, the governor aided the fleet to leave Bahrain, for he was afraid he would incur the serious wrath of the Portuguese if he destroyed their expedition, but on the return journey a storm destroyed most of the ships, and Simeon is said to have died from chagrin at his defeat.

By 1534 the Portuguese had again lost control of Bahrain, for in that year the independent rulers of Bahrain and Hasa sent envoys to welcome to Iraq the Turkish Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. In 1551 one of the three surviving ships of Piri Rais, Kapudan Pasha of Egypt, after the loss of the rest of his fleet by defeat and storms, was wrecked on the treacherous reefs of Bahrain. Local tradition says that the ship was loaded with treasure, plunder from the Pasha's expedition. Three years later the Turkish author-admiral Sidi Ali paid a peaceful visit to Bahrain which he speaks well of, and was entertained by the governor, Rais Murad. However, in 1559 the same governor was attacked in Bahrain by a strong fleet and a brigade of janissaries, but the Turks were severely defeated by a Portuguese fleet which came

to the aid of the beleaguered governor at his request. The last Portuguese governor in Bahrain seems to have been Jalal ed-Din Mahud Murad, in whose reign the Manama fort, built by the Portuguese soon after their arrival in Bahrain, was repaired. 175

The Portuguese attempted to maintain their rule over Bahrain by a carefully conceived policy. They would appoint as their governor a Persian Sunni Moslem, hoping that because he was a Moslem he would be acceptable to the inhabitants, but that being a Persian he would not always side with the Arabs of Bahrain, and being a Sunni that he would not intrigue with the Shia of Bahrain and Persia. Despite this system, however, Portuguese rule in Bahrain was very insecure during the period 1522—1602.

### THE FALL OF THE PORTUGUESE

The immediate cause that brought about the expulsion of the Portuguese from Bahrain was the behaviour of their governor, a relative of the king of Hormuz. He set the seal on a most tyrannical rule by the murder, in 1602, of a wealthy and respected Bahraini in order to gain control of his wealth, especially his famous collection of pearls. The victim's brother, Rukn ed-Din, having gained the confidence of the murderer, slew him, and with the aid of the people seized the fort. The rebel then put himself under the protection of the Persians, as being the main rivals of the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf, and the Prince of Shiraz sent a force which withstood a Portuguese counter-attack, and then took over the islands in the name of the Shah of Persia. In 1580 Spain and Portugal had been united under King Philip, and at the time of the fall of Bahrain the Spanish were officially at peace with Persia, but when the Spanish protested about the seizure of Bahrain the Persians retorted that they had taken the islands from the King of Hormuz and not from the Spaniards. Not content with this answer, the governor of Hormuz sent a fleet and an army against Bahrain, but the governor of Shiraz marched on Bushire and drew the Portuguese forces from Bahrain. Despite this, the Portuguese forces would probably have taken the islands but for trouble in their own ranks which prevented the success of the expedition. In 1603, Allah Werdi Khan again seized Bushire and other territories of the ruler of Hormuz, but was ordered by the Shah to retreat from Bushire and to return Bahrain to the Portuguese ; however, the latter order was ignored.

During the next decade the Spanish king in letters to the Viceroy of India emphasized the importance of the recapture of Bahrain, and also made diplomatic representations to the Shah for the return of the islands. Even the capture of Hormuz in 1622 by an Anglo-Persian force did not make the Iberians give up hope of the eventual recovery of Bahrain, and in 1645 a Portuguese fleet set out from India destined for Hormuz and Bahrain, but it was destroyed by Omani pirates before it had even entered the Persian Gulf.

From 1602 till the end of the centruy a series of Persian governors ruled Bahrain with the aid of a garrison of some 300 men, but at the

175 turn of the century the Omanis invaded Bahrain, and the havoc and suffering they caused have been graphically described by a contemporary writer, Samahiji.[5] The invaders were of the Kharijite sect of Islam, enemies of the Shia inhabitants of Bahrain, and their acts drove most of the population of Bahrain to flight to Qatif, where many of them settled. In 1720 the Persians purchased Bahrain from the Omanis for "a large sum of money."

### THE PERIOD OF ANARCHY

The confusion in Persia early in the eighteenth century which was caused by the Afghan invasions loosened Persian hold over the Gulf and independent shaikhdoms reappeared. Bahrain fell into the hands of the shaikh of Nabend, and he was later overthrown by the powerful Shaikh of the Huwala Arabs, Jabbara of Tahiri, whose wise and beneficial rule lasted till 1736. In this year Nadir, who had settled the affairs of Persia and made himself Shah, ordered the Persian Admiral Latif Khan to capture Bahrain. The admiral seized two British ships, including the *Northumberland*, for which he paid 50,000 tomans, and sailed with these and other ships for Bahrain. Shaikh Jabbara was away on the pilgrimage to Mecca and his reduced garrison was soon overpowered by the invaders. Bahrain was put under the control of the governor of Shiraz and a Persian garrison was stationed in the Qalat ad-Diwan, the Manama fort built at this time by the Persians and now used as the headquarters of the Bahrain State Police.

In 1738 Bahrain underwent another Omani invasion, when the army of Saif b. Sultan invaded the islands, and again many refugees fled to Qatif and other Persian Gulf ports. It is probable that these two Omani invasions in the eighteenth century were responsible for the many deserted and ruined villages noticed in Bahrain by Niebuhr, who stated that wars had reduced their number from 360 towns and villages to sixty "wretched villages." The occupation, however, was of short duration, for in the following year the Persians annexed Muscat and so regained Bahrain. Later Bahrain was captured by the Huwala Arabs, only to be taken from them by Shaikh Nasir al-Mathkur, shaikh of Bushire and an Arab of Omani origin, one of the many semi-independent shaiks who appeared in the Persian Gulf at this time.

### THE AL-KHALIFAH

The present ruling family of Bahrain trace their origin back to the great 'Anizah tribe which once inhabited the deserts of Iraq and later moved down to Najd; the Sa'udis of Sa'udi Arabia and the Sabah of Kuwait are also descended from the same tribe.

In 1716 the Bani Utbah clan, consisting of the three families of the Khalifah, the Sabah and the Jalahma, gave up its nomad habits and settled on the site of the present town of Kuwait. Under the guidance of Shaikh Khalifah b. Muhammad, the clever and enterprising chief of the Khalifahs, the family prospered and became powerful, developing a special interest in the pearl trade. In 1766 Muhammad, successor



5. [From Inst. Res. Ser. cat. #6, p. 87--Analyst]

of Khalifah, led some of the Khalifah families down to the little village of Zubara, on the west coast of Qatar, in order to be nearer the Bahrain pearling industry. The villagers of Zubara welcomed the newcomers and soon the remainder of the Khalifah and many other families came to the new settlement, but the Musallim tribe, the rulers of Qatar, resented the intruders and demanded tribute from them. The Khalifah refused, and with the support of other clans from Kuwait they repulsed an attack of the Musallim. They then continued the construction of a large town between the bay of Zubara and their great fort, Qalat Marir, the ruins of which stand to this day. 175

In 1776 Basra was captured by the Persians, but during its seige many of the inhabitants fled to Zubara, where they were welcomed, and helped to increase the size and importance of that town. The Persians watched with apprehension and envy the expansion of Zubara, which they felt was a threat to their hold over nearby Bahrain, and when Khalifah, Muhammad's son and successor, was away from Zubara on the pilgrimage, they attacked Zubara, but were driven off. Khalifah died before returning from Mecca and was succeeded by Ahmed, who had led the Zubara garrison against the Persians.

Although the first visits of the Khalifah to Bahrain had been carried out on a friendly basis, for the purpose of buying pearls, friction soon developed between them and the local inhabitants, and there was some fighting in which a number of deaths occurred. The governor of Shiraz then despatched a fleet against Zubara under the command of Shaikh Nasir ; the Persians landed on the Qatar coast near the town and were faced by a confederation of Arab clans led by Ahmed al-Khalifah. The two forces joined in combat beneath the high walls of the town, and after hours of bitter fighting in which "the sword play and spear play commenced, heads flew away from bodies and warriors attacked each other with cries which melt away cowardly hearts,"[6] the Khalifah and their allies triumphed and the Persians fled to their ships, leaving many dead on the sands. Meanwhile the Sabah of Kuwait, having heard of the Persian attack on their cousins, descended on Bahrain and cut off the Persian retreat, forcing Shaikh Nasir to retire to Bushire. Soon after the Persian defeat Shaikh Ahmed al-Fatih (The Conqueror) occupied Bahrain and sent Nasir's family, which he found there, to him. It was a result of the Khalifah victory that Rahmah b. Jabr, who had fought alongside the Khalifah at Zubara, broke with that family and became a pirate, reserving his special hate for the new rulers of Bahrain.

### THE CONSOLIDATION OF KHALIFAH RULE

Ahmed, the first Khalifah ruler of Bahrain and Zubara, reigned till the year 1796, passing the summers in Bahrain, in the fort built during the time of Nadir Shah, and the winters in the town of Zubara. Ahmed was succeeded by his son Sulman, who was responsible for the emigration of many of the inhabitants of Zubara to Jaw, on the coast of Bahrain, out of fear of the Wahhabis, who were at this time expanding their power in Arabia. In fact, the danger came from another direction;



6. [For footnote see ed. 116, p. 87--Analyst]

175 in 1799 the Imam of Muscat sent a fleet and occupied Bahrain; and Shaikh Sulman believing that he was too weak to expel the invaders, retired to Zubara, from where he made a treaty with Sultan b. Ahmed, and sent him his brother Muhammad as a pledge of his good behaviour. Sulman remained inactive in Zubara till 1807, when the death of his brother left him free to attempt the reconquest of Bahrain. He appealed for help to the Wahhabi ruler, Abd al-'Aziz, who had just captured the Holy Cities and in 1809 the latter sent an army against Bahrain and drove out Salim, its governor, and the garrison which was stationed in the fort that the Omanis had built at Arad, on Muharraq island. The Khalifah expected to be reinstated in Bahrain, but the Wahhabis were loth to give it up having once controlled it, and meanwhile their garrison maltreated the Shia inhabitants and tried to convert them to Wahhabi beliefs. Shaikh Sulman's protests at this treacherous behaviour were ignored, and he was taken with other members of his family to Dar'iyah, the Wahhabi capital, but resistance continued in Bahrain, where the youthful 'Abd ar-Rahman al-Fadhl, a relative of the Khalifah, set our secretly for Muscat, giving out that he was going on a trading expedition to India. He appealed for help to the Imam, who gave him money and a sword, and then proceeded to Persia, where he enlisted the help of the governor of Shiraz ; he also hired men with the money he had received from the Imam. Having met at a rendezvous on the mainland, the Arabo-Persian force was led by 'Abd ar-Rahman against Bahrain and the Wahhabis were expelled, their governor flying to Qatar. Once Bahrain had been retaken, the Khalifahs travelled there from Zubara, as did many other Arabs who disliked the oppressive and harsh rule of the Wahhabis, and despite the measures of its Wahhabi governor, Zubara was left completely deserted. By means of a trick the Khalifah hostages freed themselves from their captors and returned to Bahrain, where Sulman again took up the reins of office.

Concerning Bahrain at this time, we have a description of the islands written by J. M. Kennier in 1813[7]:

"Bahrain island is the finest island in the Gulf. It is covered with villages and date gardens ; there is a town and fort of Medina (*sic*) with 800 or 900 houses. It carries on much trade with Basra and other Gulf ports."

The first contact between the British and the Khalifahs of Bahrain occured in 1814, when the British Resident in Bushire assured the ruling Shaikh of British neutrality if Bahrain were attacked by the Imam of Muscat. In return for this rather negative promise (though the Resident did advise Sayyid Sa'id of Muscat against attacking Bahrain), the Shaikh agreed not to carry out acts hostile to British interests. The attack actually took place in 1816, probably incited by Rahmah b. Jabr, but a dispute between the Muscatis and the force from Bushire resulted in their defeat at Arad and the death of Hamed, brother of the Muscat Sultan. In November 1828, Sa'id again arrived at Bahrain, this time with allies from the Trucial Coast and a battle took place



7 [For footnote see cat. 116, p. 87--Analyst]

at Jufair, but again the disunity of the Muscati army brought about its defeat by the Khalifah. Although in 1829 Sayyid Sa'id officially recognised the independence of Bahrain, to the end of his days he did not cease intriguing with other rulers for the downfall of the Kahlifah. 175

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In February, 1820, the joint rulers of Bahrain, the shaikhs Sulman and Abdulla, signed the "General Treaty,"[8] the first official contact between the East India Company and Bahrain, which followed a successful British attack on the pirates of Ras al-Khayma. In 1833 Shaikh Abdulla of Bahrain, who was at war with the Wahhabi ruler of Najd, captured a number of ports on the Arabian coast opposite Bahrain, but was prevented from consolidating his position there by dynastic troubles which broke out in Bahrain. These troubles were exploited by the interested powers, Britain, Persia and Egypt, for their own ends, and while Persia and Britain backed different claimants to the throne, Britain warned Egypt and the Sultan of Muscat, whose ruler seemed likely to come to a reapproachment with Mehmet 'Ali over Bahrain, that she would tolerate no Egyptian interference in Bahrain, and Mehmet's aspirations in this area were finally ended by the co-operation of the European powers against him in Syria.

In 1843 Abdulla was expelled from Bahrain by his nephew and co-ruler Muhammad, and retired to Bushire, where he died in 1848, leaving a son who later became very much concerned in the affairs of Bahrain. Muhammad enjoyed a long and comparatively untroubled reign, although in 1855 and 1856 the Wahhabis again put forward claims to Bahrain, but these were rejected by the British, who had already recognized the independence of Bahrain. In 1861 Muhammad signed a "Perpetual Treaty of Peace and Friendship" with Great Britain concerning such matters as slavery, maritime aggression and Britishers trading in Bahrain, but the peace of the islands was disturbed by the raids of Muhammad, son of the Abdulla who had died in exile in Bushire, who, with the aid of the Wahhabis, attacked Bahrain shipping from his base at Dammam. In 1861, the British expelled Muhammad b. Abdulla from Dammam, but he remained in the Persian Gulf and later returned to Bahrain.

After six years of peace war broke out between the Qataris, tributaries of Bahrain, and the Khalifahs. Having invaded Bahrain and been defeated, the Qataris were then involved in a naval battle with the Khalifah between Bahrain and Qatar, and were again defeated, but the British, angered by the actions of Muhammad, declared that he had acted contrary to the Treaty of 1861, and sent a man-of-war to Bahrain. Muhammad b. Khalifah fled to Qatar ; the fort of Abu Mahur, near Muharraq, was destroyed, and the Bahraini fleet was burnt. 'Ali b. Khalifah, who had succeeded his brother on the latter's flight, was forced by the British to pay a fine of 100.000 Maria Theresa dollars, and Muhammad was forbidden to return to Bahrain. The last condition was later released, but Muhammad b. Khalifah continued

8 [To footnote see cat 116, p. 87 --Analyst]

his intrigues, and was re-expelled, fleeing to Kuwait. He later travelled to Darin, where he built up a force with which he invaded Bahrain in September 1869, defeated and killed 'Ali at Rifaa and again became ruler of Bahrain. In Muhammad b. Khalifah's army he had as lieutenant Muhammad b. Abdulla, who had been expelled by the British from Dammam, and later in the year this Muhammad overthrew the new shaikh, imprisoned him, and made himself ruler.

The confusion caused in Bahrain by these troubles resulted in the appearance there of the British consul from Bushire in a man-of-war. The consul arranged for the deportation to Bombay of both the new shaikh and his imprisoned rival, and then consulted with local notables to see which member of the Khalifah family they would prefer to have as shaikh. The choice fell upon 'Isa, son of 'Ali b. Khalifah, who was at the time residing at Qatar, and he was summoned to Bahrain and acclaimed as its ruler. He reigned for fifty-four years till his abdication in 1923.

### THE RULE OF SHAIKH 'ISA

From time to time during the remaining years of the nineteenth century the British Government rejected Turkish claims to sovereignty over Bahrain, as in the years 1870 and 1874, while at the same time the British took the opportunity to consolidate their power in Bahrain by means of two treaties signed between Shaikh Isa and the British Government in December, 1880, and March, 1892. By these treaties the shaikh bound himself not to enter into any relationship with a foreign government, other than the British, without the latter's consent, and there were also stipulations about the disposal of Bahrain territories. In 1902 a British Political Agent was posted in Bahrain, and in July, 1913, a Convention was signed by the British and Ottoman Governments, which included the recognition of Bahrain's independence and control of a number of islands near her. Three years later Ibn Sa'ud signed a treaty with the British Government in which he also agreed to refrain from aggression against Bahrain. In April and May of 1923 there were internal troubles in Bahrain which led to the abdication of Shaikh 'Isa and the succession of his son, Shaikh Hamed, who ruled for twelve years as deputy ruler, and on the death of Shaikh 'Isa in 1935 became Shaikh of Bahrain.

### BAHRAIN IN RECENT YEARS

With the accession of Shaikh Hamed the story of modern Bahrain begins, and during the nineteen years of his rule Bahrain was transformed into a modern state. Conditions in the pearl industry were reformed, the position of the divers was bettered, municipalities, education and other public services were developed, as is described in other Chapters, and in many ways the state of the people of Bahrain was improved. In 1930 Shaikh Hamed signed a Concession Agreement with a company known as the Bahrain Petroleum Company, and three years later the first tanker-load of oil left Bahrain. The

# THE PORTUGUESE IN THE BAHRAIN ISLANDS, 1521-1602

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AT the end of the fifteenth century the Arabs, especially those of Oman and the Yemen, were the principal sea traders of the East. They held a position which was somewhat similar to that previously held by the Venetians in Europe. Their well-equipped fleets were strong enough to protect their trade from the pirates who at that time, and for many centuries before, infested the coasts of the Persian Gulf.

The city of Calicut on the west coast of India, which was ruled by the Zamorin, a Hindu King, was the focus of the Indian Ocean trade, but the great emporium and the meeting-place of Eastern merchants was the famous town of Hormuz, situated on an island on the Iranian coast. To Calicut came huge Chinese junks laden with merchandise from countries beyond India, and from Calicut the Arab fleets carried their cargoes of species and cinnamon and all the produce of the Indies up the Iranian Gulf to Basra and through the Red Sea to Tor and Jedda, where caravans met the ships and conveyed the cargoes across the deserts to the Mediterranean ports.

The Portuguese, whose seamen were then the finest in Europe, possessed the spirit of adventure and the ambition to extend their empire, and for many years they had been interested in the spice trade. Several times they had sent successful missions by the overland route to India to enquire into the source of this lucrative industry. In 1498 Vasco da Gama made his historical voyage to India by rounding the Cape of Good Hope. He led the way for the successful entry of his countrymen into the Iranian Gulf and opened up the road for Europe's maritime invasion of the East. Fleets followed fast, and in a few years the Portuguese had ousted the Arabs from their supremacy at sea and had laid the foundations of their great Eastern empire with its capital at Goa.

When the Portuguese first arrived in the Indian Ocean they anchored off Calicut, where they met with opposition from the Hindu King. They bombarded the city, which finally surrendered to Pedro Cabral, who ordered it to be sacked. A few years later the famous Admiral Alfonso d'Alboquerque took over command in the Gulf and attacked Muscat with a large fleet. Muscat was an important place, a tributary

of Hormuz. The Governor of Muscat refused to submit, so the town was pounded by the Portuguese guns until it surrendered. The Portuguese landed and captured many of the chief inhabitants, whose ears and noses they chopped off; the city was plundered and then wantonly destroyed by fire, and the victorious fleet sailed off along the Oman coast and captured several other ports, which were treated in the same way. After this Alboquerque turned his attention to Hormuz, the key of the Iranian Gulf.

To-day Hormuz is a tiny fishing village on a barren salty island which is visible from ships as they enter the port of Bander Abbas, but when Alboquerque first sailed the waters of the Gulf, Hormuz had the reputation of being a city of fabulous wealth and incomparable luxury and magnificence. The city was originally on the mainland, but when the Tartar hordes swept over Persia it was destroyed and then rebuilt on the island. So famous were the wonders of Hormuz that the sixteenth-century poets in Europe frequently referred to it in their works. To this "jewelled signet of a golden ring" came merchants from all parts of the Orient trading in precious Eastern wares. In the richly stocked markets of Hormuz they sold silks and jewels, ivory and pearls, cloths of silver and of gold, as well as Arab horses and "the finest asses in the world," which may well have been the forbears of the famous Bahrain strain of white donkeys. Even to-day these donkeys have a great reputation and are found as far off as the centre of the Tanganyika Territory in East Africa, where they were taken by Baluchis from Muscat via Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam. The King of Hormuz, who had accumulated great wealth from the Indian trade and the pearl fisheries, possessed large territories both in Iran and on the Arab coast. The islands of Bahrain were subject to Hormuz, which was the distributing centre for the pearls of the Gulf, but Hormuz itself paid tribute to the Sultan of Kerman. The rapid success of the Portuguese navy, both on the Indian coast and in Oman, established for it a reputation of invincibility, and the coming of the foreign conquerors with their strange ships and weapons spread fear and terror along the coasts and the islands of the Gulf.

When Alboquerque and his fleet of tall ships arrived at Hormuz he found that the King was aware of his intention and the Hormuzians were prepared to defend their island. The harbour was filled with ships, the battlements were lined with armed men, and foreign mercenaries had been called in to assist the defenders. Bahrain had sent a fleet with "relief of men and provisions," but the Portuguese met the

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Bahrain ships near Kishm and pursued and scattered them. Albuquerque called on the King to surrender the island to Portugal, and when he refused a fierce sea fight took place in which the Portuguese gained the day, although they were tremendously outnumbered. The King of Hormuz became the vassal of the King of Portugal and was forced to allow the conquerors to build a fortress at one end of the island for their garrison; he agreed to pay an annual tribute, and granted the Portuguese certain concessions in the matter of Customs. These concessions were revised in later years until finally the complete control of Customs passed into the hands of the Portuguese. In 1507 the King of Hormuz refused to pay tribute to Shah Ismail, the ruler of Iran, having transferred his allegiance to Portugal. In the following year, mainly owing to the intrigues among his captains, Alboquerque was obliged to leave Hormuz and returned to India.

During the next few years, while Alboquerque was in India, Iran endeavoured to regain control of Hormuz, but without success. In 1514 Alboquerque sent his nephew Pero to collect the annual tribute from the King of Hormuz and to reoccupy the fortress, and while at Hormuz Pero explored the northern straits of the Gulf as far as Bahrain. This appears to be the first time that the Portuguese visited Bahrain, but no fighting took place and they did not leave a garrison. Owing to a civil war in Hormuz, the demands of the Portuguese were not carried out, and in 1515 Alboquerque returned there himself, and after negotiations with the King of Hormuz, Saif al Din, the island was handed over again to the Portuguese and their garrison was installed in the fortress. About this time the King of Egypt despatched a fleet to the assistance of the Indian princes, who had appealed to him for help against the tyranny of Portugal, and Egypt from this date joined issues against the Portuguese. Alboquerque died at Goa in 1515, leaving his nephew Pero at Hormuz. He was succeeded as Viceroy by Lopo Soarez.

The power of Portugal was approaching its zenith; Hormuz and its tributaries were under its sway and it controlled the import trade and the northern routes to Europe. The naval prestige of the Portuguese was unrivalled, and everywhere their fleets were victorious; their King's representative kept regal state in Goa, from where he ruled over Portugal's Eastern empire, and "only rare and feeble opposition told of deep resentment of their intrusion and brutality." Bahrain, as well as the other dependencies of Hormuz, was subject to Portugal.

Duarte Barbosa, when mentioning the various islands in the Iranian

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175 Gulf which previously belonged to Hormuz, gives the following description of Bahrain:

"Barem, wherein dwell many merchants and other worthy folk, is well placed in the midst of the Persian Gulf, so many ships with much merchandise sail thither. Around it grows much seed pearl, also large pearls of good quality; merchants of the island themselves fish for pearls and have great profit . . . hither come Hormuz merchants to purchase seed pearls, which they sell in India. . . ." Other characteristics which he mentions are the variety of fruits, extraordinarily deep springs of brackish water, dates, wheat and barley, falcons, and horses. Manamah is mentioned as being the name of a town at that time.

The first detailed account of the coming of the Portuguese to Bahrain is the description of its conquest in 1521. When the Portuguese ordered their vassal, the King of Hormuz, to pay the annual tribute, he pleaded as an excuse for not paying his quarrel with Mocrin, the ruler of Hassa, over the ownership of Bahrain and Katif. Diego Lopes Sequiera, the Portuguese Governor, agreed to help the King of Hormuz by sending an expedition against Bahrain to enforce the payment of tribute. Antonio Correa, the Governor's nephew, was given command of the expedition, which consisted of 400 Portuguese soldiers, who filled seven ships, and about 3,000 Arabs, who were carried in 200 vessels. The Armada set sail from Hormuz on June 15, but owing to bad weather the ships were scattered on the way, so that when Antonio Correa reached Bahrain he had with him only 250 Portuguese besides some Hormuzian soldiers, who were commanded by Rais Zarafa.

Mocrin had prepared defences against the enemy and had built earthworks and entrenchments along the shore. He had a force of 300 Arab horsemen, 400 Iranian archers, 20 Turkish musketeers, and about 11,000 Arabs armed with various weapons. His fortifications were furnished with some cannon, and his forces were led by tried commanders, but they had never before been called upon to face an attack by European forces clad in armour and using European weapons.

The Portuguese led the attack. Antonio came first with 170 men, followed by his brother with 50 men, and Rais Zarafa stood in reserve. The Portuguese waded ashore and stormed the trenches, which were hotly defended by the Bahrain troops under the King in person. The heat was terrible, and at noon weariness and the sun compelled both sides to pause. In the evening the attackers advanced again, and Mocrin was shot through the thigh. His followers were so disheartened that they began to give way; many surrendered, and many were killed

and wounded, and finally at the end of the day the Portuguese won a complete victory, and their occupation of Bahrain dates from this time. 175

Rais Zarafa obtained information that the body of King Mocrin, who died a few days after he was wounded, was being taken to Hassa for burial. He intercepted the ship and seized the King's body. The head of Mocrin was cut off and carried back to Hormuz, a bilingual inscription was set up in the city commemorating the bold exploit of Antonio Correa, and the King of Portugal granted him permission to add a King's head to his coat of arms and to assume the title of "Baharem" after his name. The only description available of the taking of Bahrain is from Portuguese sources, and it is likely that the numerical strength of the forces is not accurately described, but in any case the defenders must have far outnumbered the Portuguese and their Hormuzian allies.

In 1522 the King of Hormuz organized a rebellion throughout the Gulf against the Portuguese. On a given night there were simultaneous risings in Hormuz, Bahrain, Muscat, and Sohar. At Hormuz the Portuguese garrison was besieged in the fortress, but eventually relieved by reinforcements from Muscat. In Oman the rebellion was not successful, and, seeing that it had failed, the King of Hormuz fled to Kishm, where he was afterwards murdered. He was succeeded by his son, aged 13, who made a new treaty with the Portuguese in 1523.

The rebels in Bahrain met with better success. According to an Arab history, the people of Bahrain had suffered very severely from the tyranny and oppression of the conquerors. On the appointed night, led by their chief, Shaikh Hussein bin Said, they attacked the Portuguese garrison and completely surprised them. They seized the Portuguese Governor and hung him on a date tree, and they expelled the remnants of the garrison. Shaikh Hussein then proclaimed himself the ruler of Bahrain. After some time, however, he made terms with the Portuguese and was appointed by them as a local governor with a Portuguese official, de Menzies, as his assistant and adviser. Bahrain returned again to the Portuguese rule.

There is a story told in one of the local Shia histories of Bahrain about its occupation by the Portuguese. 173

The islands were ruled, on behalf of Portugal, by a Mohammedan Governor, or Wali, who belonged to the Sunni sect, although the people of Bahrain were Shias. The Wali had a Wazir, who was also a Sunni, and he hated the Shias so bitterly that he never ceased plotting to injure and destroy them by every possible means.

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173 When the mullah heard this advice he was overjoyed and kissed the ground at the feet of the Imam and returned to his people to tell them the good news. On the next morning they all assembled before the Wali, and the mullah did all the things that the Imam had ordered, and everything happened as he had been told, but when the Wali commanded his Wazir to break the pomegranate, smoke and ashes burst forth from it and covered the face and beard of the Wazir.

Then the Wali turned to the mullah and asked him, "Who told you about this trick?"

The mullah answered, "Our Imam and the demonstration of Allah towards us."

Then the Wali rose up from his seat and took the mullah by the hand and called on Allah to bear witness to the trick which had been played on the Shias, and he summoned his servants and his executioner and cut off the head of the Wazir and asked pardon from the people of Bahrain.

175 In 1529 Bahrain was again in rebellion against the Portuguese. The islands were governed by a relation of the King of Hormuz. The King of Hormuz himself had been sent to Portugal, as he became too rich in Hormuz. The Portuguese demanded a higher tribute, and in order to pay this the Hormuzians tried to obtain more money from Bahrain, but the Governor refused to pay.

The Portuguese Viceroy, Nuno da Cunha, appointed Tavarez da Sousa as commander of the seas, and it was intended that he should take command of an expedition against Bahrain. Apparently he was loath to go there, and he persuaded the Viceroy to appoint in his place Simon da Cunha, the Viceroy's brother. After waiting some time for reinforcements from Portugal the fleet sailed from Hormuz. It consisted of five vessels carrying 400 men, and some native craft, but it is said that they had only one and a half casks of gunpowder.

[132] They reached Bahrain in September, the hottest, dampest, and most unhealthy month in the year. They wasted half their small supply of powder in saluting the port. The Bahrain chief hung out two flags on the tower of his fortress, one white and the other red, to show that he was prepared either for peace or for war, but the Portuguese captains were determined to fight. For three days they pounded the walls of the fort with their cannon, and then their supply of gunpowder gave out. In the meantime the Arab leader offered to surrender, on certain conditions, but the Portuguese were determined not to lose the chance of

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looting and refused to accept the surrender. A ship was sent back to Hormuz to bring more powder, but it took not less than fourteen days to go and return, and before this time elapsed the Portuguese were conquered by natural causes.

The soldiers were attacked by fever, and a severe epidemic broke out among them which affected the Hormuzian troops almost as severely as the Portuguese themselves. Their food supplies gave out and they had to depend upon what was given to them by the enemy, who seem to have acted with remarkable benevolence. When only thirty-five of the Portuguese remained fit for duty they decided to withdraw. The sick men were dragged down to the shore by ropes tied to their feet and carried into the boats by the native sailors. The wretched survivors of this ill-fated expedition, weak from illness and so few that they could scarcely man the ships, had great difficulty in reaching Hormuz; many of them perished on the way, including Simon da Cunha, who is said to have died of a broken heart.

Up to this time the Portuguese were still the masters of the Gulf and boasted proudly that its seas were "covered with a wood of ships, the product of the Government's great care"! One of their ambitions was to found a new race from the offspring of their soldiers and seamen, who had intermarried with Indian and Arab women, which would provide them with sailors and local troops. The Portuguese Governors lived richly in splendid residences, and their ships and fighting men were still very superior to those of their opponents. But there were signs that their power was beginning to decline. They depended for ammunitions and reinforcements on Portugal, which was far away; their captains no longer confined themselves to the work of conquest and consolidation, but indulged in private trading; and before the middle of the century they were faced with serious opposition from the Turks, whose strength had gradually been increasing since they first encountered the Portuguese at the beginning of the century.

In 1517 the Turkish Sultan Selim conquered Egypt, made himself Caliph, and annexed the Yemen, so the Turks were able to increase their opposition to the Portuguese by threatening them in the Red Sea. In 1534 Suliman the Magnificent, son of Selim, took Baghdad from the Persians, and from there he began to extend his influence southwards down the Persian Gulf. In the same year the King of Hassa and the ruler of Bahrain, who were, for the time being, independent, sent envoys to submit to the Turkish Viceroy, though actually they paid no allegiance to the Turks. This is the first time that Bahrain came into

175 contact with the Turks, and it is possible that the baseless claim that Turkey advanced at one time to the sovereignty of Bahrain dates from this incident.

Soon after the capture of Baghdad a Turkish fleet commanded by Piri Beg arrived in the Gulf and attacked Muscat. After capturing the city and taking many prisoners, Piri Beg made an unsuccessful attack on Hormuz. The Portuguese fleet pursued him, and he returned to Basra with the enemy at his heels. Among the prisoners on his ship was the Portuguese Governor of Muscat, and, acting on his advice, Piri Beg left Basra with three galleys loaded with loot and plunder. He managed to evade the Portuguese fleet and sailed out of the Gulf, but he lost one of his ships, loaded with treasure, off Bahrain, and finally reached Egypt with the remaining two. History does not relate what happened to the Portuguese officer, but Piri Beg was eventually tried, convicted, and executed, and his vast wealth, most of which was accumulated by acts of piracy, was confiscated by the Sultan.

During the following years the Turks gained many successes in the Gulf. They captured and destroyed Kishm and twice occupied Muscat, but each time they were driven out by the Portuguese. In 1550 Katif, which was a place of importance, was ruled by a vassal of the King of Hormuz, who was subject to the King of Portugal. The people of Katif, assisted by the King of Hassa, rebelled against the Hormuzian rule, expelled the Governor, and appealed to the Turks for help. The Turks welcomed the opportunity of establishing themselves on the mainland of Arabia and sent a force from Basra which occupied the port. Their proximity was a serious danger to Bahrain, and in order to prevent its occupation by the Turks the Portuguese sent a force from Hormuz under Antonio da Naronah, who drove out the Turks, levelled the fortress of Katif to the ground, and re-installed the Hormuzian Governor.

By the middle of the sixteenth century the Turks were vigorously challenging the supremacy of the Portuguese in the Gulf. Sultan Suliman had ambitions which rivalled those of the Portuguese; he aimed at extending his realm throughout the Iranian Gulf, and he hoped to possess the western coast of India. The Portuguese ships were superior to those of the Turks, and their men were better armed, but the Turks enjoyed advantages over their adversaries in other ways. The religious sympathies of the people in the Gulf were with the Turks, and the Portuguese were regarded as infidels. The Turks were nearer to their

base and less affected by climate and disease, and they had not been long enough in the Gulf to acquire the reputation for rapacity and cruelty which characterized the Portuguese.

In 1553 the Sultan appointed Sidi Ali Chalabi as Admiral of the Turkish fleet, with orders to recover the Turkish ships which had been abandoned in Basra after the piratical exploits of Piri Beg. Sidi Ali was a distinguished Turk, a poet, a writer on navigation, and a brave fighter. He wrote a book about his travels and adventures, in which he described his experiences in the Iranian Gulf. He travelled from Aleppo to Basra by land, a journey which took several months, and he took over charge of the ships at Basra from Murad Beg, formerly the Governor of Katif. After repairing and equipping the Turkish galleys, Sidi Ali set sail from Basra and cruised down the Gulf, visiting various ports, including Bushire, Katif and Bahrain. At the last place he stayed a little time. The islands were governed on behalf of the Portuguese by a local ruler, Rais Murad, who received Sidi Ali with friendliness and showed him, among other things, the strange springs of fresh water coming up from the bed of the sea. When Sidi Ali made enquiries about the Portuguese he received evasive answers.

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On leaving Bahrain he met a strong Portuguese fleet in the neighbourhood of Muscat; there were twelve large ships of war and twenty-two smaller ones. Their mizzen sails were set and their gilded beak-heads, towering forecastles, and masts gay with bunting obscured the horizon. Undaunted by their superior numbers, the gallant Turkish Admiral attacked the enemy. The ships bombarded each other with cannon; then they came closer, and the fighting men hurled down javelins and arrows from the high turrets while the sweating slaves tugged at the oars. Finally, they grappled and fell upon each other, fighting fiercely with swords and spears. Five Turkish galleys were destroyed, and there was great loss on both sides; many of the refugees landed on the shore, where they were hospitably treated by the natives, but eventually the remainder of the Turkish fleet made its way down the Gulf.

Shortly afterwards the Turks made a determined effort to capture Bahrain. In 1559 a powerful force of 1,200 Turks and Janissaries, in two galleys and seventy barques, was sent against the islands. Rais Murad was still the Governor, and the Portuguese sent a fleet from Hormuz to his assistance. On the way it met some Turkish ships and drove them on to the shore. The Turks had landed and besieged the fortress, and when the Portuguese arrived they had a council of war and decided to

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175 surround the besiegers. However, the Portuguese officers became impatient and forced an engagement. Rais Murad broke through the Turkish line with 300 well-armed men and joined the Portuguese, and together they routed the Turks. The Portuguese pursued the Turks, counting the victory already won, but the Turks rallied and fell on the Portuguese in an ambush, killing many of them, including their leader, Don Alvara da Silvera, whose body was never recovered from the enemy. A great number of the Portuguese were slain, and Rais Murad retired again to his fortress.

Pero Peixoto took command of the Portuguese, and while the guns of his ships cut off their retreat to the sea he launched another attack on the Turks, who finally surrendered. They were allowed to leave Bahrain on condition that they handed over their arms, prisoners and animals and ammunition, and ten thousand ducats. After this ignominious defeat the Turks retired to Basra, and the Portuguese re-established their authority over Bahrain.

During the second half of the sixteenth century there is very little recorded about Bahrain. A local Arab author states that the Portuguese repaired the fort in 1586 and that this date is inscribed on some stones in three of the four towers, but no such inscription exists now, although someone during recent years wrote this date in black paint on various places on the walls.

After 1580 the power of the Portuguese in the East began definitely to wane, mainly owing to the domination in Europe of Spain over Portugal, which lasted for sixty years. It was a disastrous period for the Portuguese; in India and the Persian Gulf they were threatened by the Turks, the Dutch, the French, and the English, who snatched from them most of their great Eastern empire. They were no longer able to sustain their garrisons, and, as the number and quality of the reinforcements dwindled, the Arabs and the Persians became more bold in opposing the tyranny of the infidel conquerors. The prestige of the Portuguese navy decreased; the captains of the fleets, who when they first arrived were almost invincible, began to "shirk encounters"; instead of confining their attention to fighting, they paid too much attention to enriching themselves by trade.

In 1602 the Portuguese were expelled from Bahrain by Iran, and an account of the incident is given at some length by a contemporary writer. The Governor of Bahrain, a relation of the King of Hormuz, treated the people of the islands with excessive harshness and oppression. His tyranny culminated in the murder of a wealthy and much-respected

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Bahrain pearl merchant, whose possessions, which included many valuable pearls, were seized by the Governor. The murder caused great indignation, but the people were too afraid to retaliate. The murdered merchant had a brother who was very devoted to him and who determined to avenge the murder. Concealing his feelings, he attached himself to the Governor and eventually managed to win his confidence so thoroughly that one day he got an opportunity and stabbed him to death with a dagger. Having done this, he proclaimed himself ruler and was joined by most of the local population. They overpowered the small Portuguese garrison and seized the fortress, and the Prince of Shiraz sent a force to assist the rebels and to take control of the islands in the name of the Shah of Iran.

Portugal and Iran at this time were outwardly on friendly terms, and a Portuguese mission was visiting Iran and endeavouring to persuade the Shah to join the Portuguese in fighting the Turks. If the mission achieved its object, the Portuguese would be free to deal with the Dutch, whose ships were "infesting the oceans." The King of Portugal remonstrated with the Shah of Iran at his unfriendly action in assisting the rebellion in Bahrain, but the latter made the flimsy excuse that he had not taken Bahrain from the Portuguese, but from a vassal of the King of Hormuz.

In spite of their difficulties, the Portuguese prepared to recover Bahrain, and the Governor of Hormuz, Don Pedro Contigno, appointed one of his officers, Captain Francisco da Soto Major, as the commander of a mixed force of Portuguese and Hormuzians, whose object was to prevent the Persians sending more troops to Bahrain and recapture the islands. Although they were joined by some troops and ships of war from India under Don George of Castel Bruno, the expedition was a weak one and the ships were undermanned.

The Governor of Hormuz "arranged all things well, with diligence and prudence, and without doubt he would have recovered Bahrain as he hoped, having acquired great reputation in all sea affairs," but unfortunately for him he had enemies at the court of the Viceroy at Goa who were intriguing against him. At this critical moment their intrigues bore fruit. He was suddenly dismissed from his command, which was not an unusual event, without even being given an opportunity to defend himself.

Diezo Barrato, his successor, was a sick man, and on assuming command he found that the forces were severely depleted by disease and the need of taking away men to fight the Dutch. His second in com-

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175 mand, Gasper da Mello, made strenuous efforts to fit out the expedition, but with small success.

The ruler of Iran, the famous Shah Abbas, on hearing that the Portuguese were preparing to recover Bahrain, despatched a formidable army of five or six thousand men, under Adam Sultan, to threaten the Portuguese garrison in Gombrun (Bander Abbas) to divert the Portuguese from Bahrain, and the Portuguese mission in Iran sent one of its members post-haste to Hormuz to persuade his countrymen not to jeopardize the success of the negotiations by provoking a breach with Iran over the occupation of Bahrain. It is stated in a Portuguese history that Shah Abbas ordered that Bahrain should be restored to the Portuguese, but if this order was given it was not carried out. The Portuguese garrison in Gombrun mutinied and surrendered the town to the Persians, and eventually, partly for political reasons and partly because they were so hard-pressed, the Portuguese abandoned their project of an attack on Bahrain "for the pretensions of an island which we could easily conquer later on." But this was a vain boast; Bahrain was never again taken by Portugal, although for many years the King of Portugal continued to protest at the occupation of Bahrain by the Iranians, and on one occasion, in 1605, he ordered his Viceroy to make war on Bahrain by sea and by land and suggested that the Captain of the fort might be bribed to surrender. It was not until 1622, when the Portuguese lost Hormuz to an allied Iranian and English force, that they finally gave up all hope of recovering Bahrain.

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# INTRODUCTION

101 131 About midway of the Persian Gulf and some fifteen miles off the coast of Arabia, lie the Bahrein Islands at the mouth of the Gulf of Bahrein, of which the Qatar Peninsula forms the western side. There are five principal islands, only two of which are of real consequence. The largest and by far the most important is variously called Awal, Al Manāmah after the principal city, or more commonly just Bahrein. The last is the modern designation.

103 In ancient times, the name "Bahrein" was applied to a larger area which included the Arabian mainland of Qatar and Hajar and the land situated between Mesopotamia and the Gulf of Oman (the Indian Ocean); this area took in the entire southern coast of the Persian Gulf. This has caused widespread misinterpretation of much of the writings of pre-Islamic and Medieval historians. Throughout this book we shall use the term "Bahrein" in its modern sense to refer to the archipelago of Bahrein proper or to the central island, except where the mainland province is clearly indicated.

132 511 Bahrein today has few attractions. There is not much to recommend it as a place of residence, as it is intensely hot for about seven months of the year, and for many of the native inhabitants lacking in comfortable living conditions. For tourists it is rather off the beaten track. Nevertheless, through the centuries these bits of land have been considered well worth fighting for by both European and Asiatic empires.

228 648 312 The reason for Bahrein's unusual and enduring importance can be summed up in two words—pearls and strategy. The pearl fisheries of Bahrein have been known all over the world since the dawn of history and, thanks to an abundance of fresh water springs, the island was a frequent stopping place for ships on the trade routes to India and the Far East.

648 175 The Portuguese, the first European power to have an Asiatic colonial empire, fought hard for possession of the islands.

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They held them for some time, but finally lost them to the Persians, who with the help of the British, put an end to Portuguese domination of the Persian Gulf.

One generation passeth away and another generation cometh; but the earth abideth forever. Hardly had the Persians rid the Gulf of the Portuguese than they had to face British naval supremacy. At first the British did not seem to realize the importance of Bahrein and did not intervene actively until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Since then, however, they have made up for lost time and Bahrein has become, to borrow Byron's picturesque expression, "a bundle of hay" with Persia trying to hold it and John Bull tugging "a different way." This diplomatic tug of war has continued ever since, and very recently the Persian government was directed by the Parliament to "take effective measures with a view toward implementing the Persian sovereignty over the islands."

In olden times Bahrein was a center of religious studies and produced great religious philosophers and mystics, as well as students of mathematics and the Arabic languages; but the general public was content with the Koran texts and Moslem catechism. The majority of the schools were part of the mosques and other religious foundations and were under their supervision. The beginning of the modern schools in Bahrein dates from the first World War. Among them were Persian schools supported by Persian merchants for the education of Persian children, but open also to the children of other communities. However, the Anglo-Persian controversy of 1930 over Bahrein resulted in the decision of the local government, encouraged by the British Ambassador, to create its own system of education independent of Persian influence. In the schools, as in other things, Bahrein followed the general pattern of Arabization of the Persian Gulf, and to this end adopted the Iraqi system of education.

The discovery of oil in 1930, and the granting of concessions to American interests, has singularly enhanced the historic importance of Bahrein and created a complicated international

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problem. The protestations of the Persian Government and its view of the concession as null and void, have broadened the Anglo-Persian controversy to include the United States, and as a side issue have created an Irano-American dispute. Considering the location and the nature of the countries involved, this has dangerous potentialities, especially in the present state of international relations.

With the above in mind, the present book was written to provide the reader with the minimum of facts essential to an understanding of the problems in this part of the world.

The author wishes to express his gratitude to Ali Aghassi for his scholarly suggestions and sincere and friendly encouragements, without which this work would have been impossible.

A. FAROUGHY.

New York, August 1950.

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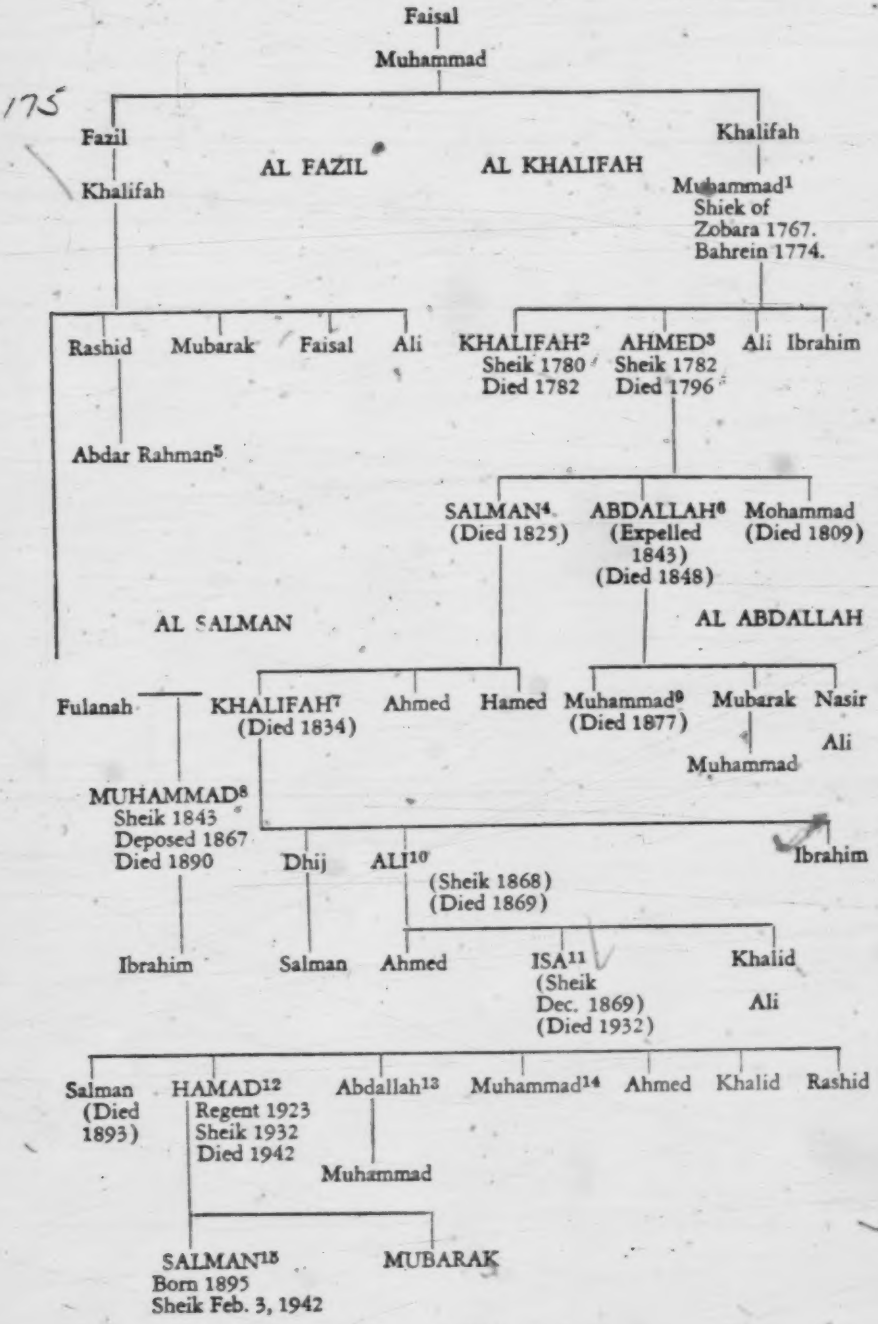
# GENEALOGY OF THE SHEIKS OF BAHREIN



## LEGEND

1. Moved from Koweit to Zobara and became Sheik about 1767. Ruled Bahrein for the Governor of Bushir, 1774. Died at Makka 1782. 175
2. Sheik of Zobara, 1789.
3. Sheik, 1782. He is called the "Conqueror."
4. Ruled jointly with his brother Abdallah.
5. Chased the Wahhabi from Bahrein with the help of Persian recruits, the expedition being financed by the Iman of Mascat (1810).
6. Ruled jointly with his brother Salman, then with his nephew Khalifah and his son Muhammad. He chased the latter from Bahrein in 1842 and ruled alone for 9 months. Expelled from Bahrein by Muhammad in 1843, he died at Mascat in 1846.
7. Ruled jointly with his uncle Abdallah.
8. His mother was the sister of Mubarak ibn Khalifah. Chased from Bahrein in 1842, reestablished himself Sheik in 1843. Deposed by the British in 1867, he returned to Bahrein after the defeat of his brother in 1869, where he ruled for three months. After the British intervention he was exiled first to Bombay, then to Makka where he died in 1890.
9. He continued his father's war against Bahrein. In 1859 he was declared a public enemy and expelled from Damman by a British force. In 1869 he declared himself for Muhammad ibn Khalifah, then put him in jail and declared himself Sheik. Deported by the British shortly afterwards, he died at Chunar in 1877.
10. Became Sheik after the flight of his brother from Bahrein. Treated with the English who recognized him as Sheik. He was defeated and killed in the war with Muhammad in 1869.
11. He was declared Sheik by the British at the age of 21 in 1869. His mother was the daughter of Isa ibn Tarif, Sheik of Kish and of the Al Ibn Ali tribe. Isa was "persuaded" in 1923 to relegate his power to his son Hamad.
12. First as his father's Lieutenant 1923, then as Sheik after the death of his father in 1932. He died of a heart attack in 1942.
13. On February 1, 1915, he was decorated by the Viceroy of India at Koweit and received the Cross of the Order of the Indian Empire.
14. Visited the United States in 1939 and was the guest of President Roosev[illegible] at Hyde Park.
15. Present Sheik was born in 1895. He became Sheik on February 3, [illegible]

[pp. 50 and 51 contain no textual material]

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## ANCIENT HISTORY

175 According to Arab tradition the inhabitants of Bahrein belong to the tribe of Thamud, who, driven out of Yemen at the beginning of the second millenium B.C., crossed the desert and settled in the islands.

Recent archaeological discoveries, however, show that in the second or third millenium Bahrein was already inhabited by a people of tall stature with mesocephalic heads. In Babylonian inscriptions we find the island of Tilmun, or Dilmun, mentioned, along with the corresponding Sumerian term *Nituk-Ki* ("The Place of Taking Oil"). Records show that Sumerian ships visited the island from earliest times, buying dates, bronze, spices, wood, etc., and place the island in the middle of the Lower Sea, or Persian Gulf. That the island of Tilmun, or Dilmun, is probably identical with the island of Bahrein has been demonstrated by a number of orientalists.

We know that Tilmun was the capital of an important empire ruled by a king called Uperi, who had extended his authority throughout the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf. The annals of Sargon II (722-705 B.C.) tell us that Uperi, King of Dilmun, "who has his abode in the midst of the sea like a fish . . . brought his gifts"—meaning that he recognized himself vassal of the Assyrian King. This submission does not seem to have lasted long, for Bahrein soon became independent, or perhaps recognized the authority of Babylonia—the records are not clear. The terrible destruction of Babylon in 689 B.C., "the dust of which reached Tilmun" (being sent by Sennacherib as a "reminder") filled the islanders with such terror that they hurried to send tribute and submit themselves again to the Assyrians. Since that time Bahrein has followed the political destiny of Mesopotamia and Iran. In 538 Babylon fell into the hands of Cyrus the Great, and Persia became the paramount power in this part of the ancient world.

With the rise of the Persian Empire and the extension of its maritime commerce, Bahrein, because of her strategic position, became a Persian naval base. The far-ranging Persian vessels,

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making for the ports of India and the Red Sea, used to take on fresh water from the springs of the island. With the fall of her empire, however, Persia's maritime power disappeared and the inhabitants of the Gulf were left to themselves.

The wealth of the Gulf Regions, acquired through a flourishing commerce, attracted the Arab tribes of Yemen, who were searching for *Lebensraum* to the north. The great Persian historian, Tabari, places the earliest arrival of these tribes in Iraq near the time of the last Parthian Kings of Persia, that is, toward the beginning of the third century A.D. They came from the regions around the Red Sea—from Hejaz and Yamama,[1] the capital and most important city of which was Hajar—and from the province of Bahrein at the border of Iraq.

The Arabs were stopped temporarily in their northward march by the Parthians. However, the might of the Persian kings began to decline following their incessant wars with Rome and a period of internal trouble, and the Arabs once more moved northward and established themselves in Iraq, where they founded the little kingdom of Hira.

Al Isfahani, the chief authority on Arab folklore, tells the story in the following way:

> The emigrants from Yemen, with Malik, his brother Amr and their nephew Zuhair at their head, invaded Bahrein, which they took from the Nabataeans, who then ruled it.
>
> Before the invasion, however, they consulted the famous sibyl Kahina (or Zirka), the sister of Malik. The woman prophesied: "This place will be for you a *tannukh* (station) until there comes a raven with rings on its feet. It will sit on a palm tree and fly off croaking. Follow it." The people therefore took the name of *Tannukhites*. Little by little, other emigrants joined them. After they had sojourned several years in Bahrein there appeared a raven with rings on its feet which sat on a palm tree, then flew off croaking *Hira, Hira*. The Tannukhites, remembering the prophetess, set out after the bird, which led them toward Iraq. On the way to the conquest of new lands Malik founded the city of Hira, which later became the seat of an important Arab principality, tributary to the Persian Empire.

1. According to the Arab geographer, Yakut, this province was formerly called Jawa. During the Middle Ages a town of that name existed on the mainland and the little village of Jau on Bahrein Island still bears the name.

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175 From Tabari we learn that at the time of the founding of the Sassanian dynasty (early third century) the King of Bahrein, called Satirun, had entrenched himself in a fortress. Following his conquest of the countries around Fars (the province of Persia proper), Ardashir sent an army into Bahrein and after a year's siege took the fortress, seized its treasure, and returned with it to Persia. The Crown Prince, the future Shapur I, was given the regency over the reconquered territories. Following this conquest, the Persians founded the city of Batn Ardashir (Bīt Ardashir) on the coast of Khatt opposite the island of Bahrein, and constructed canals for the city.

In the early part of the fourth century, during the minority of Shapur II (309-325), Arab tribes from Bahrein, which at this time comprised Hasa and Qatif, and Yamama, raided Persian territories and sacked the Port of Rām Ardashir (Rishahr), near the present-day Bushir. The Persian army, under the command of Shapur, attacked and massacred the Arabs in large numbers. Some of the survivors took refuge in Mesopotamia, while those from Bahrein retired to their own country. Wishing to get hold of the Bahreins, Shapur embarked with his army, landed at Qatif and put them to the sword in great numbers. He seized Hajar, exterminated the greater part of the tribe of Abd al Kais, wreaked a terrible vengeance on the Banū Khatham, and fell upon the Tamim. He ordered his men to pierce the shoulders of the captives, tie them together with ropes, and bring them to him. This treatment earned for Shapur the nickname in Arabic of Dhu'l Aktāf, or Lord of the Shoulders.[1] Bahrein again became a dependency of Fars and later was annexed to the dominion of the Kings of Hira who ruled these regions as vassals of the Persian emperors. Once again, the island of Bahrein followed the fate of the Arab mainland, and it is interesting to note that the famous Arab poet, Tarfa, who came originally from Awal (the ancient name of Bahrein Island), was put to death about 560 by the Governor of the island on orders from the King of Hira.

1. According to Hamzah of Isfahan, the Persians gave him the title of Hūya Sunbā from huyā (*shoulders*) and sūnba (perforated).

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Soon thereafter, the failure of the collectivist experiment (Mazdakism) in Persia created a strong tendency to a more centralized form of administration, and the Persians took a direct hand in the affairs of the Gulf. They reorganized their fleet, garrisoned several places along the coast of Arabia, including a number of the cities of Oman, Yemen, and Ethiopia, and reoccupied the positions they had formerly lost or abandoned. Under the guidane of Cosroes the Just, who was a great lover of the sea,[1] the Persians undertook successfully the exploration and discovery of the African coast and the island of Madagascar. The province of Bahrein, with its capital at Hajar, became the newly created Satrapy of Mazun and was governed by an Ispahbad (Marshal) of the Empire. Bahrein Island, the capital of which was then at Shirin, or Darin, became an important naval base and a port of call for the Persian ships which (probably making use of the compass), were trading with Ceylon and the Orient, or the eastern coasts of Africa.

This situation lasted until the rise of Islam in 622 A. D.

## ISLAM

The year 8 of the Hijra (630 A. D.) is recorded in the annals of Islam as the Year of Deputation, for it was at this time that Mohammad sent representatives to various sovereigns of the ancient world to invite them to become Moslems. Among those who answered the Prophet's appeal was Jarud, the chief of the powerful Christian tribe of 'Abdal Kais, who visited Medina, accepted Islam, and was sent to Bahrein to carry the Prophet's message.

At this time, the civil administration of Bahrein was in the hands of local chiefs and princes who paid tribute, and the Persian viceroy had charge of military affairs only. Jarud, accompanied by Ala, the envoy of the Prophet, succeeded in converting to the Moslem faith the Satrap of the province, and

1. Procopius tells us that in the year 540 A.D., when the King reached Saleucia on the Mediterranean coast, "he bathed himself alone in the sea water."

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175 a number of Persians, as well as several tribal chiefs, notably the Prince of Hajar. However, much of that prosperous community, composed mostly of Jews, Christians, and Hindus, refused to be converted and agreed instead to pay tribute, which was fixed at one dinar per capita.

The newly made Moslems submitted to the payment of the *dime* and undertook their new religious duties. These, however, were apparently difficult to conform to and perhaps were stricter than the people had anticipated, for less than two years later, upon learning of the death of the Prophet, most of the Arabs who had adopted Islam renounced it and apostasized. In order to cut all political ties with Medina, they elected as their king a descendant of the Kings of Hira, whose surname was *Al-Ghurur* ("Conceited").[1]

The majority of inhabitants, the Zutts, Hindu halfbreeds with Negro and aboriginal mestizo mixture, joined the insurgents and seized Hajar, the capital. The position of the tribes which had remained faithful was becoming untenable. Then Alā, at the head of troops sent by the Caliph, invaded the province and, after a bitter struggle, succeeded in putting down the rebellion and pacifying the country. The young king, who actually had played a puppet role, was taken prisoner. He saved his life by adopting Islam, but lost his throne and also his nickname, for he was known thereafter as *Al-Maghrur* ("the Dupe").

Except for having to pay tribute, Bahrein seems to have suffered little in the war. The tribute which was levied is said to have been the enormous sum of 500,00 dirhams. To enable the Caliph to comprehend the size of this amount, we are told that it was described to him as "one hundred thousand, five times." The possession of Bahrein was of the greatest value to the Arabs, and the armies of the Caliph used the island as a springboard in their invasion of the southern provinces of Persia.

Following the assassination of the third Caliph and the coming to power of the Omayyads, a large party of rebel Khawārij found refuge in Oman and Bahrein, preparing the

1. The arabic root *Gharr* also means "to deceive."

way for the Karmats. Under the Omayyads, Bahrein was separated from the province of Iraq and was governed from Basra. In spite of their very severe administration, the Omayyads seem to have had many partisans in the province who stood by them at the change of dynasties.

In 750 Abul Abbas ("The Shedder of Blood"), founder of the dynasty of the Abbasides, entrusted the government of Basra, together with its dependencies of Bahrein and Oman, to his uncle, Suleiman, to whom he gave the task of driving out the refugee Omayyads. Bahrein was reconquered and again paid tribute. In the year 160 of Hijra (782 A. D.), the government of Fars, Ahwaz, Bahrein and Oman was given to Muhammad, son of Suleiman. Seven years later these same regions were under the governorship of the famous Yahya, the Persian, vizier of the Caliph Mahdi and the tutor of Harun ar-Rashid. The government was held by the family of Yahya until their disgrace in 798, when the Caliph decided upon a stronger personal rule and the hegemony of the purely Arab element. However, the authority of the Caliphs of Bagdad was never consolidated, and Arab chauvinism hastened the disintegration of the Empire. By the end of the ninth century they had lost even their control over the Arabian Peninsula, and Bahrein became the dominion of the representatives of the Shiite sect, the Karmats, whose rise to power began at this time.

In 899 the Karmats seized Hasa, bordering the Persian Gulf, and a short time later, Hajar, which they renamed al Mu'minya ("The City of the Faithful"). They initiated customs at Bahrein and forced all vessels that traded in the Gulf to go there to pay the *dime*.

In 930 the Karmatian chief, Abu Tahir, in an audacious raid pillaged and profaned the holy city of Mecca and took with him to Bahrein the famous Black Stone, which according to tradition was brought to Abraham by the angel Gabriel. The stone remained in Bahrein for twenty-two years until in 951, in return for a large ransom, it was restored to its rightful place at Mecca.

To enforce their customs regulations, the Karmats raided

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175 and destroyed a number of the cities of the Persian littoral. These expeditions provoked a war with the Bowid dynasty of Persia, whose army was able to occupy Oman and a great part of the southern coast of the Persian Gulf and drive the Karmats out. But the latter, though terribly weakened, succeeded, despite Persian efforts, in maintaining themselves at Hasa. When the Moslem traveler, Nasir Khosrow, visited the Gulf in 1050, Hasa and the island of Bahrein belonged to six Karmatian chiefs, who ruled it jointly with their six advisory ministers. The capital of Bahrein was even then an important city. Date plantations flourished and pearls were fished, half of the pearls found going to the chiefs.

Serious trouble resulting in the fall of the Karmats began on the island of Bahrein shortly after the visit of Nasir Khosrow. The Bahreinis refused to pay additional taxes demanded by the Karmats, and revolted. Their leader, Abul Bahlul, defeated the Karmat forces and declared himself Emir of the country. He did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory, however, for in 1076 the island became a tributary of Yahya, a chief of Qatif on the mainland of Arabia.

It was at this time that the expeditions of the Seljoucids took place, resulting in the complete annihilation of the Karmats. The disappearance of Karmat power left the chiefs of the little tribe of the Uyunis[1] as masters of Hasa. Abdallah, the founder of this dynasty, conquered Bahrein in 1081 and his heirs assumed the powers of the family of Yahya.

These new conquerors, like their forerunners, did not long remain in power, for they were forced to recognize the sovereignty of the rulers of Kish, who policed the Gulf in the name of the Caliph.

The little island of Kish (or Qais) had belonged since the twelfth century to a local dynasty of merchant origin, the Beni Kaisar, who had extended their influence over the coast of the Persian Gulf, and whose fleet controlled the trade with

103 1. The Uyunis took their name from the district of Uyun, in the north of Hasa. *Uyun*, which means "the springs," is so called because of the large number of springs (nearly four hundred) that water its date plantations and fields.

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India. The Beni Kaisar paid half their income to the Caliph of Bagdad, who maintained a fiscal agent at Kish.

Idrisi, who wrote in the first half of the twelfth century, tells us that although Bahrein was governed by an independent chief, the Governor of Kish was "entitled" to collect taxes on the pearl fishing in the island. He speaks of the capital city as well populated, with fertile outlying regions producing abundant grain and dates. There was also a flourishing trade in guano, which was both exported to Mesopotamia and used as a fertilizer for the palm groves.

By now, the Persian Gulf, which was the natural passage for the transport of goods from India and the Far East, had become the principal artery of traffic between the merchant cities of Europe and Asia.

If the size of the Jewish population of a city is an indication of its commercial importance—as it invariably was in the Middle Ages—then the ports of the Persian Gulf must have been extremely prosperous. The Jewish merchant, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, Spain, who visited the Gulf about 1171, estimated the Jewish population of the city of Qatif alone at 5,000. The majority of the Jews were traders, and the greater part of their commerce was in pearls, fished in and near the island of Bahrein. Sixty years later Ibn Mujavir speaks of Bahrein as an important commercial center. At that time the island included more than three hundred sixty villages, inhabited by "fanatical Shiites."

It was about this time that the dynasty of Kish fell. Briefly, the events attending its fall were these:

The tribute of Kish was sent to the treasury of Fars and the authority of the sovereign of Kish came from the Sulgharids who ruled that Persian province. With the ascendance to the throne of Abu Bakr Kutluk in 1226, the sovereign of Kish refused to pay tribute, or to renew his submission to the throne. Abu Bakr, having no fleet, allied himself with the King of Hormuz, another little merchant kingdom of the Gulf and a commercial rival of Kish, in the hope of reducing the rebellious kingdom.

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175 In return for his aid, the King of Hormuz was promised sovereignty over Kish and its dependencies, notably Bahrein, on condition that he pay to Abu Bakr two-thirds of the revenues of those territories. Hormuz agreed, and placed its fleet at the disposal of Abu Bakr.

In the naval engagement which took place, Malik Sultan, the ruler of Kish, was killed (May 9, 1229) and the island fell into the hands of the King of Hormuz. Thus the latter was able to avenge the terrible fate that had befallen Hormuz when Malik Dinār, with the help of the rulers of Kish, had pillaged the coast of the Gulf in the year 1190.

Once in possession of the island, the King of Hormuz refused to carry out his agreement to pay two-thirds of his revenues to Abu Bakr. The latter was able to use the fleet of Kish which had just returned from India, and recaptured the island in 1236. The same year Bahrein Island was taken and annexed to the Province of Fars. Seven years later he extended his rule to the peninsula of Qatif and annexed the neighboring regions to his dominion. The local sheiks recognized themselves vassals of Abu Bakr and promised to live in peace with one another. In return they received an annual subsidy of 12,000 gold Dinārs paid to them by the treasury of Fars. After these victories, Atabak added to his already pompous titles of "Heir to the Kingdom of Salomon, the Justice of the World, the Glory of the Faith and the Earth," the words, "Sultan of the Land and the Sea."

After the death of Abu Bakr (1261), his kingdom fell prey to disorders, and the Mongol Emperors of Persia decided to participate more directly in the administration of the province of Fars, and the province soon lost its special political status. Beginning in 1290, the Mongols "farmed out" the government of Kish and its dependencies to the brothers Tībi, in return for a fixed annual revenue of 70,00 gold dinārs and 200 *man*[1] of the pearls fished on the island. The prosperity of the commerce of the Gulf at this time was so great, that in the six year period

1. A man weighs between five and six pounds (avoirdupois).

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from 1291 to 1297, revenues from the region are said to have been more than ten million gold dināṛs and 1,500 man of pearls.

This state of affairs lasted until 1320, when Izzed-Din Tībi was executed by order of the Mongol Emperor, Abu Sa'id, and the power of the family curtailed. For fifteen years Bahrein and the other ports of the Persian Gulf were farmed out or paid direct tribute to the Treasury of Fars. On the night of December 1, 1335, the Emperor Abu Sa'id was poisoned by his vengeful Queen—he had paid too much attention to her rival—and the assassination was the signal for a general disintegration of the Mongol Empire. The King of Hormuz, Qutb ed-Din Tahmtan, invaded and annexed Kish, Bahrein, and its dependencies of Qatif and Kalhat on the coast of Oman. For the next 260 years Bahrein was ruled almost without interruption by the Kings of Hormuz (themselves tributary of the Persian Empire), and followed the fate of Hormuz even after its invasion by the Portuguese in 1515.

## THE PORTUGUESE

The entrance of the Portuguese on the scene changed the status of the Gulf and complicated the political situation of Bahrein. The Kings of Hormuz, though they still paid allegiance to the Persian Empire, became in fact Portuguese vassals. This curious situation was the result of the Shah Ismail's negotiations with Albuquerque, in view of contracting a military alliance against the Turks. Persia, engaged in a mortal war with the Ottomans, was unwilling to create new conflicts on her southern borders. Furthermore, the Court of Tabriz was hoping that the Portuguese fleet in the Mediterranean would engage the Turks to relieve their threat on Persian provinces. Indeed, it was not the right time to antagonize the Portuguese. However, despite their promises, the Portuguese did nothing to help the Persians, and finding the Persians busy, they installed themselves at Hormuz. Their domination of the Gulf continued for more than a century.

The acquisition of Hormuz was justly valued by the Portu-

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guese, who had a saying that if the world were a ring, Hormuz would be the stone. The pearl trade of Bahrein which, through Hormuz, was carried on principally with Europe and with Surat, in India, was valued at this time at more than £3,000,000 yearly. A sixteenth century Portuguese writer tells us that the isand of Hormuz paid to Persia an annual tribute of 80,000 "patacas" (piasters).[1]

The conquest of Bahrein, however, was not undertaken immediately and it was only in 1521 that a Portuguese expedition, under Antonio Correa, landed for the first time on the island.

The Governor of Bahrein in person commanded his troops, which included a detachment of four hundred Persian archers and several musketeers. In the engagement which took place, the Governor was wounded and a few days later died. Correa intercepted the Bahreini vessel which was transporting the body of the slain chief to the mainland and, recovering the corpse, cut off the head and carried it back to Hormuz. This exploit caused the King of Portugal to issue an edict authorizing Correa to add a king's head to his coat of arms and to assume the title of Bahrein after his name.

Portuguese historians boast of the conquest of Bahrein, but in reality it was a "commando" operation, having as its principal aim the destruction of the Bahreini fleet. Even in this, the Portuguese were not wholly successful and the Bahrein fleet escaped destruction.

The Bahreinis were soon to revenge themselves by the massacre of the Portuguese garrison to the last man and by hanging the commander from a palm tree. They continued in their relationship with Hormuz and paid tribute to that kingdom, which, of course, was under the authority of the Portuguese. When in 1529 the Portuguese deported Rais Sharaf, the vizier of Hormuz, to Portugal, the Bahreinis revolted and refused to pay the annual tribute, and the Portuguese failed to establish themselves in the islands.

1. This is equivalent to sixty million rials.

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The position of Portugal in Hormuz, and especially in Bahrein, was precarious indeed. Insurrections occurred with astonishing regularity, and almost yearly. In this connection, the scarcity of information left by the Portuguese historians concerning Bahrein is significant. Aware of their military weakness, the Portuguese were satisfied with holding Hormuz and never really intended to occupy Bahrein permanently. Despite the erection of a factory and a fortress, the ruins of which still stand near Manama, their authority was more nominal than real, and the role played by the "capitan" was probably not very important. Even in the defense of the fortress on Bahrein, the Portuguese relied to a great extent on the good will of the Persian forces. For example, when in 1559 the newly formed Persian Gulf units of the Turkish fleet attacked Bahrein, Rais Murad, the Governor of the island, asked for and obtained the help of the Portuguese vessels from Hormuz, but the victory was achieved only when a corps of 300 Persian soldiers was brought into action.

In 1585 the Portuguese repaired the fortress of Bahrein but their power was declining. In 1602 the Persian elements in the island revolted against the Portuguese rule and called in the Persians, the coup d'etat being organized by Rokn ed-Din Mas'ud, brother of the Vizier of Hormuz and a distant relative of the Lord of Fāl, Mu'in ed-Dīn. A corps of Persian arquebusiers, under Mu'in ed-Dīn, invaded the island and reduced the Portuguese garrison.

As soon as victory was assured, the forces of Rokn-ed-Din treacherously attacked their Persian allies and the situation seemed serious, when Persian reinforcements which had been delayed en route reappeared before the island. The forces of Rokn-ed-Din were beaten and he himself seized and executed. Now the Persians had to face another menace, for the Portuguese had landed in force.

In the course of operations the Persian general was wounded and afterward died, but the Persian forces succeeded in recapturing the fort and holding the island against several attempts

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by the Portuguese and Hormuzis to recover it. The Portuguese continued to protest verbally but, being unable to interfere militarily, they were unwilling, merely for the sake of Bahrein, to disturb the new cordiality of the relations between Persia and Spain, and face alone the power of the Turks, who were a real threat in the Mediterranean. In 1622 the island of Hormuz itself was taken over by the Persians, who put an end to the Portuguese domination.

## SAFAVID

Despite manifestations of energy from time to time, the bell had tolled for Portugal's maritime power and she soon had to concede her place, first to the Dutch and then to the British. The power of the latter began to equal and later to surpass that of all rivals, and the English fleet became the only one with which the inhabitants of the Gulf had to reckon.

The eclipse of Portugal and the fall of the kingdom of Hormuz created a new situation in the Gulf. In the absence of a Persian fleet, the dependencies of Hormuz were left alone to become independent and each local sheik to aspire to power. Among those who profited by the decline of Hormuz was Nasir, who made himself Imam of Mascat in 1624. He succeeded in imposing his authority, drove the Hormuzis out of Sohar, and extended his dominion over a large part of the country, creating a new political entity: Oman.

Nasir was not yet strong enough to challenge the Persian power and he hurried to submit to the Court of Isfahan. Gradually, as his successors grew more and more powerful, Mascat was taken from the Portuguese, and the forces of Oman challenged the latter even in their own colonies.

The Omanis showed themselves still more enterprising with regard to the Persians. In 1700 the island of Bahrein was attacked and taken by the forces of Imam Seif. They were, however, unable to keep it for long, and they revenged themselves by systematically interrupting Persian navigation, maltreating Persian subjects, and plundering the towns of the Persian lit-

toral. Since Persia had no fleet of her own to cope with this danger, she had to rely upon whatever help she could get from the European companies trading in the Gulf. However, these companies were not especially eager to help Persia recover Mascat, or to consolidate her naval supremacy.

In 1707, a Persian envoy, Mirza Nāsir, was sent to Bombay and another mission was prepared to visit Batavia. The English, "knowing well that if the Dutch complied with the Shah's request they would undoubtedly obtain a preference in the Persian market" did all in their power to forestall it. The English agent in Persia was instructed to "promise that as soon as the war in Europe should cease, a naval force would be sent to operate against the Mascat Arabs." The promise had the desired effect, and the Shah's intended deputation to Batavia was never dispatched.

In the meantime, the trade of the Persian Gulf was left to the fancy of the Mascat pirates. However, these were not the only pirates who operated in these parts of the world. Many Europeans, especially English nationals had chosen the lucrative business of piracy as their occupation. Among those sea captains, the most outstanding names are the Frenchman Misson, and Englishmen: Avory, William Kidd, Cornelius, and the sinister Plantain helped by Mulatto Tom.[1]

From the base of St. Mary, pirates infested the entire Indian Ocean, and in the Persian Gulf Mascat pirates were getting whatever ships had escaped, thus rendering the trade with India almost impossible. Something had to be done.

Unable to obtain the help of the British or Dutch, Persia turned to the French. Sieur Michel, representing France, readily accepted the offer and consequently a Treaty of Friendship and Commerce was signed between the two powers (September 7,

1. Tom was Avory's son by the Indian noblewoman whom he had kidnapped from the ship "Gunjsawee" (1696), in company of 100 other girls "from 12 to 18 years of age," who were also carried away to "Libertatia." This settlement of Libertatia on Saint Mary Island (off Madagascar), was founded by Misson in 1694, and fortified by Avory, and was where the European Pirates had their numerous wives. The main body of the colony was formed by freed Negro slaves who manned the piratical squadron ships.

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● 175

1708). By a secret clause, France was to provide naval transportation and assistance to Persia for the occupation of Mascat. Furthermore, to insure secrecy, that "clause" was formulated in a separate memorandum consigned to a "sealed envelope", and by Article 14 of the treaty France simply took the engagement of executing the "provisions contained in the memorandum."

However, the French were slow in executing the terms of the treaty. Mascat pirates were left free and unpunished to interrupt trade and participate in raids on ports and cities. The Court of Isfahan decided to press the matter, and a Persian Ambassador, Reza Kuli Beg, was sent to this effect to Louis XIV. During his stay in France, the Ambassador negotiated a new Treaty of Commerce clearly favorable to France, but in exchange, the Persian demanded an alliance against the Imam of Mascat. Persia was to furnish 30,000 troops and provide for the arming of the fleet. The spoils of war would be divided equally between the two countries, and after the occupation of Mascat, France was to be given possession of a fort. Furthermore, the French were to participate on equal footing with the Persians concerning the pearl fisheries of the Bahrein Islands.

Despite these favorable terms, the French were unwilling to engage in the new venture, as the extent of French naval power was very limited after the war of the Spanish Succession. Furthermore, the French were nursing the idea of an alliance with Mascat.

While the Franco-Persian negotiations were ineffectually being carried on, Sultan II, with the help of the East India Company, invaded the Bahrein Islands, and succeeded in taking the fort and the government house of Manamah, where they slaughtered hundreds of Persians. The matter was urgent and Persia had to look for another ally.

A Persian mission was dispatched to Goa in 1718 and offered the Portuguese an alliance against the Omanis with the purpose of reoccupying Bahrein. Accordingly, a Portuguese fleet sailed from the port of Kong and engaged the Omanis, who had been supplied by the British and Dutch with "powder and shots".

175 The Portuguese did very little in fighting, and even for that, they formulated conditions unacceptable to Persians who preferred to negotiate with the invaders. Bahrein was finally recovered against a payment of 8,000 tomans, and the Persian troops occupied and fortified it (1718).

The government of Bahrein was given over to Sheik Jabbara of Tahiri (a port on the Persian coast), who was chief of the Huwala and Persian Admiral of the Gulf. The chiefs of Tahīri governed Bahrein for a period of fourteen years.

This turn of events coincided with the death of the Imam of Mascat and the succession of his nephew, and Oman was ravaged by a Civil War, making its conquest relatively easy. Persia, mistrusting Portuguese designs, refused to lay siege to Mascat and the Portuguese fleet, after a winter stay at Kong, returned to India.

Shortly afterwards, however, a great number of Persian troops were concentrated around Bender Abbas for the projected invasion of Mascat. The Persian Army was to be transported either by the French royal fleet, or on board ships belonging to the French East India Co. Sieur Padery, the French Consul at Shiraz, and the promoter of this project, visited the Shah in Isfahan (1721), and during a private audience with the King and his Prime Minister, it was agreed that in exchange for the help being given Persia, France was to receive full ownership of the pearl fisheries of the Bahrein Islands.

Once again, Persia became prey to internal troubles and the insurrection of the province of Afghanistan started a Civil War which set the entire country aflame. The Persian troops were called back for the defense of the capital and the invasion of Mascat was abandoned. It was not until 1736, after the ascent to the throne of the famous Nadir, that the Persians were able to turn their attention toward Oman. However, Persia did not possess a national fleet to enforce her authority, and the lack of fidelity on the part of the local sheiks, whose vessels formed the bulk of the Persian Navy, had deprived Persia of her maritime power more than once in time of emergency. The English and

175 Dutch, too, almost invariably procrastinated when asked to lend their ships or to coöperate with the Persian land forces. Nadir therefore decided to organize a Persian Navy. His Admiral, Latif Khan, tried to purchase British ships at Bender Abbas but the British were reluctant to sell. He was advised instead to get them at the great shipbuilding center of Surat, in India. This he was able to do, though not without some difficulty, and in addition, to acquire a few foreign vessels which visited the Gulf. In this way, the Persians were able to arm a fleet of four ships (two purchased from British merchants, including the former *Northumberland,* bought for 50,000 tomans), two grabs, and some small craft. For the first time since the fall of the Sassanian Empire, the flag of the Persian Navy, a red Persian sword centered in a white ground, made its appearance in the waters of the Persian Gulf. The Persians were on the move again.

The first naval operation on schedule was the conquest of Bahrein and Kish. These islands were under the authority of Sheikh Jabbara who was the Commodore of the Persian Navy. However, Jabbara had refused to recognize the coup d'etat by which Nadir had become king, and refused to pay him allegiance.

The new fleet set sail for Bahrein in May 1736 with some four thousand men aboard. The time was well chosen as Sheikh Jabbara had gone in pilgrimage to Mekka and the island was defended by a small garrison. The expedition easily destroyed the forces of Jabbara, and the government of Bahrein was given to Sheik Nasir, the head of the Abu Muhair tribe of the Persian littoral. The following year the Persian forces occupied Oman. However, neither the local sheiks nor the European traders were happy about the existence of a strong regular Persian Navy and worked against it.

There were frequent mutinies among the crews, the main body of which was composed of sailors subject to various sheiks from whom they secretly received orders. Such mutinies not only made it possible for the local sheiks to retain their independence, but also favored the existence of pirates who, profit-

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ing by the momentary disorder, made commerce impossible. There is reason also to believe that in most cases the mutinies were supported by European powers, which carried on the main trade of the Persian Gulf. An illustration was the mutiny of 1740, in which the British East India Company openly favored the mutineers, and the Dutch, who at first backed the loyalist troops, suddenly made a *volte face* and supported the rebels. It is certainly strange that negotiations between the loyalists and the mutineers were carried on in English, and that an Englishman served as spokesman for the mutineers, while the Persian Admiral had to use an interpreter to deal with his own men.

Despite the difficult situation, the Persians were strong enough to keep peace and order in these waters until 1747, when the assassination of Nadir started another Civil War and the fleet was forgotten amid other cares. Naturally, the local chiefs or tribal shieks profited by the turn of events to recover their lost strength and consolidate their independence. Among those who bid for power were the Utūb.[1]

## THE UTUB

The Utūb, one of the clans of Jumailah, a subdivision of 'Aniza tribe, were originally from the province of Aflaj in central Arabia. Following the general pattern of the nomadic Arab migration, they naturally looked towards the regions of the Persian Gulf where the prosperous pearl fishing and trade offered them the opportunity for better living.

Unlike the invasion of the great tribes, the Utūb had infiltrated in small groups and with the consent of the actual occupants, the Beni Khalid, they had settled on several points of the Persian Gulf littoral, the territory of Kishm and Zobara, with the main center at Grain (now Koweit), all of which were under the sovereignty of Persia.

They had formed a confederation in order to protect themselves against the economic and political pressure of other tribes. This confederation of the Utūb was led by three families: Al Sabah, Al Khalifah, and Al Jalahimah. Special duties were

1. "Geneology of Sheiks of Bahrein," p. 48.

● 176 assigned to each family. Al Sabah performed administrative functions (generally their Sheik was the head of the confederation.); Al Jalahimah were to superintend and control the maritime affairs, while the Al Khalifah headed the mercantile activities.

As time went by, the Utūb reached a high degree of commercial prosperity, and Al Khalifah accumulated a great fortune, apparently at the expense of their associates. This fact motivated Sabah to put Muhammed, the head of Al Khalifah, under arrest. But Muhammed, with the help of his brother, escaped to Zobara where he was rejoined by other members of his clan.

The head of Al Khalifah was the son of Faisal, and was originally from Zafra, a village in the territory of Bu Dhabi. Muhammed had two sons, Fazil and Khalifah, whose descendents became known respectively as Al Fazil and Al Khalifah. These two brothers moved at an early age to the newly founded settlement of Grane, and entered the pearl fishing trade. Both were enterprising and soon prospered, becoming leading merchants. It was with this background that Muhammed became head of Al Khalifah.

After their escape to Zobara, Al Khalifah fortified this town by building a stone wall around it, provided a fort with watch tower to guard the sea shore, and prepared for defense. The timely death of Sabah (1762), relieved them from the threat of revenge by their kinsmen, and they were able to carry on undisturbed their commercial activities.

Soon it was the turn of Al Jalahimah to secede from the federation. They left Koweit and settled at Roweisah on the Arabian mainland. Thus there were now three distinct groups: the Al Sabah at the original settlement at Koweit, the Al Khalifah at Zobara, and the Al Jalahimah at Roweisah.

As the prosperity of Zobara depended on the trade of Bahrein,[1] Al Khalifah persuaded the Sheik of Bushir, who had

1. Raynal, a contemporary writer, estimates the annual amount of pearls fished in and around Bahrein at 3,600,000 French livres (tournois). (Livre Sterling = 22 10 livres tournois (1776).

authority over Bahrein, to lease them the island. As Governor of Bahrein and Sheik of Zobara, Muhammed exercised his authority under Persian protection with the obligation of paying taxes to the treasury of Shiraz, in Fars.

Under Muhammed and his son Khalifah, the taxes and tribute were paid regularly. Upon the death in 1799 of the Shah of Persia, Karim Khan, the new Sheik, Ahmed, became recalcitrant. He refused to pay tribute, arrested the Persian representative, and looted the Persian gallivat that had been sent to Bahrein to collect taxes. A unit of the Persian fleet appeared in short order off Zobara (1782) and the Sheik hurried to pay the tribute that was due and to renew his allegiance to the throne.

Not long afterward, however, taking advantage of the Civil War raging in Persia, Ahmed again refused to pay tribute and the Governor of Bushir had to send a fleet to recover the island and punish the Sheik. At the news of its approach, the Al Khalifah plundered the island and took refuge at Zobara on the mainland. The Persian fleet started a systematic blockade and the Sheik offered to negotiate, restore the loot, and pay all damages. This offer was refused, and the Persian troops landed near Zobara and inflicted severe damage on the settlements of the Al Khalifah along the coast. Its mission completed, the Persian army re-embarked for Bahrein, which was put under the direct control of the Sheik of Bushir, who named his son Governor of the island.

During these military operations, the Al Khalifah were aided by the Al Jalahimah, who attempted several diversions against Bahrein and interrupted Persian shipping. To procure the help of the Al Jalahimah seamen, the Sheiks of Zobara had promised them "grants of land, money, and exclusive privileges of tenure". As soon as the Persians left they refused to keep their pledges, and their kinsmen retired to Khor Hassan where, under the leadership of their chief, the famous Ramah ibn Jaher, they allied themseves with other divisions of their tribe (known in

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the annals of the Gulf as the Jawāsim,[1] and started a feud with the Al Khalifah.

Despite the accession to power of the founder of the Kadjar Dynasty, wars of succession were still raging in southern Persia and several years passed before he could pacify the maritime provinces. The time was ripe for the Utūb to take their revenge.

The Al Khalifah invaded Bahrein and routed the Governor, Nasir al Mazkur, who fled to Bushir to ask for the aid of the Persian Army. The Provincial Governor, seeing an excellent opportunity to reduce the power of the already too influential Sheik of Bushir, refused to send the Persian troops.

On the other hand, to forestall a punitive expedition from Persia, the Al Khalifah had declared their readiness to pay tribute. Under these circumstances, they were authorized to hold the island and govern it in the name of the Persian Governor of Fars. This was consistent with the Persian tradition of power politics. Lacking a strong fleet, they usually dealt separately with each sheik, according him internal autonomy, and contenting themselves with receiving homage and tribute. In the event of a persistent refusal on the part of a sheik to pay taxes and tribute—and the word "persistent" is important because taxes generally were not paid at regular intervals—the Persian fleet, or the fleet of a subject sheik paid a visit to the island and called the errant chief to order.

For example, in 1799 the Imam of Mascat attacked the forces of Bahrein, which had discontinued payment of taxes levied upon all vessels passing from India through the Gulf. Accordingly, the Imam on board his frigate *Ganjawa*, with a fleet of three square-rigged ships and sixty bughlas, headed for Bahrein. The battle that took place resulted in the capture of three of the Utūbi vessels, but the Bahreinis were successful in defending the island. Immediately thereafter, the Utūbi Sheiks hastened to renew their allegiance to Persia by paying the tribute due from the preceding year and the Imam suspended his attack.

1. From Qasim, the common ancestor of the tribe. In the Gulf region, the guttural Arab Q is softened and pronounced as "J" in English.

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Three years later, however, the affairs of Bahrein again necessitated intervention, and again the forces of Mascat attacked Bahrein and succeeded in driving out the Utubi, who fled to Zobara and sought the help of the Wahhabi Emir. By now the Wahhabis had extended their power to the Arab coast of the Persian Gulf, and the Sheiks of the mainland were either their allies or their vassals.

Bahrein was occupied by Seif ibn Ali, sent by the Imam of Mascat as Governor and Commandant of the island. Shortly afterward, with the help of the Wahhabis, the Utūbi Sheiks surprised the Imam's garrison in Bahrein and invaded the island. Seif ibn Ali fled to Mascat, and the Imam once more had to dispatch a strong naval force to Bahrein which occupied the island without difficulty.

The Sheik of Bahrein, Salman, agreed to pay tribute to the Imam who acted under authority of the Persian Government. Furthermore, to guarantee his good faith, he dispatched his brother Muhammed to Mascat as hostage.

As vassals of the Imam, Bahrein forces participated in the British naval operations against Ras-ul-Khayma. As reward for attacking the Jawāsim, the Sheik approached the British and required that Great Britain "lend him such support as will enable him to remain undisturbed at Bahrein," but the Bombay Government was friendly with the Imam of Mascat and "abstained from all interference."

The Sheik of Bahrein then complotted with the Wahhabis who were fighting the Imam. Their combined forces invaded the island and chased the Mascat Governor. The uprising was well timed because Muhammed, who was hostage at Mascat, had died recently, thus freeing Sheik Salman of any apprehension concerning the well being of his brother.

As the Wahhabi soldiers gained control of the island, they proved themselves real oppressors, and tried by force to convert the inhabitants to their own faith. When Sheik Salman protested this unjust treatment, his brother Abdallah, and sev-

176 eral other members of his family were carried away as hostages to the Wahhabi capital Dar'yah (1809).

In Bahrein, resistance to Wahhabi domination continued and the remaining Sheiks, under the leadership of Abdar Rahman ibn Mubarak, carried on the struggle. When the Wahhabi threatened to execute their hostages, the young Sheik replied: "Go back and tell the Amir that we have forgotten our relatives, and if our sails could carry us to Dar'yah, we would raze it to the ground." However, despite their bravery, they could do little against the Wahhabi without outside help.

The Imam, busy fighting on other fronts, was not able to help directly, and had to appeal to the forces of the Shah of Persia, in whose name he ruled the island. To this end, his representative, Sheik Ali, "bearing costly gifts," was sent to Shiraz to secure the cooperation of the Prince-Governor of the province. At the same time he wrote a letter to his friend, Sheik Nasir of Bushir, requesting him to use his influence in securing the assistance of the Prince and "enclosing a blank sheet bearing his seal, to be filled in with the conditions and the amount of tribute which the Persian Government wished to impose." His appeal was favorably received and "a body of two hundred Persian horsemen and 2,000 foot soldiers' embarked at Bushir to join him. Bahrein was invaded, Wahhabi forces expelled, and the island once more given back to the Utūbi. As the Persian forces were threatening the invasion of Wahhabi territory, the Bahrein hostages were released and were permitted to return to the island. Salman and his brother reaffirmed their submission and renewed their allegiance to Persia.

Thus at the end of the first decade of the 19th century, Persia's foothold on Bahrein seemed strong and secure, and the old equilibrium of the Gulf reestablished. However, a new factor was soon introduced in the old game, changing the equilibrium of the Gulf.

This new factor was the direct intervention of the East

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India Company. As we have seen previously, the English became active in this part of the world at the beginning of the 17th century, but so far, except for a few instances, their main purpose was the trade of silk and draperies, and they very cautiously kept themselves from nursing any desire to annex, or to hold militarily, ports in the Gulf.[1] However, the events in Europe—struggle with French—and in India—wars with Tippoo Sahib and the planned invasion of Afghan ruler, Zaman Shah—, had changed the conception of the security of the Indian Empire.

It is true that two centuries after Armada, once more the "Wooden walls of England" had stopped a foreign assault and saved the country. However the "Corsican Master of Europe" was not easily discouraged, and it was generally believed that the French Army would try to reach India by crossing Persian territory, provisioning themselves en route. In the so called Bonaparte's plan of 1798, the supplies were to come from the Ile de France (Mauritius) and were to be landed at Bassorah, Bender Abbas, and other Persian ports. To forestall the French design, an East India's envoy, Malcolm, was sent to Persia in 1800 in order to negotiate a Commercial Treaty. Under cover of the Commercial negotiations, Malcolm demanded the cession to the Company, of the Island of Kishm, Hanjam, and Khark in the Persian Gulf. This raised strong opposition from the Persian Government; even the accepted bribe by the Minister of Records[2] did not overcome his opposition, and the intended article had to be withdrawn. Despite this set back, the British were successful in renewing their agreement with the Imam of Mascat (concluded in 1798), by which the Imam promised to expell the French from his possessions and authorized the English to fortify their Factory at Bender Abbas. "mounting guns thereon, as many as they list, and to forty or

1. Raynal who writes in 1776 is amazed that the English "had not even thought of establishing themselves in Bahrein Island"; and adds "we do not know why."
2. Mirza Shafi who later became Prime Minister.

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175 fifty English gentlemen (officers) residing there, with seven or eight hundred English Sepoys."

Subsequently, the Bombay Government tried to line up other alliances with the Wahhabi rulers of Hasa and with the Sheiks of Bahrein. However, these were emergency measures; the alliance with Persia remained the main purpose, and the Indian Government had kept "the Pashalik of Baghdad as a lure" to detach this country from the French.

Persia, faced with necessities of war with Russia, could not neglect the possibility of the French alliance, and consequently the Treaty of Finkenstein (May 4, 1807) was signed between the two countries. By Article 8, Persia takes the engagement to cease all political communication or commercial intercourse with England, to declare war on that Power, and to expell the Consuls, factors, or other agents of the East India Company residing in Persia and in the ports of the Persian Gulf. Article 11 stipulates "in case of a French fleet arriving in Persian Gulf or in the port belonging to H. M. the Emperor of Persia, she would be given all facilities and help that she might need." The following Article speaks clearly of the possibilities of a joint invasion of India by combined land and sea forces of Persia and France.

As soon as the treaty was signed, the East India Company planned the occupation of principal islands in the Persian Gulf. Furthermore, they contemplated setting up a friendly king in Persia by restoring to the throne an obscure pretender of the deposed Zand Dynasty, Najaf Ali, who was already receiving a pension of 400 rupees a month. This alarmed Persia, and she sought the help of France in the Persian Gulf. The French agreed to provide their fleet, but in exchange they were granted "forever and in full property the island of Khark." (Article 17 and 18, Commercial Treaty January 1808). However, the inability of the French to help the Persians in the war with Russia, changed the picture, and the British were able to conclude with Persia the preliminary Treaty of March 12, 1809.

Article V and VI of that treaty assured the Persian Govern-

ment of the good intentions of the East India Company, and affirmed that British troops sent to the Persian Gulf would be at "the disposal of His Majesty the King of Persia," and would remain at Khark or any other port if H. M. so desired. The extent of the forces stationed in the Persian Gulf was to be settled in the Definitive Treaty. 175

The Definitive Treaty was signed on November 25, 1814. Article XI reads as follows:

> Should His Persian Majesty require assistance from the English Government in the Persian Gulf, they shall, if convenient and practicable, assist him with Ships of War and Troops. The Expenses of such Expedition shall be accounted for and defrayed by the Persian Government, and the above Ships shall anchor in such Ports as shall be pointed out by the Persian Government, and not enter other Harbours without Permission, except from absolute Necessity.

By the stipulation of the above Article, the British were to assist Persia in policing the waters of the Persian Gulf and act as a Persian naval force whenever their help was required. By implication, this clause created a legal basis for England's intervention in the local affairs and from the role of partner, they assumed little by little, that of arbiter, and at the end of the 19th century, the Persian Gulf became for all purposes, a British lake.

However, to understand the importance of the Persian Gulf to Great Britain, one should always bear in mind the great events in European history, and particularly the antagonism between Russia and England since the defeat of Napolean's armies. To stop Russian forces from reaching the warm waters of the Persian Gulf, the policy of Britain was, on one hand, to strengthen the hands of Persia and Afghanistan by allying herself with them, and on the other hand to temporize, by satisfying the appetite of Russia even at the expense of her allies.

These two contradicting axioms characterized the policy pursued first by East India Company and then by Great Britain in the Persian Gulf. To each Russian increase of influence—political, military, or commercial—in Persia proper, there cor-

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175 responds on the part of England, an increase of activities in the Persian Gulf.

To strengthen her position in these waters, it was important for the English Navy to hold possible operational bases and strategic ports or islands. Bahrein by its geographical location was best suited to afford such a position, and England did all in her power to keep it in friendly hands.

It is in the light of these remarks that the contemporary history of Bahrein should be read.

In 1814, Captain William Bruce, the British Resident at Bushir, went to Bahrein and assured the Sheik of British neutrality in the invasion of Bahrein which was being threatened by the Imam of Mascat. The price of this neutrality was the promise by the Sheik that "his ports were ever open, and should continue so to [the British], and every aid at all times rendered to [British] vessels, whenever they should arrive." To convince the Sheik of Britain's "friendly dispositions," Captain Bruce said that he was ready, "although not authorized by the Government, to draw up a few articles of agreement, which we would exchange, and [that he had] no doubt but that they would be approved of, and be sanctioned by the British Government. [The Sheik] was highly satisfied with this."

Actually, when the forces of Mascat attacked Bahrein, Bruce offered his good offices, which were rejected by the Imam. The Imam's claim over Bahrein was based on a firman he had received from the Persian Government with investiture over the Islands of the Persian Gulf. A difference of interpretation developed, and the Governor of Fars held the view that the Government of Bahrein was relieved of his direct authority.

In 1816, while promising military aid to the Imam of Omam against Bahrein, and fixing the annual tribute of the island group at 10,000 tomans in the event of its conquest, the Governor of Fars secretly negotiated with the Sheik of Bahrein, received tribute from him, and even presented him with a "robe of honor." The attack carried on against Britain

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by the forces of Imam failed, probably due to the intervention of the Persian forces in the island, for in April 1818, we see the Imam sending a messenger to Teheran protesting to the Shah the duplicity of the Governor; the messenger was not permitted to proceed to the capital, however, and was instructed to send his message by courier.

About this time (1817), Bruce represented the Sheik of Bahrein as affording the fullest and most effective aid in his power, in grain and stores of all kinds, to the Jawāsim pirates. He added that it was "impossible under these circumstances to look on Bahrein in any other light than that of a piratical port."

Britain had decided to destroy the forts and the Arab warships that had survived the expedition of 1809 against Ras al Khayma, and Sir Evan Nepean, Governor of Bombay, in the spirit of the Treaty of 1814 with Persia, sent a letter to the Prince of Shiraz explaining the object of the British expedition, and requesting the collaboration of the Persian Government. An expedition under the command of W. G. Keir was sent to the Persian Gulf (1820) to act against pirates. The expedition did not confine its operations to the southern coast of the Gulf and against the pirates, but also destroyed trade ships belonging to the Arab chiefs on the Persian side. It is true that, upon the protest of the Persian representatives, the Government of India paid compensation to the injured parties, but lack of wood and construction facilities prevented the chiefs from replacing their losses, and so the aim of the British was accomplished.

The truth of the matter is that the expedition hid behind its humanitarian mask the desire to eliminate competitors. Sir John Malcolm wrote in 1833:

> I have conversed with some of the most intelligent European agents on the trade with the Gulf of Persia, who informed me, that a great portion of the piece goods, before sent in English vessels from Calcutta, are now conveyed in small Arab and Indian craft from Bombay, and being at cheaper freight, the sale of such articles is increased. . . . This fact, which is satisfactory as showing a cause for increasing sale of British manufacture, and as tending to change the habits of lawless men, is completely contrary to the interests of the owners of British ships formerly occupied in this trade . . . who had formerly all the freight which is now carried on by Arabs.

175 Another tangible result of this expedition was the signing of a General Treaty with the chiefs of the Gulf, with the exception of Rahamah, the "faithful servant" of the Persian Government. The Treaty is commonly known as the Flag Treaty from Article 3 which stipulated that all "friendly Arabs" should carry "by land and by sea" the "White pierced Red" flag of the British Navy.

To overcome the objections of the Persian Government, Article 4 specified that the Sheiks should continue their "former relations, except that they shall be at peace with the British Government and shall not fight with each other; and the flag shall be a symbol of this and nothing further."

Article 5 gave British vessels the right to stop Arab ships and to exercise "register and clearance"; Article 6 provided that each of the chiefs should send "an envoy for the transaction of [his] business" to reside near the British Residence at Bushir; and Article 7 provided for future collaboration against those chiefs who should not conform to the spirit of the treaty. The remaining Articles were humanitarian and commercial clauses, providing, among other things, for the amelioration of the condition of prisoners of war, prohibition of the export of slaves, and permission to friendly Arabs to enter the ports controlled by England.

The duration of the pact was described in Article 1 as "forever," and it was stated that it should not concern "an acknowledged war which is proclaimed, avowed, and ordered by Government against Government" (Article 2).

The treaty was signed in February 1820 by the representative of Bahrein in the name of the brothers Salman and Abdallah ibn Ahmed, who ruled the island jointly.

The signing of the treaty did not give the chiefs independence; its avowed purpose was merely to maintain the status quo in the Gulf.

To give further proof of the good intentions of the East India Company, its representative, Bruce, in a draft of a Treaty concerning the slave trade signed in 1820 with the Prince Gov-

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ernor of Fars, guaranteed the "historical rights of Persia over the Bahrein Island." 175

The treaty was not ratified by the Shah, however, on the ground that the Prince had no right to negotiate directly with a foreign power, which would create a dangerous precedent, and Bruce shortly afterward left for India.

Bahrein at that time was under the Government of the Imam of Mascat, to whom the Sheiks of Bahrein paid an annual tribute of 40,000 thalers. Now the central government of Persia directed the Governor of Fars to occupy Bahrein militarily, but the help of the British fleet could not be secured, and the small fleet of Persian crafts gathered for the expedition were not able to leave ports on time due to stormy weather prevailing in the Gulf.

However, soon the Sheik of Bahrein, Salman, died, and the new Sheik, Abdallah, received the Persian Supervisor, Iskander Khan, with due respect and in the letter sent the Governor of Fars, he reaffirmed his submission and renewed his allegiance to the throne.

Soon war broke out between Russia and Persia, and two years later the latter was beaten and the Treaty of 1828 established Russian influence at Teheran.

The British were seriously alarmed at the turn of events and the Bombay Government, contemplating the occupation of Khark, intensified its activities.

Once more the Imam of Mascat attacked Bahrein, and although the expedition of 1828 was not a military success, an agreement was reached and a tribute of Bahrein was payed to the Imam. This became possible by the marriage of the Princess, a sister of the Governor of Fars to the Imam of Mascat.

Soon trouble started in Bahrein, and in 1831 the Imam of Mascat made overtures to the Wahhabi, hoping to receive permission to rule the islands of Bahrein as the tributary of the Emir. The Emir, however, preferred to receive tribute from the Utûbi Sheiks with whom he had just signed a Treaty of Alliance by which they had agreed to pay him an annual tribute

175 of 2,000 thalers in return for aid against Mascat. It should be noted that at this time the whole line of the coast was dominated by the Wahhabis. In 1834, however, the Sheik of Bahrein threw off allegiance to the Wahhabis, and even ventured to blockade Qatif and Ojair.

Despite the fact that the East India Company kept an agent at Bahrein, their influence was not important since the Company had to send several of its cruisers to blockade the island after its agent there had been bastinadoed and a considerable sum of money taken from him.

The Government of Bahrein was shared at this time by the two Sheiks, Abdallah and Khalifah, who were uncle and nephew. The death of Khalifah (1834) created a series of incidents which troubled the countries of the Gulf for many years, for the old Sheik did not want to share either revenue or power with his nephew, Muhammad, who succeeded his father. Quarrels and intrigues followed, and the powers principally interested in Bahrein either failed to intervene, or interfered less actively in favor of one or the other. In this display of power politics, Persia sided with Abdallah, while England supported Muhammad. In 1838, Khorshid Pasha, who conquered Nejd for Egypt, was preparing to invade Bahrein. Abdallah openly declared his submission to the Persian Government, and the following year a Persian agent, Haji Kasim, with an escort of Sarbaz (Persian regular troops), came to reside in the island. At this point the British Government, backing Persia, intervened, and intimated that any attempt of Egyptians in that direction would be met by force.

Shortly afterwards, war broke out between England and Persia, and an English naval force occupied the island of Khark in 1842. Bahrein, under the authority of Abdallah, remained on the side of Persia. Muhammad, nephew of the Sheik of Bahrein, addressed a letter to British authorities offering his services in exchange for assistance against his uncle. With the blessing of the British and the help of the Wahhabi, Muhammed was, in 1843, able to arm a strong fleet and drive

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the old Sheik from Bahrein, establishing himself at Manama. Abdallah took refuge at Bushir, where he was received with a salute of three rounds of musketry by the Sarbaz garrison, who were on parade for the occasion.

Abdallah proposed to pay tribute to Persia and to leave his son as hostage at the Court if the Shah would agree to help him recover his Sheikdom. Meanwhile, playing both sides, he addressed the English Resident and, assuring him of his friendship, told him of the proposition made to him by the Persians; he added that he had made a "convenience" of them to suit his own purposes. However, Britain had decided not to permit the return of Abdallah, and the Persian Government, informed of Abdallah's transactions with the British, did not believe it wise to help him.

Shortly after in 1848, Abdallah died, and his son continued the struggle until 1859, when he was proclaimed a public enemy and expelled from Damān by British forces. Thus, Muhammad was left to govern his island as a reward for the treaty he had signed three years before with England, according to which, as "chief of Bahrein," he had "engaged and bound himself, purely out of friendship" to suppress slave trade in the Gulf.

In 1851 a quarrel arose between Muhammad and the Wahhabi Emir, in consequence of which the latter appeared in Qatar, and having drawn the tribes of that district away from the Utūbi cause, threatened to occupy Bahrein. This was prevented by the appearance on the scene of British warships, and an agreement was reached by which the town of El-Bidā was restored to Bahrein.

In 1855-56 correspondence passed between the Wahhabi Emir and the British representative as a consequence of the reassertion by the Emir of his claim to suzerainty over the Bahrein Islands, a claim which was not recognized by the British Government because of their engagements with Persia.

The second Anglo-Persian War and the Treaty of Paris (1857) had made England the undisputed mistress of the

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Gulf, and local sheiks turned more and more toward Britain. In her ultimatum to Persia on November 22, 1856, for example, Britain had demanded that "Persia . . . make an arrangement respecting Bender Abbas, satisfactory to the Imam of Mascat, the friend of England." By the Treaty of Paris, she succeeded in forcing Persia to sign the convention concerning slave traffic in the Gulf.

In 1861, Muhammad, as the "independent Ruler of Bahrein," signed a Perpetual Treaty of Peace and Friendship with England, the most important provisions of which were the following:

> The Sheik agreed to refrain from all maritime aggression, slavery, piracy, or war, as long as he should receive the support of the British Government in maintaining the security of his possessions against "similar aggressions directed against them by the Chiefs and tribes" of the Gulf. (Article 2.)
>
> The Sheik promised that "no act of aggression or retaliation shall be committed at sea by Bahrein" without the consent of the British Resident, who would play the role of arbiter. (Article 3.)
>
> British subjects would be permitted to reside and carry on lawful trade in Bahrein and would be granted "most favored nation" status. Their goods were to be subject only to an ad valorem duty of 5% in cash or in kind. In addition, settlement for "all offenses which they may commit, or which may be committed against them, shall be reserved for the decisions of the British Resident, provided the British Agent, located at Bahrein, shall fail to adjust them satisfactorily.
>
> "In like manner," the article continued, "the British Resident will use his good offices for the welfare of the subjects of Bahrein in the ports of the maritime Arab tribes of this Gulf in alliance with the British Government." (Article 4.)

The treaty thus established special relations between the two parties, but the Sheik continued to declare himself a vassal of Persia.

About this time, the followers of the exiled Muhammed Ibn Abdallah created some difficulty in Bahrein for the Sheik, and a Persian official was sent by the Governor of Fars to cope with the situation. The instigators of this movement were chased from Bahrein, and took refuge in Turkish territory asking Ottoman protection. Ali Pasha, Grand Visir, sought to interfere on behalf of the exiled chief. The Persian Government protested

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by backing the ruling Sheik, and on April 28, 1861, its Ambassador in Istanbul submitted to the porte the following note: "Mascat and Bahrein are two places which for thousands of years up to the present have belonged to Persia. It has been customary in the last 200 years for whoever was the chief or the head of the region, to write first a letter of allegiance to the King of Persia requesting a firman of investiture,, and only after securing it would he start his governorship." 175

Muhammad Ibn Abdallah, from his base of Damān, with the help of Wahhabi continued to molest and interrupt the Bahrein shipping. In 1861, Muhammed decided to put an end to these acts of piracy and he embarked with six armed boats against the Imam. This proceeding was censored by the British, who brought pressure to force him to withdraw his ships to his own waters. The Sheik then sought through his envoy, Khalil Mirrikhi, the help of the Governor of Fars, and requested an expedition of Persian regular troops and gunboats. The British prevented the expedition by offering to expell Muhammad ibn Abdallah from Daman, which they promptly did.

Under these circumstances, the Treaty of 1861, despite its pretensions to being perpetual, could last only a short time. The failure by the Sheik to seek the advice of the British Resident alienated the British who decided to replace him with someone more docile, because, in the words of Lord Curzon, "no form of words . . . or signature could bind the crafty old fox." An English expedition landed on the island and Muhammad fled to Qatar. The fortress of Mahur, near Muharraq, was destroyed and the warships of Bahrein burned. Ali ibn Khalifa, brother of the Sheik, was put in Muhammad's place, and on September 6, 1868 signed an agreement recognizing the validity of the treaty made by his predecessor and promising to pay a fine of 100,000 Maria Theresa dollars. Muhammad was declared a pirate and forbidden to return to Bahrein.

This action by Britain and the signing of the Treaty of 1868, provoked a protest from the Persian Minister in London against the violation of their country's sovereign rights in

175 Bahrein. In his answer, Lord Clarendon, British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, assured the Persian envoy that "the British Government holds the Sheik to these engagements solely for the purpose of preventing piracy and slave trade, and of maintaining the policing of the Gulf." He added that if the Persian Government was prepared to police the Gulf, the British Government "would be relieved of a troublesome and costly duty, but if the Shah is not prepared to undertake these duties, Her Majesty's Government cannot suppose that His Majesty [the Shah] would wish that in these waters disorders and crimes should be encouraged with impunity."

He promised that "whenever it is practicable to do so, Her Majesty's Government will cause the Persian Government to be informed beforehand of any measures of coercion against himself, which the conduct of the Sheik of Bahrein may have rendered necessary." The British position was consistent with the term of the Treaty of 1814.

The exiled Sheik obtained permission to return to Bahrein, whereupon he began to intrigue against his brother. He was exiled again, this time to Koweit, but succeeded in gathering together a small force, and with the aid of his partisans, invaded Bahrein in September 1869. In the engagement that followed, Sheik Ali was killed, and Muhammad regained his Sheikdom. But one of his Lieutenants, Muhammad ibn Abdallah, subsequently rebelled, imprisoned him, and declared himself Sheik.

In the general turmoil that followed, property belonging to British subjects was damaged. This furnished a pretext for intervention, and the British fleet bombarded Manama and the neighboring regions. Muhammad and his adversary were deported to Bombay where they were imprisoned, and were later removed to Aden. Isa, a son of the deceased Sheik Ali, was installed as Sheik of Bahrein (1869).

The turn of events in Bahrein alarmed Persia, and diplomatic conversations were engaged with France in view of obtaining the help of the French fleet. A French envoy, Bouray,

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visited Teheran and proposed that in exchange for the eventual aide, France be given a 99 year lease on the island of Khark. 175

These Franco-Persian negotiations motivated the British Government to propose to Persia, through their Ambassador at Teheran (June 15, 1870), that they lease Bahrein Islands. Negotiations were carried on simultaneously at Teheran and London. The main difference of view separating the two Governments was the term of the lease. Persia was considering a short term of three to five years, while the British were asking a longer period. Negotiations were soon abandoned, but the status quo was maintained.

By now, the Turks, who had previously extended their power over the Coast of Hasa, were coveting Bahrein, and by creating different incidents, they were trying to justify their actions.

At the end of 1870, the custom officials of Baghdad suddenly decided to consider the Bahreinis as Ottoman subjects and extend to them the same duties as their own nationals. The Persian Embassy at Istanbul protested strongly, and after a rather lengthy period of negotiating, the Porte sent special instructions to the Wali of Baghdad, to the effect of considering the Bahreinis as Persian subjects and not to demand more from them than they had previously paid.

In 1871, a British man-of-war went to Qatar to demand certain taxes from the Sheik for the benefit of Bahrein. The Sheik, however, under the pretext of being a Turkish vassal, refused to submit to the British. This conduct induced Midhat Pasha, then Governor General of Baghdad, to protest to the English Consul against the interference of British warships in the territorial waters of Qatar. The Consul denied that there had been interference. The Turks then dispatched two of their warships to Qatar to protect the province against the anticipated aggression of Bahrein.

At the same time, the Turks made a representation to the English Government complaining of the British encroachment upon territory belonging to the Sultan.

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175 In his answer of August 8, 1872, addressed to the Turkish Minister, Lord Granville, the British Foreign Secretary, wrote that "pending the result of these inquiries, the Government of the Sultan can be assured that it is not the desire of Her Majesty's Government to interfere in the affairs of the Persian Gulf unless they concern matters prescribed by the treaty concluded in view of maintaining peace in these waters."

Two years later, however, a new incident took place. A few Bahreinis residing at Baghdad were drafted into the Turkish Army. The British Consulate protested to the Governor, but the incident was settled to the satisfaction of the Ottomans because the persons involved were found to have been born in Baghdad. The British Ambassador, however, made a point of saying that the British Consul "does not see any reason to treat the Bahreini as the natives of an Ottoman possession." The Ambassador then received assurances that "the Porte does not nurse any intention of considering Bahreini as his own subjects." Despite that, the Ottomans continued to claim sovereignty over the island. In a note addressed on April 14, 1874 to the Turkish Ambassador, Lord Dudley stated: "The renewal of this claim by the Sublime Porte obliges me to refer Your Excellency to the notes sent to your Government in 1851 and 1870, declaring distinctly that Her Majesty's Government did not admit any Turkish pretension considering Bahrein Island as a part of the Ottoman Empire, and if some natives of the Island in question referred to the British Consulate in Turkey for protection, it is because the latter could not refuse their good offices to the subjects of a Chief with whom Her Majesty's Government is in friendly relations."

The intensification of Turkish activities in the coastal regions opposite Bahrein had serious repercussions in the internal affairs of the island. It should be recalled, that previously the Sheik of Bahrein controlled several localities in the Qatar peninsula, and especially the township of Zobara. After the events of 1870, one of the refugee Sheiks, Nasir ibn Mubarak, with the help of his father-in-law, Qāsim, the Sheik of El Bidā,

had deprived Bahrein of its possessions on the mainland. Now Qāsim was under Turkish protection, and Nasir claimed to be the rightful Governor of Bahrein where he had many followers. In his pretension, Nasir was encouraged by the Turks who saw a good ground for their intervention in the affairs of Bahrein.

To counteract the Turkish activities, Persians had to rely more and more on the British who had given themselves the task of guaranteeing the status quo.

Neither of the two principal powers interested, (Persia, Turkey) was willing to precipitate a showdown. The Turks were satisfied with creating local incidents, then protesting to London against the British interference.

Thus, in 1875, the Porte protested against the intervention of British authorities in the affairs of Qatar. The British, backing the Sheiks of Bahrein, had bombarded the town of Zobara and attacked some of the tribes of the Qatar Peninsula, notably the Beni Hajar who were sent by the Ottomans to collect taxes.

Qāsim refused the propositions offered by the Sheik of Bahrein, who intended to reconquer Zobarā and establish a Bahreini colony there. The British Ambassador to Turkey, declared that the British man-of-war which had attacked Zobara had "probably been carrying on shooting exercises with the intention of intimidating and dispersing the Arabs."

Three years later, Nasir ibn Mubarak, assembled a force of Bedouins and attacked and destroyed Zobara. The Resident and Senior Naval Officer visited Qāsim's camp near Zobara and ascertained that no attack on Bahrein was contemplated. During the period of alarm, in order to guard the Island of Bahrein, armed ships belonging to the chief and commanded by British naval officers, were stationed to watch specified points within the limits of Bahrein waters. The threatening attitude of Nasir alarmed the British, to the point, that in February 1879, Captain Durand, First Assistant Resident, judged it necessary to take up his residence temporarily at Bahrein, with an escort of native infantry.

In June 1880, rumors began to reach Bahrein that Nasir

175 meditated an attack on the islands. Toward the end of the year he gathered a force of a few hundred Bedouins, and took up a position at Ru'ais and Abn Dhuluf on the Qatar coast, opposite Bahrein. The Arabs, however, failed to assemble a fleet, and abandoning the idea of a raid, dispersed. Nasir returned to El-Bidā.

In January 1881, Nasir wrote to the Resident, stating that he was constantly urged by persons in Bahrein to come there, and that although he had long refrained from taking this step out of deference to British authority, his forbearance had not been profitable for him. Therefore, to improve his circumstances, he now intended to proceed to Bahrein, and he hoped for the support of the British Government. He would, of course, inform the Resident of his arrival in the island.

To avoid further complications, and to assert her authority in the Gulf, Persia at this time determined to build a war fleet. The idea, however, was "discountenanced" by the British, who suspected hidden designs against "the independence of the islands and pearl fisheries of Bahrein." Despite the promise that the flotilla would be commanded by British officers and manned by Arabs and Indians, the British refused to help, and outwitted Persia by signing with the Sheik of Bahrein the Agreement of December 2, 1880.

Isa, on behalf of himself and his successors, agreed to "abstain from entering into negotiations or making treaties of any sort with any State or Government other than the British, or establishing diplomatic or consular agencies or coaling depots" in his territory, "unless with the consent of the British Government." Thus by this Agreement, Bahrein became de facto a British protectorate, although officially, with wonderful euphemism, it was, and still is, called "an independent Arab State under British protection."

All was not well for the British however. Conditions in the Gulf soon began to change. In 1885, the *Persepolis*, a screw steamship of six hundred tons and 450 horsepower, carrying four 750-mm. Krupp guns, was turned out from the dockyard

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at Bremerhaven and arrived at Bushir. The terror inspired by that first Persian vessel was such, wrote Lord Curzon, "that immediately upon her appearance any disturbance as a rule ceased.

Subsequently, Persian and Russian officers of the Cossack regiment paid visits to the south of Persia, notably to Bushir, Bender Abbas, and Hormuz. Hormuz was visited and surveyed by a military engineer; there was a rumor that a Russian coaling station was to be established on the island in the near future.

In August 1886, a messenger arrived in Bahrein from Fath Ali Khan, Persian Governor of Lar, bearing presents for Sheik Isa.

By now the Persian Gulf had attracted international interests, and in October 1891, a Mr. Strasburger was sent to the Gulf by an Anglo-French syndicate to report on the possibilities for investment of the pearl banks. He visited Bahrein and other ports with a view to obtaining information as to how the industry was conducted. The result of his inquiry did not encourage the introduction of European capital. In December 1891, the Sheik granted a concession to a British firm at Bushir for the exclusive rights to export shells, but withdrew it, on the understanding that it would not be granted to anyone else, and that the purchase and sale of shells should be free to all. The Sheik, however, imposed a heavy export duty on shells.

Recrudescence of Persian authority and foreign interests in the Persian Gulf alarmed the British. To forestall any change of heart on the part of Isa, whose desire for independence, and Persian sympathies were well known, they forced him to sign on March 13, 1892, what is known as the "Exclusive Agreement." In substance, it was a confirmation of the Agreement signed with him twelve years before.

However, besides agreeing to restrictions in Bahrein's foreign relations and to the interdiction of foreign consular agents, both of which had been previously agreed to, the Sheik bound himself "on no account to cede, sell, mortgage, or otherwise give for occupancy any part of his territory save to the British Government."

175 In March 1894, serious dissentions troubled Bahrein. Khalid ibn 'Ali, a brother of Sheik Isa, insulted Ahmed ibn Salim, one of the Sheiks of Al-i-'Ali. Sultan ibn Salamah, the head of the tribe, complained to Isa, but the Sheik neglected to give him satisfaction. Al-i-'Ali then decided to migrate from Bahrein. Isa forbade them to do so, and serious riots took place during which four persons were killed. Al-i-'Ali were successful in leaving the island, and they found refuge in Katar. Through the intervention of Sheik Qāsim ibn Muhammad, they received permission from the Ottoman to establish themselves at Zobara and to hoist the Turkish flag over their pearl fishing boats.

Zobara was claimed as an hereditary possession by Sheik Isa, but as a matter of policy, and in order to obviate conflicts on the mainland, he had left it unoccupied. Isa complained to the British, who protested to the Porte the hospitality given to "pirates." In its reply, the Porte suggested that the matter should be settled locally with Qāsim. British Resident Wilson visited Qāsim, and requested the extradition of Al-i-'Ali from Zobara, but Qāsim refused to acquiesce to the British demand.

The British ship, *Sphinx*, accordingly seized 19 boats belonging to the rebellious tribe, and conducted them to Bahrein. The Al-i-'Ali in retaliation, seized a number of boats sent from Bahrein to Zobara to bring over one of the leading members of the tribe who had made his peace with the Sheik of Bahrein.

A few Turkish troops with minor officials at their head, had some time previously been stationed at Zobara and the Ottoman flag hoisted. A small Turkish warship had also appeared on the scene and remained anchored for some time off Zobara. The situation became threatening, and in 1895, the Mutassanif of Hasa addressed a letter to the Resident reasserting Turkish pretensions, and intimating that upon failure to restore the boats seized by the *Sphinx*, an attack would be launched by the tribes of the Qatar Peninsula on Bahrein; British subjects should be removed from the island within seventeen days. The British man-of-war, *Pigeon*, which had shortly before proceeded to Bahrein and been dispatched thence

to Zobara, was ordered by local officials to depart under threat of an attack, and it was intimated that the large fleet of Arab craft lying near by was prepared for an attack on Bahrein. The two British ships opened fire on the Arab fleet, and bombarded the town of Zobara. The following morning, Sheik Qasim offered full submission, and in compliance with Captain Pelly's demands, some 120 more of the ships at Zobara were surrendered and removed to Bahrein. The Al-i-'Ali, with the exception of Sultan ibn Salamah and a few adherents, returned to Bahrein.

Sheik Qāsim was informed in February 1896 of the decision of the British Government, that as the main instigator of these disturbances, he should be fined 30,000 rupees, failing payment of which, the captured boats would be destroyed. He repudiated responsibility, asserting that he had followed the orders of the Turkish authorities. The British offered the tribes that had been involved a chance to redeem their boats by paying a proportionate share of the indemnity. The offer was taken advantage of to the extent of one-third of the total. The remaining ships were destroyed a few days after the close of the year.

In December, Sultan ibn Salamah, leader of the Al-i-'Ali, in accordance with his custom, crossed over to the mainland to hunt. A group of men of the Ammamerah tribe fell in with him at sea off Ras Tanurah, near Qatif, and murdered him with his son, nephew, and twenty-three of his followers. Since Salamah had led the rebellion against Bahrein, the Sheik naturally was somewhat reluctant to punish the Ammamerah, and was the target of some of the ill feeling aroused by the assassination.

Ali, son of Sultan ibn Salamah, supported by a Bedouin following, tried to incite some of the Al-i-'Ali to aid him in reprisals against the Ammamerah pearl banks. The Sheik, however, warned them against taking part in the venture, and the attempt failed.

Some of the Al-i-'Ali, sympathizing with the feeling of their late Sheik's son, and dissatisfied with the immunity per-

175 mitted to his murderers, crossed over to Qatar, where they joined Ali at Qarya. They subsequently attacked and plundered a Bahrein boat, carrying off pearls and monies amounring to over 1,000 rupees. Sheik Isa accepted the accomplished fact, and consented to the departure of the disaffected elements, later on authorizing the families of the men to join them on the mainland.

To prevent the local Sheik from disturbing the peace of the Gulf, the Persian and British Governments had recently signed the International Convention on traffic of arms. The two Governments in their partnership of policing the Gulf, had instructed their Navy to cooperate by tracking down the smuggling of arms between their respective territories. Consequently, the following proclamation was published by the Sheik of Bahrein:

"Be it known to all who see this that British and Persian vessels of war have permission to search vessels carrying their and our flags in Bahrein territorial waters, and to confiscate all arms and ammunition (weapons of war) in them, if those arms and ammunitions are intended for Indian or Persian ports or the Island of Bahrein. . . ."

## 20th CENTURY

648 At the end of the 19th century and the opening of the 20th, the Persian Gulf became the main center of international intrigue. The Russians opened a series of consulates, and organized and subsidized steamer services.

In 1901, the German firm of Prins und Sturken, of Hamburg, opened a branch in Bahrein. In February 1902, two Frenchmen, Dumas and Castelin, arrived in Bahrein to open a business, and a German assistant to Woenkhaus and Company, of Hamburg, arrived later in the same year.

Three years later, Woenkhaus who was already dealing in [227] mother-of-pearl, transferred their main center of business from Lingah to Bahrein, where they asked a concession from the Sheik for the exploitation of pearl fisheries.

Prevented by the British, they then applied to Constantinople

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ited character of the island "occupation" need not necessarily be more than the mere announcement of an intention to take possession and the continuous assertion of title.

In an inhabited territory such as the Bahrayn Islands the mere assertion of title by Iran could hardly be regarded as sufficient, if she failed to establish in the territory an organization capable of making its laws respected. For this reason, accordingly, the Bahrayn case would be analogous to the *Palmas*, rather than the *Clipperton*, case, in which the principle of "continuous and peaceful display of the functions of State" was deemed necessary to determine the title to a territory. "Territorial sovereignty," stated the Permanent Court of Arbitration in the *Palmas* award,[19] "involves the exclusive right to display the activities of a State" and that "without manifesting its territorial sovereignty in a manner corresponding to circumstances, the State cannot fulfill this duty." The same principle was asserted in the *Eastern Greenland* case[20] in which the Permanent Court of International Justice endorsed, in 1933, the principle of "the peaceful and continuous display of State authority" which the Permanent Court of Arbitration applied in 1928 in the *Palmas Island* decision.

The Iranian claim, lacking any valid legal ground, seems to depend, in the last analysis, merely on Iran's historical connections with the islands which have often been reiterated in its notes to the British Government. How significant this historical claim may be and whether it could confer title to sovereignty calls for a brief consideration.

### III. Iran's Historical Claim

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The early history of Bahrayn is obscure, but the islands have been inhabited from a very early time on account of the pearl fisheries. They witnessed a number of conquerors from the time of the Babylonians in antiquity to the proclamation of British protection in the nineteenth century.

I 175 B 175

The Persians seem to have dominated the islands before the rise of Islam in the seventh century of the Christian era, but even before this time the Arabs had already migrated into the Persian Gulf coasts and settled in Bahrayn. The rise of Islam afforded a fresh opportunity for the Arabs to gain more permanent and complete control of the islands which lasted from the seventh to the opening of the sixteenth century.[21] From Arab rule the islands passed into the hands of the Portuguese at the opening of the six-

[19] Publication of the International Bureau of the Permanent Court of Arbitration (1928), reprinted in Scott, Hague Court Reports (second series), p. 84; also in this JOURNAL, Vol. 22 (1928), p. 867.

[20] Publications of the Permanent Court of International Justice, Series A/B, No. 53.

[21] Tabari, *Tarikh al-Rusul wa al-Muluk* (ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1879–1901), Series I, Vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, pp. 213, 745–747, 1630, 1953–1953.

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teenth century.[23] The Portuguese rule, which lasted about a century, came to an end as a result of their waning power in the Persian Gulf, when Portugal was annexed by Spain, and diverted the Portuguese forces from the East to be used in Europe. These favoring circumstances permitted the Persians to revive their interests in the Persian Gulf.

But Persian intervention in the affairs of Bahrayn, we are told by Arab historians, was prompted by internal conflict between the two rival Islamic sects.[24] For long the tribal chiefs of the two main Sunni and Shi'i sects of Bahrayn—a sectarian quarrel which wrought havoc in the Islamic countries—sought outside help against each other. Just as the Ottoman Empire had become the center of Sunni power, so Persia was looked upon by the Shi'i world as the defender of Shi'i rights.[25] During the reign of Shah Abbas (1587–1629), a great protagonist of the Shi'i cause, power in Bahrayn was then in the hands of a Sunni chief. The Shi'is appealed to Persia, and the Shah, assisted by the British, who were then pursuing the Portuguese, expelled the remaining Portuguese forces from Bahrayn and Hormuz in 1622.

From 1622 the Bahrayn Islands remained predominantly under Persian domination until 1783; but even during this period Persian rule was not an uninterrupted one, for the islands became the target of attack by neighboring rulers. In 1717 and 1720 the Arab chiefs of Muscat twice attacked the islands and wrested them from Persia; and it was not until 1737 that the islands were restored to Persian rule under the able command of Nadir Shah. Persian rule, however, remained unstable, for Nadir Shah's immediate successors became involved in a contest of supremacy over the islands with the chiefs of the Utubi tribes, who were then ruling the coast of Arabia across the bay from Bahrayn. The Utubis came originally from Najd and settled in Kuwayt, but later, with the help of the chiefs of al-Sabah tribe, rulers of Kuwayt, moved to al-Hasa and established themselves at Zubara, a town situated in the peninsula of Qatar opposite to the Bahrayn Islands.

In 1783 Shaykh Ahmad al-Khalifa, then chief of the Utubi tribes and ruler of Zubara, attacked Bahrayn and annexed it to his territory; but when Zubara was overrun by the Wahhabi forces a few years later, the Khalifa chiefs moved their seat of government to Bahrayn, abandoning their Arabian dominion.

While Bahrayn was freed from Persian rule, it never ceased to be the bone of contention among neighboring rulers, such as the Sultans of Muscat

[23] Oestrup gives the date 1507 as the beginning of Portuguese rule (The Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol. I, p. 585) which seems to be the source of the date given in the Iranian note of Aug. 2, 1928 (League of Nations Official Journal, September, 1928, p. 1. 1).

[24] Al-Nabhani, *Tarikh al-Bahreyn* (Cairo, 1924); Amin Rihani, *Muluk al-Arab* (Beirut, 1929, 2nd ed.), Vol. II, Chs. 5–6.

[25] For a discussion of this schism in the Islamic society of the sixteenth century, see A. J. Toynbee, A Study of History (London, 1934), Vol. I, pp. 346–402.

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and the Wahhabi Amirs. It was partly owing to this threat of neighboring rulers, but mainly to internal feud among members of the Khalifa family (chiefs of the Utubi tribes) that Great Britain found ample reasons for intervention.

In 1820, when Great Britain had already made her appearance on the scene in the Persian Gulf, the chiefs of Bahrayn sought British support for security from outside attack as well as for internal stability. This coincided with Britain's interests in the security of her trade relations and in the suppression of piracy and the slave trade in the Persian Gulf. It was in pursuance of this objective that Britain signed the first of a series of treaties with the Shaykhs of Bahrayn without encroaching upon their independence; but these treaties resulted later in the gradual change of the islands from independent to dependent status.

The foregoing brief sketch shows that Bahrayn, during its long and checkered history, was able to maintain a large measure of internal independence even when it had fallen under foreign control. Apart from its uncertain status in antiquity, which is hardly necessary to determine for our purpose, the islands passed under Arab rule at the opening of the seventh century and remained, either as an integral part of the Arab Empire or as a semi-independent entity, until the sixteenth century. Arab rule, accordingly, may be said to have lasted for more than eight centuries. The Portuguese rule roughly lasted for a century (*circa* 1507 to 1622), and the Persian rule (1622–1783) for a little over one and a half centuries. From a purely historical standpoint, the Persian period has left no special impact on the inhabitants of the islands, whether racial or cultural, which would distinguish it from other periods. Contrary to the Iranian contention (as stated in its note of August 2, 1928), the inhabitants of the islands have either originally migrated from Arabia or have been Arabicized under long Arab rule. They speak the Arabic language, though many of them speak Persian too, and their manners and customs are Arabian. Finally, they have been ruled since 1783 by their own Arab chiefs, even though they acknowledged British protection—a period which lasted longer than that of Persian rule. Iran's historical claim, based on a very limited past attachment, seems to carry with it the air of propaganda; it could hardly challenge Arab historical claims.

### IV. British Protection

From the time when Napoleon invaded Egypt in 1798 a period of Anglo-French rivalry for the domination of Eastern waters began, and the Persian Gulf was but one portion of the field in which the struggle was fought out. When Napoleon had been eliminated, the Eastern waters, including the Persian Gulf, became an undisputed field of British influence and commerce. Britain began to prepare the way by combatting piracy and the

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slave trade, and she signed treaties with Persian Gulf chiefs by virtue of which, within a few years, she virtually became the paramount Power in the Gulf area. In a speech given to Persian Gulf chiefs on November 21, 1903,[25] Lord Curzon, in a state visit to this area, summed up the objectives of British policy and achievements during the nineteenth century as follows:

> Sometimes I think that the record of the past is in danger of being forgotten, and there are persons who ask—Why should Great Britain continue to exercise these powers? The history of your States and of your families, and the present condition of the Gulf, are the answer. We were here before any other Power, in modern times, had shown its face in these waters. We found strife and we have created order. It was our commerce as well as your security that was threatened and called for protection. . . . We saved you from extinction at the hands of your neighbors. We opened these seas to the ships of all nations, and enabled their flags to fly in peace. We have not seized or held your territory. We have not destroyed your independence, but have preserved it. . . . The peace of these waters must still be maintained; your independence will continue to be upheld; and the influence of the British Government must remain supreme.

A General Treaty for the Pacification of the Persian Gulf, the first of a series which Britain negotiated with the Gulf chiefs, was signed on January 8, 1820.[26] The treaty provided that: "There shall be a cessation of plunder and piracy by land and sea on the part of the Arabs, who are parties to this contract, for ever" [Article 1]; and that:

> If any individual of the people of the Arabs contracting shall attack any that pass by land or sea of any nation whatsoever, in the way of plunder and piracy and not of acknowledged war, he shall be accounted an enemy of all mankind and shall be held to have forfeited both life and goods. An acknowledged war is that which is proclaimed, avowed, and ordered by government against government; and the killing of men and taking of goods without proclamation, avowal, and the order of a government, is plunder and piracy [Article 2].

Article 4 required the Arab chiefs "not to fight with each other" and to maintain peace with the British Government; Article 9 prohibited slave trade and prevented the Arabs from carrying slaves in their vessels.

While this general treaty was jointly signed by the Arab Gulf chiefs, bilateral agreements were signed for its implementation in each of the chiefs' territories. With regard to Bahrayn, its agreement (February 15, 1820) provided:

> That the Sheikhs shall not permit from henceforth, in Bahrein or its dependencies, the sale of any commodities which have been procured by means of plunder and piracy, nor allow their people to sell anything

[25] Cited by A. T. Wilson, The Persian Gulf (Oxford, 1928), p. 192.

[26] See text of the treaty in C. U. Aitchison, A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads (Delhi, 1933), Vol. XI, pp. 245–247.

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175 of any kind whatsoever to such persons as may be engaged in the practice of plunder and piracy; and if any of their people shall act contrary hereto, it shall be equivalent to an act of piracy on the part of such individuals [Article 1].[27]

Article 2 required the delivery of all Indian prisoners in Bahrayn and Article 3, the final article, states the adhesion of the Shaykh to the General Pacification Treaty.

It is to be noted that there is nothing in this agreement, nor in the General Pacification Treaty, which infringed on the powers or the independence of the Shaykh of Bahrayn. Britain readily recognized the Shaykh as an independent ruler. When, accordingly, the commander of the Egyptian forces had overrun the interior of Najd in the course of his wars with the Wahhabis, and announced his intention of taking Bahrayn as part of Najd, he was informed that the British Government could not admit any claim of Egypt to Bahrayn. The British Government, it will be recalled, declined to recognize similar claims advanced by Persia on various occasions during the nineteenth century. The Ottoman authorities made overtures to the Shaykh of Bahrayn with the object of obtaining his recognition of the supremacy of the Porte. "The ministers of the Sultan," said Aitchison, "were informed that, as the British Government had had treaty relations with Bahrain as an independent power, they could not acknowledge or acquiesce in any arrangement for placing the island under the sovereignty or protection of the Porte."[28]

Rivalry among the members of the Khalifa family during the latter half of the nineteenth century was, perhaps, the principal reason which prompted Great Britain to sign further treaties with the Shaykhs of Bahrayn, with the consequential British encroachment on their independence, lest the Shaykhs should permit other Powers to control the islands. Jealousy among the chiefs, which prompted Britain to expel the ruler of Bahrayn in 1859, invited both Turkey and Persia to exploit this rivalry to their advantage. The Shaykhs began to play one Power off against another, and one of them, Shaykh Muhammad Khalifa, claimed the protection of both Turkey and Persia. The Persian flag was hoisted on the arrival of an agent of Persia, only to be pulled down and replaced by the Turkish flag on the arrival of the Turkish agent.

Great Britain made representations to both Turkey and Persia, which resulted in the disappearance of their agents, and the Shaykh's activities regarding his relations with his neighbors, as well as his powers regarding making war, piracy and the slave trade were restricted by the signing of a treaty in which a promise of British protection from foreign aggression was given. This treaty (signed on May 31, 1861), while it stated that the

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 233.

[28] Aitchison, *op. cit.*, Vol. XI, p. 191.

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Shaykh was recognized as an "independent ruler," virtually reduced the islands to the status of a protectorate. The treaty [29] stated:

> I [the Shaykh] agree to abstain from all maritime aggressions of every description, from the prosecution of war, piracy, and slavery by sea, so long as I receive the support of the British Government in the maintenance of the security of my own possessions against similar aggressions directed against them by the chiefs and tribes of this Gulf [Article 2].

And it also provided that:

> In order that the above engagements may be fulfilled I [the Shaykh] agree to make known all aggressions and depredations which may be designed, or have place at sea, against myself, territories, or subjects, as early as possible to the British Resident in the Persian Gulf, as the arbitrator in such cases, promising that no act of aggression or retaliation shall be committed at sea by Bahrein or in the name of Bahrein, by myself or others under me, on other tribes, without his consent or that of the British Government, if it should be necessary to procure it. . . .

In 1867 Shaykh Muhammad was involved in a struggle with the Chief of Qatar, the peninsular coast of Arabia, and with one of the rival chiefs of his family, supported by the Persian Government. Britain, while it tried to restrain the Shaykh from his aggressive designs on Qatar, defended Bahrayn's independence against Persia.[30] Thereupon Shaykh Muhammad was deposed by Britain and his brother, Ali ibn Khalifa, signed an agreement in which he accepted to abstain from aggression and to appeal to the British Resident as arbitrator in any quarrel with his neighbors.[31]

During the latter part of the nineteenth century the Ottoman authorities in Arabia and Iraq made attempts to extend their influence to Bahrayn; but both Britain and the Shaykh of Bahrayn protested to the Ottoman Porte that Bahrayn was an independent country. In 1880 the ruler of Bahrayn, Shaykh Isa ibn Ali al-Khalifa, signed an agreement with Great Britain in which he agreed to abstain from entering into negotiations or making treaties with any foreign Power without her consent. The agreement, dated December 22, 1880,[32] consisting of a single article, stated:

> I, Isa Ibn Ali Al-Khalifeh, Chief of Bahrein, hereby bind myself and successors in the Government of Bahrein to the British Government to abstain from entering into negotiations or making treaties of any sort with any State or Government other than the British without the consent of the said British Government, and to refuse permission to any other Government than the British to establish diplomatic or consular

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 234–236.

[30] Major General Sir Henry Rawlinson, England and Russia in the East (London, 1875), pp. 109–111; Aitchison, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

[31] Text in Aitchison, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–237. [32] *Ibid.*, p. 237.

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agencies or coaling depots in our territory, unless with the consent of the British Government. . . .

175 In 1892 this agreement was supplemented by another in which Shaykh Isa reluctantly accepted further limitations upon his powers. The text of the agreement of March 13, 1892,[34] is as follows:

> 1. That I [Shaykh Isa] will on no account enter into any agreement or correspondence with any Power other than the British Government.
> 2. That without the assent of the British Government, I will not consent to the residence within my territory of the agent of any other Government.
> 3. That I will on no account accede, sell, mortgage or otherwise give for occupation any part of my territory save to the British Government.

These two agreements seem to have placed the Bahrayn Islands under British protection by the Shaykh's acceptance of British advice in the conduct of foreign relations. When, in the following year, the Ottoman Porte claimed that the people of Bahrayn were regarded as Ottoman subjects within Ottoman territories and objected to British officials taking up the cases of Bahrayn subjects suffering from piracy, the British Government replied that Bahrayn was under "British protection."[35]

175 In 1900 a British Political Agency, subordinate to the Political Resident 640 in the Persian Gulf, was established in Bahrayn. In 1909 Shaykh Isa agreed not to allow the establishment in Bahrayn of post offices by any foreign government other than the British. In 1914 Shaykh Isa agreed that he would not himself, nor would he allow any foreign interest to, exploit the oil resources of Bahrayn without the approval of the British Government."

The foregoing treaty relations, often referred to as constituting "protection," have indeed touched upon matters beyond those normally covered in treaties between the protecting and the protected states. The Shaykhs of Bahrayn have not only given up some of their powers regarding the conduct of foreign relations—an action which is normal in international practice—but they have also alienated certain attributes of their internal sovereignty which would cast serious doubt as to whether Bahrayn is a *bona fide* protectorate. The status of Bahrayn, which constitutes a peculiar juridical position, is difficult to define in terms of modern international law; but this peculiarity raises the very issue whether Bahrayn's status, the legacy of various legal transactions made at a time when the Eastern World was outside the pale of international law, should be defined merely in terms of modern juridical rules.

## V. The Juridical Status of Bahrayn

646 Under the general principles of Muslim law the Bahrayn Islands, as Muslim territory, are regarded as part of the *Dar al-Islam* (dominion of

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 238.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 196. [36] See text, *ibid.*, p. 239.

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adequate motor-bus communications with most of the villages. 361

Manama is the shipping centre of the Gulf pearl industry,[1] 361
and steamers connect regularly with India, Persia, and Iraq. 228
Bahrain harbour is also the centre of a considerable coastal and pearling trade by dhows, as well as the local headquarters of its fishing industry. Other local industries are dhow-building and 396
the manufacture of sailcloth and reed matting. Much of the 501
import and export trade from al-Hasa and its hinterland passes 285
through Bahrain, and this created an important source of 439
revenue during the years in which Aramco was developing its
oilfields on the Saudi coast. Lately, however, the Saudis have 651
perceived the advantage of conducting this trade for themselves. By establishing a high-cost re-entry permit, they have discouraged the foreign staff of the oil company from doing its week-end shopping in Bahrain, and their policy is to increase the port and market facilities of the two Saudi coastal towns opposite the island—Damman and Al Khobar. In Bahrain there is a duty of 5 per cent ad valorem on essential imports such as food and clothing; non-essential imports are subject to higher duties, ranging between 15 per cent on tobacco and liquor, and 10 per cent on luxuries.

*History and Foreign Relations*

The presence in the northern part of Bahrain Island of 175
numerous burial tumuli indicates very early human inhabitants, but their identity, which was at one time thought to be Phoenician, remains unknown. Bahrain's situation and natural harbour facilities suggest that from the earliest days of sea navigation in the Gulf the port was important. Its recorded history, however, dates only from 1507, when the Portuguese occupied the island. They built a fort of which the ruins survive, but were driven out in 1602 by an Arab invasion from Persia. Bahrain was held by Persia intermittently until 1783, when it was conquered by Arabs from the mainland. Since 1816 it has been ruled by the Khalifa family of the Utubi tribe, which in 1820 first entered into treaty relations with the East India Company. But the Persian Government has never ceased to claim sovereignty over the island and at intervals has protested against British treaties with the Shaikh. The Persian claim is based on a British Note of 27 April 1869 in which (the Persians allege)[2] Lord Clarendon recognized their title to sovereignty over the

[1] This has long been important, and in the 1830's the fisheries were estimated to bring in some £300,000 to £400,000 a year.

[2] The Persian claim was disposed of by Sir Austen Chamberlain in a Note of 18 January 1928. See League of Nations, *Official Journal*, May 1928, pp. 606–7.

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Bahrain MZ2



175 island and was referred to the League of Nations in 1927 and ensuing years, when Persia protested against an Anglo-Saudi treaty which bound King Ibn Saud not to interfere with the Shaikh of Bahrain and other 'Gulf Chiefs'. Persia again protested when, in 1930 and 1934, the Shaikh granted oil concessions to Western companies. The claim has steadily been maintained by Dr Moussadeq and by the Zahedi Government. It is not popular with Bahrain's inhabitants.

The Shaikh's relations with Britain are regulated today by agreements of 22 December 1880 and 13 March 1892, by which he bound himself not to enter into any relationship with a foreign government other than the British without the latter's consent. In a letter of 14 May 1914 the Shaikh undertook not to exploit any possible oil deposits himself or to 'entertain overtures' regarding them from any quarter without British approval. Bahrain has been described as 'the strategic centre for Britain's position in the Gulf.' It is the seat of the British Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, and of the Political Agent for Bahrain with his assistants. The Shaikh also employs British nationals in various capacities in his Government, the most senior of whom, Sir Charles Belgrave, has been financial adviser to the Government since 1926, and has rendered it services that are deeply appreciated.

Bahrain was the first assembly point of the British Expeditionary Force which in 1914 opened the Mesopotamian Campaign, and in 1935 it became the principal British naval base in the Gulf after the abandonment of Henjam on the Persian coast. In the Second World War it was once bombed ineffectively by Italian aircraft. The ruling family of Bahrain, the al-Khalifa family, trace their origin to a tribe from which the Saudis of Saudi Arabia and the as-Subah family of Kuwait are also descended. They have ruled the island since the eighteenth century. During the nineteen years (1923–42) of the rule of the late Shaikh Hamad, Bahrain was transformed into the neat modern state that it is today. Under the present ruler, Shaikh Sir Salman ibn Hamad al-Khalifa, who acceded in 1942, it is undergoing many further developments thanks to increases in the state's share of its revenue from oil. One-third of these earnings are paid to the Shaikh and two-thirds to the state.

*Oil*

471 In December 1925 the first oil concession to be granted on the Arab side of the Gulf was given to a British syndicate to prospect in Bahrain. In 1927 an American concern secured an option from the British syndicate, but, hampered by the so-

5: Lockhart S-4 (no date) 1947 MI1 Kuwait MI1

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behaviour of the Turkish authorities, temporarily transferred its agency from Basra to Kuwait.*

A number of years previously the Al Khalifa, one of the clans that had settled at Kuwait earlier in the century, had amicably seceded and had temporarily taken up its abode at Zubara on the Qatar peninsula, in order to be nearer the main pearling banks. In 1783 the Al Khalifa, with the aid of the Shaikh of Kuwait, seized the Bahrain islands from Persia and established their rule, which, except for a short intermission in the opening years of the nineteenth century, has lasted to this day.

K 175 [312]

### Danger from the Wahhabis

Both in the late eighteenth century and in the first half of the succeeding one, Kuwait was repeatedly threatened by the fierce and warlike Wahhabi zealots, a danger that was to recur in quite recent times. When Harford Jones (later Sir Harford Jones Brydges) was at Kuwait in 1792-3 there were almost daily alarms, and there was in consequence often difficulty in drawing drinking water from the wells situated just to the south-west of the town (those within the town yielded only brackish water). The wall surrounding Kuwait was then in a ruinous state, but the Wahhabis were deterred from pressing home their attacks partly because of the presence of a small guard of Indian sepoys at the British factory and of a cruiser belonging to the Company that was anchored off the town, and partly because of the Shaikh's possession of a large cannon. On one occasion a single discharge from this cumbrous weapon bloodlessly put to flight a body of 500 Wahhabis.

K 175

In those days the shipping of Kuwait, like that of other places in the Gulf, was often preyed upon by pirates. One of the most notorious freebooters of all time in the Gulf was Rahmat ibn Jabir; he was a native of Kuwait and flourished in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. He did not exclude the shipping of his own birthplace from his unwelcome attentions.†

When J. G. Stocqueler visited Kuwait in 1831 the town had declined considerably in importance, and he estimated its population at no more than 4,000.

In those days Kuwait, like other small States on the fringes of the then far-flung Turkish Empire, often paid only nominal allegiance to the Sultan. The Shaikh sometimes recognized Turkish suzerainty by the payment of tribute, but there were times when these payments were discontinued and independence was almost complete.

K 175

### Kuwait increases in Importance: 1840-1860

The decline in the fortunes of the town proved to be only temporary, and by 1860 or so it had more than made up the lost ground. Palgrave,

* Late in 1821 the British Residency at Basra (the Agency had become a Residency in 1798) was, for similar reasons, temporarily transferred to Kuwait.

† For details of the career of this formidable ruffian, see J. S. Buckingham's *Travels in Assyria, Media and Persia*, pp. 356-358, and Francis Warden's *Sketch of the Proceedings (from 1809 to 1818) of Rahmah Bin Jaubir, Chief of Khor Hassan*, and its continuation by Lieutenant S. Hennell in Bombay *Selections*, vol. xxiv, pp. 522-528.

1: Belgrave

MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

177

/For implicit information concerning the effect of contact with the West, in the form of Portugese mariners, the British Empire and the oil industry,/ see category 116, complete text. /

In complexion the people vary greatly, some, especially those who work in offices, are very fair, while the African element in the population has produced the opposite colouring. During the past ten years the fashion among the men of Bahrain for wearing partly European dress has developed rapidly, mainly due to the operations of the oil company, where long flowing robes are not only a nuisance but often dangerous. The older men, however, and the members of the Ruling Family still wear the traditional Arab dress which can be seen in its full glory in the picture of H.H. The Ruler. The basic garment is the "thobe," a long shirt fastened up to the neck, above it comes a cloak of brown, white or black wool, with gold braided edges, the "bisht" or "aba". On the head is a small skull cap, not usually visible, over which is a white or coloured headcloth "gutra' held in place by means of a black or white wool ring, called "agal." The last was originally a camel hobble which the bedouin in the desert used to wear on their heads when travelling, removing it when in camp, but today it has lost its original use and is just an article of attire. Members of the Ruling Family, all of whom use the title "Shaikh," wear gold head-rings on formal occasions, while H.H. The Ruler and the senior members of the family wear swords and daggers in gold scabbards.

142 291 [177] 644 292

The purdah system still exists in Bahrain, although it is gradually being modified, and women are veiled when they appear in public; the more old fashioned wearing black masks concealing the upper part of the face, the younger contenting themselves with veils of black net. Although many women in the towns wear European clothes, nylons and cosmetics, they never appear outside their houses without a voluminious black cloak which covers them from the tops of their heads to the ground. In the country the Baharna women wear a large square shawl, black, blue or sometimes brightly covered, which conceals the clothes they wear. Despite the impression which may have been given by this description of veiling still current in Bahrain, the women of the country are now living a much wider life than formerly. Many girls go to the schools where as well as doing lessons they play games and do gymnastics, and what they learn at school gives them more interests at home when they marry. Family parties are commoner and husbands will now allow themselves to be seen driving with their wives in cars, which some years ago was almost unknown. In many ways the life of the women of Bahrain is improving. However, a fact that visitors to Bahrain should remember is that attempts to take photographs of women are usually strongly resented though the ordinary Arab male is fairly immune to the photographic enthusiasm of visiting Europeans.

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In Bahrain, unlike most other parts of the Arab World, the upper classes of Arab society have retained their traditional dress, while the working classes have adopted shirts and trousers. A result of this is that one should not be surprised if young men dressed in Arab clothes speak excellent English, know much about European history, French cooking and American enterprise, for they have probably been educated at the American University of Beirut or in Egypt or England. The

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young business men and merchants are proud of their country and are inclined to be annoyed by visitors who confine their attention to the antiques and "quaint" sights of Bahrain, ignoring modern buildings and new enterprises. Graduates of Bahrain and foreign schools are go-ahead in their outlook and are determined to modernise Bahrain as much as possible; for this purpose they are willing to break with many of the traditions of the past, which are so often of interest to Europeans and Americans. Despite this, the young men of Bahrain appreciate meeting the foreigners who live in or visit their country.

## CHAPTER III

## THE STATE

BAHRAIN has been in treaty relations with the British Government since 1820. Its relations with the British Government and with other foreign governments are conducted through the British Political Agent in Bahrain. Bahrain is also the headquarters of the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, who lives at Jufair.

The Head of the State is His Highness Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed al-Khalifah, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., who was born in 1894, the eldest son of the late Ruler, Shaikh Hamed bin' Isa al-Khalifah, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. He succeeded his father in 1942 and has three sons: Their Excellencies Shaikhs 'Isa, Khalifah and Muhammad, and seven brothers. Shaikh Sulman is the tenth Shaikh of the Khalifah family to rule in Bahrain since it was conquered by his ancestor Shaikh Ahmed bin Khalifah in 1782.

The form of government can be described as a benevolent autocracy; the Ruler governs his State through Arab and British officials, who are in charge of the various departments of State, and by means of councils and committees consisting of elected and nominated members representing the different communities. Shaikhs of the Ruling Family preside over many of the councils and hold posts in the administration.

The principal government departments are the Adviserate (The Secretariat), Customs, Education, Electricity, Finance, Judical, Lands, Police, Public Health, Public Works, Passports, Religious Endowments etc., etc. In the towns of Manama, Muharraq, Hedd and Rifaa there are municipalities; the first of these was established in Manama in 1920.

The revenue of the State is mainly derived from oil royalties, including payments on oil which is imported for refining, and from customs dues on imports. There is no income tax and no land tax but in the towns there is a small municipal tax on houses, shops and places of business. The revenue of the State for the year 1370 A.H. (October 1950—October 1951) was Rupees 25,155,700 (£1,866,000) and the estimated revenue for 1372 (September 1952—September 1953) is much greater owing to a revision of the oil payments by which the

level of the ground. Every 10-20 yards along the length of the channels are airholes, round chimneys lined with stone and varying in diameter from 2 to 5 feet. The top of the shaft, which resembles a well head, is surrounded by a low wall. Page 116 shows the channel which has been uncovered and in which the construction of the airholes can clearly be seen. At the shaft of the water channel which runs west of the village of Shakhura there is a large subterranean room which serves the purpose of a bathing hall. It has a high arched roof with columns branching out from a central pillar. It is roofed over and has a hard gypsum floor covered with fine white sand. There is a continual stream of cold water through the chamber, which is still used by the inhabitants from the surrounding villages as a bathing place to which they go in the heat of the summer and sit in comfort in the shady coolness below. It is rumoured that there are more such chambers, but this is the only one that the author has personally visited.

The channels in most cases carry water from springs in the hills a few miles inland to the coastal gardens. Many of them are still used, although others have long since fallen into ruin, but very skilful work was involved in their building and the fact that water still flows in many of them is a conclusive proof of their scientific construction. So far, no inscriptions have been found within them, but there is no doubt that if they were examined with care some signs would be found of their exact origin.

In these four sections most of the antiquities of the Bahrain Islands have been described, for they are unfortunately rare and, with the exception of the Tumuli, the mosques, the forts and the Qanats there, is little of archaeological interest in Bahrain. There are possibilities of future discoveries, however, especially in Bilad al-Qadim which should, as the ancient capital, yield something of interest to any archaeologist who explores its ruins. The numerous Arabic inscriptions would also be worth further study and their translation should add something to the history of Bahrain by giving the names of the various rulers who, at one time or another, built mosques or other buildings and had their good deed inscribed on stone.

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[5] Diez, Von Ernst, *Eine Schiitische Moschee-ruine auf der Insel Bahrein,* Year Book of Asiatic Art, Leipzig 1925.


In addition to these works a number of books appear in the general bibliography at the end of this guide which may be consulted for further information about Bahrain's antiquities.

875 **Teachers Training Courses.** Eight students graduated at the end of the school year from the teachers training class for secondary school students. They were posted to village and primary schools. At the beginning of the next term fifteen new students joined the class.

Evening classes for teachers were held during the term with an examination for certificates on the completion of the course.

**Special Courses.** In March, 1953, for the fourth time, the British Council Representative in Basra arranged a week's English course in Bahrain. This time the course was taken by Mr. W. R. Keight, M.B.E., of the British Council and Mr. W. Hedley, the British teacher lent by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The aim of the course was to teach masters and students in training for teachers, the correct use of the Oxford University English Course books.

In the summer eleven senior primary school teachers attended a refresher course at the American University of Beirut which was arranged for teachers from Bahrain and other Arab states. They lived in the British Council Hostel and had their meals in the University.

873 **Higher Education.** Four more boys, who passed out of the Secondary School, went to Beirut University for further education, three of them had scholarships from the Government and one had a scholarship from the Bahrain Petroleum Company. Two students were nominated for scholarships in Baghdad schools, allocated by the Government of Iraq to boys from Bahrain. One of these boys, however, did not take up the scholarship but entered the American University of Beirut at his own expense.

Again some of the Shaikhs and merchants sent their sons, sometimes after finishing only primary education, to schools and colleges abroad, in Beirut, Syria, Egypt and England, in one case a member of the Ruling Family was sent to a University in America. Privately made arrangements for educating young men abroad are not always successful, students who go to Europe, not under the auspices of the Government, seem disinclined to stick to one line of learning, sometimes they wander from one school to another which is an expensive waste of time.

873 177 185 It is very doubtful whether at present the education of Bahrain boys at schools in England is beneficial to them or desirable. A few boys who were at school in England have returned to Bahrain and if they can be taken as typical of the results of a European education then it is clear that the experiment is not usually successful. Parents, who in many cases have never been in Europe, send their sons to English schools with the hope that they will return equipped and eager to help their fathers in their business. The boys return. They have acquired some education, sufficient to make them critical and contemptuous of many things in their own homes and country, they resent having to resume the life which they used to lead and they have no inclination to settle down in Bahrain.

871 The Bahrain schools provide primary education for all and secondary education for a limited number of boys. The standard of education is about on a level with that in similar schools in other states in the Middle East. It is not proposed that higher education should be introduced in Bahrain, this can be obtained in neighbouring Arab countries, particularly at the American University of Beirut where 31 boys from Bahrain are now studying, 16 hold scholarships from the Government, four have scholarships from the Bahrain Petroleum Company and 11 are studying there at their own expense. In addition, the Government has sent six young men to study religion in Mecca and in Iraq.

872 Another 20 Bahrain boys are being educated, at their own expense, in schools and colleges in England and in the Middle East.

658 The policy of the Government is to give scholarships for higher education to boys from Bahrain schools to universities in the Middle East; it does not send boys to schools in England. It does, however, send young men from various government departments to do courses in England in the type of work on which they are employed in Bahrain. These candidates are sent at Government expense or, sometimes, they are granted bursaries by the British Council. This arrangement has produced satisfactory results in the case of men from the Passport Department, Municipalities, Technical School, Electric Department, Public Works Department and State Police. Men who have held positions of some responsibility for some years in Government service are improved by such courses in England and do not return to Bahrain with unsettled minds.

**Sales and Land Values.** The aggregate value of the property which was sold was approximately 40 lakhs, £300,000. In the previous year prices reached a somewhat higher figure but they included several sales of large areas of land on the edge of Manama. There has been no fall in land prices and there are no indications of a change in the situation. High prices are still being paid for building sites in Manama on which European style houses, flats and bungalows, are being built, which are let at excessively high rents. When the demand for houses of this type begins to lessen then rents will decrease and there are some signs that this event is not far off; several recently built houses have "To Let" notices on their doors. At present as much as Rs. 1,000/- per month is being charged for a three-bedroom, dining-sitting-room bungalow on the Jufair Road.

A recent satisfactory development has been the demand by working class men to buy small building plots in Manama, Muharraq, Hidd and Rafaa. The building loan schemes of the Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company have stimulated this development. At one time people were satisfied to live in hired houses or barastis for which they paid rent but now, partly owing to the rapaciousness of landlords and partly because it has become everyone's ambition to own the house in which he lives, there is an active demand for plots of ground on which small houses can be built. Unfortunately the Government owns very little land in and around Manama and nobody wishes to live even at a short distance from the bazaar, the schools and the cinemas.

The most important sales were an Arab style house in the southern district of Manama, on Shaikh Isa Road, which was sold for Rs. 200,000 and a plot of land in the Qudhabia district which was bought by the Government as a site for workmen's dwellings for Rs. 2,57,000, at Rs. 2/5 per square foot. The Government sold 87 plots of land, in various places, for Rs. 3,50,000. Land on the edge of the towns of Manama and Muharraq was sold at prices ranging from Rs. 1/4 to Rs. 3/- per square foot. Thirty building plots were sold at East Rafaa, on the plain below the town, to residents of Rafaa, at 2 Annas per square foot. Land on this site was marked out as a residential area with rows of plots of uniform depth along future roads. At the end of the year a few purchasers had begun to build stone houses on the ground which they bought.

**Legislation.** In Safar (October 1952) an important Ordinance was issued which prohibited all persons subject to Bahrain jurisdiction from disposing of any property except to Bahrain subjects. An extension of this order was issued later providing for the contingency of heirs in an estate of a Bahrain subject being themselves foreign subjects. The result of these Ordinances was that not only were Bahrain subjects restricted from selling their property to foreigners but all persons subject to Bahrain jurisdiction, Persians, subjects of Saudi Arabia and of other Gulf States, were restricted from selling their property to each other or to nationals of other countries. Only foreigners not under the jurisdiction of the Bahrain Courts were free to sell their property to other foreigners. The object of the Government is to prevent land in Bahrain from being alienated and it is hoped that in future this legislation will be further extended to preclude all foreigners in Bahrain from disposing of their property to any persons who are not Bahrain subjects.

The imposition of this ordinance caused some resentment among foreigners especially among Saudi Arabians and Persians who in the past have acquired extensive property in Bahrain. This ordinance was probably the cause of some reduction in the number of large land sales during 1372.

One of the reasons why the Government now has so little land at its disposal in Manama and on the outskirts of the town is because in the past large pieces of land were either sold or given to Persians and Saudi Arabians. In the former category is one of the principal landowners in the town. The only area of any size, suitable for development as a housing area, is the land on the south-west of Manama which is now occupied by the installations of Cable and Wireless Ltd. Arrangements are being made for the Company to move out into the country to a site on the Aali plain, but this move will take some time to be carried out.

**Rents of Government Shops.** The Department collected rents amounting to Rs. 51,000/- from the shops in Barrett Road and from the flat above the Post Office and Rs. 20,000/- from rents of 26 plots of land which were let on leases. Temporary leases of land produced Rs. 3,800.

653 As usual, the activities of the Department[1] were diverse and far-reaching. The chief "new" construction works consisted of the completion of flats for investment at Muharraq and Rafaa Road ; offices in Barrett Road ; quarters for masters over the Technical School Workshop ; new private wards at the Hospital; the carrying on of work to the new Palace and additional quarters for masters over the Technical School itself, and the starting of a block of Staff Quarters at Quarantine site, Quadabiya. Very extensive works were also carried out for Customs ; four more stores sheds being erected, a large area of sea reclaimed, and a new jetty for local craft being started. For this Department, several other smaller, but important, works were also done. A larger amount than usual of simple construction work was let to contractors, including 36 workmen's houses, 43 houses for the Police, and various village dispensaries. It is argueable if the results are really satisfactory, and although money may be saved, it is possible only at the expense of a good standard of work. As usual, much work was done for the Electricity Department ; and agricultural development was greatly assisted. The amount of maintenance and decorating was, needless to say, higher than ever before ; and it has to be admitted that over this the Department failed, to some extent, to give a really good service. Fair service was given, but often the quality of work was indifferent. The construction of new roads and pavements, and the maintenance of those existing was energetically carried on. The main water supply was operated very successfully. A much larger amount of water was supplied—both to paying and non-paying consumers—and the accounts of the Water Supply Department (given later) are really encouraging.

653 Every year the Department tackles a few jobs of unusual character. Of chief interest this
• 177 year may be mentioned the two large roofs of the new Palace. These are of Mansard design,
342 each 90 feet long, and with a clear span of 32 feet. Sixteen timber trusses were made, hoisted, and placed in position, 26 feet above ground, thanks to the invaluable assistance of the Bahrain Petroleum Company who kindly loaned a mobile crane with a 70 feet jib. The actual time spent on hoisting and fixing was just over twelve hours. Purlins and common rafters were fixed, and the roofs were then close-boarded, felted, counter-battened and battened. Later, green glazed pantiles were fixed. This was the first roofing job of its kind ever done in Bahrain; and it was gratifying to note how quickly the local tradesmen learned to tackle the work. The trusses were well and accurately made ; and the tiling—although done during Ramadhan and in very hot weather—took rather less than three weeks, and the result compares well with tiled roofs constructed anywhere.

000 In conclusion, 1372 has been a year of fair progress, but with some disappointing features. Much was satisfactorily accomplished ; but some results fell short of what is desirable. The very rapid expansion of the Department in the preceding five years is beginning to put a big and increasing strain on its organisation. Such success as there has been this year is largely due to excellent work done by Mr. L. Harris, Assistant to Officer-in-Charge, P.W.D. (who not only ran the Water Supply Department so well but also took charge of P.W.D. for three months at the end of the year) ; Mr. Ahmed Darwish, Office Superintendent (deservedly upgraded from Head Clerk during the year) ; a small number of hard working overseers, foremen, store-keepers and clerks and a nucleus of well proved tradesmen of long service.

Further commitments for P.W.D. are obviously bigger than ever before. To assist in meeting these, some addition to British personnel has been arranged. Extensions to the offices were built late in the year, to provide accommodation and to relieve the congestion in the old office. It is hoped that with the new staff and as a result of more local men taking courses in England, the Department will still prove capable of meeting its obligations and maintaining its tradition for good work and efficient service; and that it will continue to set an example of good workmanship and decent and appropriate design.

1 [The Public Works Department -- Analyst]

5: Bahrain G-5 (192( -1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

369 178 in the case of the younger generation, who have passed through the schools. This generation has grown up under a regime of settled government and accepts as a matter of course the existence of regular law courts, regulations, schools, municipalities, and other governmental institutions, though many of the comparatively recent innovations are still resented and occasionally opposed by the old conservative element, which looks back regretfully to the days of the past when, by a little influence with important people and a little judicious expenditure, they would usually get their own way and do as they liked. Education, facilities for easier travel, contact with foreigners, both at home and abroad, and the effect of newspapers, books, and broadcasting, which stimulate an interest in foreign affairs, are some of the chief causes of the changes among the people of Bahrain. Most of the changes are for the better, but the sudden influx of large numbers of Europeans belonging to the Oil Company, many of whom are unaccustomed to Eastern countries, has had minor but unfortunate results. Beggars, who in the past were comparatively unobtrusive, now throng the bazaars and thrive on the misplaced generosity of white people; and the Arab children in the streets of Manamah, who used to be well-behaved, now follow Europeans about the bazaars and make impudent remarks to them in English.

291 ●177 To-day, most of the young men in Manamah wear at least one article of European dress, usually a coat, and European shoes are rapidly taking the place of sandals; socks are universally worn, and the more advanced young Arabs wear complete suits of European style, but retain their Arab headdress. Importers of second-hand clothes, ranging from tail-coats to Central European military uniforms, do a good trade. To-day, a young man wearing entirely Arab dress is usually a foreigner or one of the Shaikhs' retainers. Labourers in the oil field who work near machinery are compelled to wear shirts and trousers, and this has contributed to a large extent to the change in dress. Even among the women, there is a tendency to wear articles of European clothing, especially stockings and shoes.

511 Although there is still much poverty and unemployment in Bahrain, the general standard of living has improved, and the older men often complain that their sons are no longer content with the frugal diet of fish, rice, dates and, occasionally, meat, which was good enough for them when they were young. Bread is eaten much more than it used to be, and cheap tinned fruits and biscuits have become almost part of the regular diet in the houses of the middle and wealthy classes. The decrease in food prices has made it possible for poorer people to buy more food and to enjoy more variety. Ten years ago a bag of rice cost Rs 15/-; to-day it can be bought for Rs 11/-. The price of dates has fallen almost 50%, and the public can now buy cheap vegetable ghee instead of expensive clarified butter, which used only to be used by the wealthy classes. Before artesian wells were sunk, all water had to be bought, but to-day there is an artesian well in each district of the big towns, and women of the lower classes fetch their own water from the taps and cisterns. The water supply has encouraged cleanliness, as in the past, when all water had to be bought, there was little washing or bathing except by men in the sea during the summer.

The municipalities have done much to improve conditions, both by cleaning the streets, passing regulations affecting public health, and by building markets where meat, fish, and vegetables are sold under the supervision of municipal inspectors, who are also responsible for inspecting the abattoir. These officials visit the coffee shops and 'hotels' and report cases of the sale of bad meat or stale food to the public.

342 **Houses.** In Manamah there has been a great improvement in the style of buildings. A number of small, sanitary, and well-ventilated houses have been built by private persons for letting purposes. Though the rooms are smaller than those in the old-fashioned houses, the construction is better, the importance of proper foundations is appreciated, and cement and steel beams are universally used. A few years ago the use of steel beams was considered, locally, extremely dangerous. Most of the new houses are equipped with electric light and have adequate sanitary arrangements. By degrees the 'barasti' type of house, built of palm branches, is decreasing, and its place is being taken by stone houses which are more permanent, more healthy, and less liable to catch fire or to collapse during storms.

352 Houses are more elaborately equipped. Formerly a few mats and one or two carpets were sufficient furnishing for the Meglis of a merchant, but now, in most middle-class houses, there

7:Khadduri S-4 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2
Iran MA1



and the Wahhabi Amirs. It was partly owing to this threat of neighboring rulers, but mainly to internal feud among members of the Khalifa family (chiefs of the Utubi tribes) that Great Britain found ample reasons for intervention.

In 1820, when Great Britain had already made her appearance on the scene in the Persian Gulf, the chiefs of Bahrayn sought British support for security from outside attack as well as for internal stability. This coincided with Britain's interests in the security of her trade relations and in the suppression of piracy and the slave trade in the Persian Gulf. It was in pursuance of this objective that Britain signed the first of a series of treaties with the Shaykhs of Bahrayn without encroaching upon their independence; but these treaties resulted later in the gradual change of the islands from independent to dependent status.

The foregoing brief sketch shows that Bahrayn, during its long and checkered history, was able to maintain a large measure of internal independence even when it had fallen under foreign control. Apart from its uncertain status in antiquity, which is hardly necessary to determine for our purpose, the islands passed under Arab rule at the opening of the seventh century and remained, either as an integral part of the Arab Empire or as a semi-independent entity, until the sixteenth century. Arab rule, accordingly, may be said to have lasted for more than eight centuries. The Portuguese rule roughly lasted for a century (*circa* 1507 to 1622), and the Persian rule (1622–1783) for a little over one and a half century. From a purely historical standpoint, the Persian period has left no special impact on the inhabitants of the islands, whether racial or cultural, which would distinguish it from other periods. Contrary to the Iranian contention (as stated in its note of August 2, 1928), the inhabitants of the islands have either originally migrated from Arabia or have been Arabicized under long Arab rule. They speak the Arabic language, though many of them speak Persian too, and their manners and customs are Arabian. Finally, they have been ruled since 1783 by their own Arab chiefs, even though they acknowledged British protection—a period which lasted longer than that of Persian rule. Iran's historical claim, based on a very limited past attachment, seems to carry with it the air of propaganda; it could hardly challenge Arab historical claims.

### IV. British Protection

From the time when Napoleon invaded Egypt in 1798 a period of Anglo-French rivalry for the domination of Eastern waters began, and the Persian Gulf was but one portion of the field in which the struggle was fought out. When Napoleon had been eliminated, the Eastern waters, including the Persian Gulf, became an undisputed field of British influence and commerce. Britain began to prepare the way by combatting piracy and the

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



indicates — they constitute the poorer and lower classes of society and manifest all the markings of a minority group. Until recently they lived hardly above the servile state, their occupational specialization being exclusively the cultivation of the soil and other menial labor. The arrival of the British, which has assured them some security in person and a guarantee of minimum rights, and the development of the oil industry, which has opened possibilities of alternative employment, have had the effect of gradually raising these people from their status as second-class citizens.

The Sunnis act as the majority group. This has been especially true since a Sunni tribe established its political dominance over the islands in the 18th century. The Sunnis present a common front toward other groups; among themselves, however, they are divided into several communities and tribes. The largest Sunni community is the Huwalah. Its members are townsmen living by trade; and as townsmen everywhere, they do not manifest marked feelings of solidarity. They can perhaps be regarded as the nucleus of a future middle class.

The Utab, if not the largest Sunni tribe, is the most influential. This is due to the fact that the Khalifah family, one of its sub-tribes, has ruled the islands without serious interruption for almost 200 years. Every member of the Khalifah family has the title of "shaykh." Along with the privileges and prestige he enjoys as a result of his position, he has certain obligations and restrictions on his conduct and manner of life. For instance, in recent years many Bahrain subjects, especially among the younger city population, have taken to wearing European dress. No member of the ruling family may do so.

The two other Sunni tribes of any importance are the Sadah and the Dawasir, the first because of its alleged sacred origin, the second because of its comparative wealth.*

Unlike the Shi'is, the Sunnis are relatively mobile. They depend for their livelihood on trade, pearling, fishing, and more recently on employment in the oil industry. Boat building also used to be a fairly important industry. It is very seldom that a Sunni is found engaged in agriculture as a life occupation except as a landowner.

As has been shown, among the two main native elements social division and social tensions rest on religious foundations. Religious affiliation determines to a considerable degree the social and economic position of the individual. When mass violence breaks out it has so far been in terms of Shi'is and Sunnis, never in terms of economic groups.

An interesting development in recent years is the stress of the dominant

* Most of the Dawasir returned in anger to the Arabian mainland in the early 1920's, soon after Shaykh Hamad, whom they disliked, assumed control. For the story of their return see Government of Bahrain, *Administrative Report for the Years 1926-1937* (Bahrain, 1937), pp. 8–9.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



609 foreigners are "kept in their place" there circulate by word of mouth — a method of communication highly developed in the Middle East — and exaggerated several times in the process. One of the central themes of the local Bahrain press is a comparison between Saudi Arabia and Bahrain in this respect. As is to be expected, this is causing a feeling of frustration among the natives and creating an atmosphere of restiveness and increasing antagonism toward foreigners.

In Kuwait a rather ambitious development program has been under way for several years, made possible by increasing oil royalties. There is an atmosphere of feverish activity, psychologically exaggerated because of its concentration in a small area. By contrast, life in Bahrain is slow and development sober but limited, in view of the comparatively small oil revenues. This causes some jealousy which finds an emotional outlet in an increasing suspicion of foreigners and increasing demands on the major companies, such as the Bahrain Petroleum Company, to do more for the country than they have been doing so far.

### *FOREIGN ARAB GROUPS*

563 167 463 A rather large number of foreign Arabs live in Bahrain. They can be divided into two main groups which in custom and social mores have little in common. The first group is composed of Arabs from Saudi Arabia, Oman, Muscat, Qatar, and Yemen. These people have always been part of the scene. They come and go as they have always done, with hardly any restriction on their movement. Many of them are related to people in [601] Bahrain by blood or marriage and are looked upon as "cousins," *awlad al-'amm*, a term which carries with it all the emotional overtones of the traditions of tribal life. Some of them are merchants; a large number, especially of those from Oman, Muscat, Qatar, and Yemen, are employed by the oil industry as common laborers, and others work with local industries. Their community life and standard of living do not vary a great deal from that of the local population; in fact they are hardly distinguishable from it.

The second group of foreign Arabs, made up of a small number of Egyptians, Syrians, Lebanese, Iraqis, and Palestinians, is comparatively new to the area. On the whole, their standard of living is probably higher than that of any other group with the exception of the Westerners. Few are engaged in trade: the majority are white-collar workers.

563 875 208 177 Although they are largely new arrivals, they already exert considerable influence on the life of the country. Unlike all other foreigners, they are genuinely welcomed and looked up to by the local population. They are the missionaries of Arab nationalism. Most of the high-school and a good number of the elementary-school teachers in Bahrain come from this group (see Table IV): in this key position, it can be truly said of them that they

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



are the moulders of the new generation of Bahrainis. It is significant that all these teachers come from countries which have just emerged from British or French control.

## *TRENDS FOR THE FUTURE*

Social realignment among the Sunnis and the Shi'is must be thought of in terms of the distant future. It is true that secular and technical education, nationalism, and economic forces are all operating to bring these two groups together. As a result they have begun to cooperate with each other in certain areas of common interest as nonreligious groups; nevertheless, the old loyalties and social patterns are still strongly entrenched, as is very graphically illustrated by the religious riots of 1953 and 1954. It is even conceivable that when and if religion loses the depth of meaning it has at present to both groups, it may still remain as the basis of political alignment or power, as is the case in highly literate Lebanon.

Nationalism has replaced religious tradition as the basis of the relations of the Jews with the major segments of society. The resultant tension is being resolved through emigration, but a few will no doubt remain. All indications are that the political struggle between the Arabs and Israel will leave them little chance of reintegrating themselves on some new basis into society in Bahrain. It is possible, although highly improbable thanks to the presence of the British, that mass violence may be used against them. If this does take place, the problem in all likelihood will assume an international character. Israel, which has established itself as the protector and defender of Jewish minorities, no doubt would use every measure to dramatize the plight of this minority to the world.

The animosity of the native population toward Persians and Indians does not arise from fundamental issues of a permanent nature. There is, for instance, no parallel feeling toward Iran, India, or Pakistan; on the contrary, warm sympathy prevails for them as combatants against Western domination. Both the causes and the issues are transitory in character, and

*Table IV.* FOREIGN TEACHERS IN BAHRAIN

| *Year* | *Egypt* | *Syria* | *Lebanon* | *Palestine* | *Other Arab Countries* | *Other Nationalities* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1944/45..... | 12 | 3 | 12 | — | — | 2 | 28 |
| 1945/46..... | 10 | — | 13 | .. | 1 | 2 | 26 |
| 1946/47..... | 13 | 9 | 12 | — | 1 | 2 | 37 |
| 1947/48..... | 11 | 7 | 14 | — | 1 | 2 | 35 |
| 1948/49..... | 22 | 6 | 14 | — | 1 | 3 | 46 |
| 1949/50..... | 20 | 7 | 14 | 9 | 1 | 3 | 54 |
| 1950/51..... | 9 | 9 | 15 | 10 | 1 | 3 | 47 |
| 1951/52..... | 9 | 7 | 27 | 18 | 2 | 4 | 67 |

Source: Government of Bahrain, Dept. of Education, *Report on the Condition of Education in Bahrain* (Bahrain, 1952), p. 47. (In Arabic.)

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



comes the north wind, and in violence the south-wester (*Qaus*), which is fiercely hot in August and blows irregularly between December and April. See further, vol. ii. p. 346 f.

## Population

Though no census has been taken, the population of the 4 towns and 104 villages in the principality has been estimated as over 100,000, of whom 60,000, chiefly townsmen, are Sunni, and 40,000, chiefly villagers, Shiah. The latter are for the most part *Bahārinah* (see p. 299), but this class, which is mainly agricultural, is here hardly above the servile state. The most numerous Sunni community is that of the *Hūwalah*, who are townsmen of Manāmah, Muharraq, Budeyya', Hadd, and Hālah Bin Anas, living by trade and without solidarity among themselves or influence on others. The 'Utūb, Sādah, and Dawāsir are the most influential tribes: the first on account of their connexion with the ruling family, the second by virtue of their supposed sacred origin, the Dawāsir because they are well disciplined by their chief and comparatively wealthy; there are also a few Beni Khālid (see below, p. 608). The remainder of the Sunni population live mostly on the coast, and depend for their subsistence rather on the sea than on cultivation. There are at least 5,000 free negroes and 6,000 negro slaves; a few Persians, Hindus, Basra Arabs and Jews complete the population. Life in Bahrein is more various and many-coloured than on the mainland of Arabia; the exclusiveness of a people cut off from intercourse with other races is absent, and the opportunity to indulge a taste for luxury has not been disdained. Direct relations with Persia and India have influenced costume, domestic appliances, and the architecture of the larger houses, in which the pointed arch is a conspicuous feature.

## Industries and Trade

The most important occupation in Bahrein is pearl-fishing, and the fisheries are the most valuable in the Gulf next to those of Trucial Oman. Were the fisheries to cease, most of the urban population would have to leave the country. They employ more than 900 boats, each with a crew of about 20, the total crews amounting to nearly 20,000 men. The pearling season opens in May, and some boats continue operations until about October. Special measures had to be taken in 1915 by the Sheikh, in conjunction with the British Resident, to enable the pearl-fishing population to tide over the crisis caused by the stoppage of the

In complexion the people vary greatly, some, especially those who work in offices, are very fair, while the African element in the population has produced the opposite colouring. During the past ten years the fashion among the men of Bahrain for wearing partly European dress has developed rapidly, mainly due to the operations of the oil company, where long flowing robes are not only a nuisance but often dangerous. The older men, however, and the members of the Ruling Family still wear the traditional Arab dress which can be seen in its full glory in the picture of H.H. The Ruler. The basic garment is the "thobe," a long shirt fastened up to the neck, above it comes a cloak of brown, white or black wool, with gold braided edges, the "bisht" or "aba". On the head is a small skull cap, not usually visible, over which is a white or coloured headcloth "gutra" held in place by means of a black or white wool ring, called "agal." The last was originally a camel hobble which the bedouin in the desert used to wear on their heads when travelling, removing it when in camp, but today it has lost its original use and is just an article of attire. Members of the Ruling Family, all of whom use the title "Shaikh," wear gold head-rings on formal occasions, while H.H. The Ruler and the senior members of the family wear swords and daggers in gold scabbards.

142 291 [177] 644 292

The purdah system still exists in Bahrain, although it is gradually being modified, and women are veiled when they appear in public; the more old fashioned wearing black masks concealing the upper part of the face, the younger contenting themselves with veils of black net. Although many women in the towns wear European clothes, nylons and cosmetics, they never appear outside their houses without a voluminious black cloak which covers them from the tops of their heads to the ground. In the country the Baharna women wear a large square shawl, black, blue or sometimes brightly covered, which conceals the clothes they wear. Despite the impression which may have been given by this description of veiling still current in Bahrain, the women of the country are now living a much wider life than formerly. Many girls go to the schools where as well as doing lessons they play games and do gymnastics, and what they learn at school gives them more interests at home when they marry. Family parties are commoner and husbands will now allow themselves to be seen driving with their wives in cars, which some years ago was almost unknown. In many ways the life of the women of Bahrain is improving. However, a fact that visitors to Bahrain should remember is that attempts to take photographs of women are usually strongly resented though the ordinary Arab male is fairly immune to the photographic enthusiasm of visiting Europeans.

562 291 562 178

In Bahrain, unlike most other parts of the Arab World, the upper classes of Arab society have retained their traditional dress, while the working classes have adopted shirts and trousers. A result of this is that one should not be surprised if young men dressed in Arab clothes speak excellent English, know much about European history, French cooking and American enterprise, for they have probably been educated at the American University of Beirut or in Egypt or England. The

551 291 177 000

471 The financing of a pearl boat is a complicated affair. Formerly
228 most boats were owned by their captains, but today the majority of the larger boats belong to land merchants. In cases where boats belong to captains but are financed by land merchants, the latter make a profit of about 10%, but in cases where the merchants both own and provision the boats they receive 20% of the profits. After deducting costs, the remainder of the profit is shared in fixed proportions, the nakhuda receiving five parts, the diver two and the Saib one.

437 When the nakhuda sells the catch he must always be accompanied
228 by two members of the crew, to see fair play. Sales are carried out in an unusual way. If the nakhuda and the purchaser or broker do not want the audience to know the amounts offered for the pearls, and as the sales take place in the quarter of the pearl brokers there are always interested bystanders, they spread a cloth over their hands and bargain by a sort of deaf and dumb language. Once they have agreed on the price the nakhuda must obtain the consent of the two witnesses before the sale is considered valid. The value of the pearls is established in
804 a special way. In the case of ordinary pearls, they are collected in
435 great numbers, sorted for size by a set of graded sieves, and each group
228 is weighed and counted and their value in "chows," a form of measurement derived from the weight of the pearls, is discovered from a book printed for the purpose. Once a pearl or pearls have been assessed at so many chows, the question of the value per chow is settled by bargaining, the price per chow depending on the average shape, texture and colour in the case of bunches of pearls or in single pearls. In the case of pairs of pearls their value depends greatly on how well they are matched. Seed pearls, the smallest form of pearls, are sold entirely by weight, while a single pearl has been known to sell for as much as £15,000, as in the case of the Bahrain pearl which was eventually bought by a well known American lady.

228 It is very difficult to estimate the value of the Bahrain catch in past
433 years, the figure for 1833 was estimated at £240,000, £400,000 in 1835 and £303,941 in 1896. In more recent years the Bahrain Government has given official figures which outline the history of the industry during the past quarter of a century. In 1833 it was also said that there were 1,500 boats leaving Bahrain annually for the pearl banks, and in 1896, 900. The largest number of Bahrain pearling boats has been given as 2,000 but this figure is probably an exaggeration. That the industry has declined is proved by the figures, in 1930, 509 boats manned by 19,300 men found pearls worth Rs. 2,125,000, while in 1948 there were only 83 boats with a crew of 2,000 and finding a catch worth Rs. 855,000. Although the numbers of boats and divers decreased by about 6 times and 9 times respectively it is noticeable that the catch only decreased in value by 2½ times and in 1950 the catch was worth Rs. 1,650,000, more than-half of the 1930 figure.

228 The reason for the decline in the industry, which started in 1930,
178 was the severe trade depression which began in that year and which
433 reduced the wealth of those in Europe who were in the habit of buying

pearls, and also the large scale manufacture of cultured pearls in Japan. It was indeed lucky for Bahrain that oil was found in 1932, or else she would have seen her principal industry slowly decline with nothing with which to replace it. Once the oil industry was established, however, it in its turn served to precipitate the decay of the older industry by providing employment with better conditions and higher pay than were to be found on the pearl banks. The decline had also been unwittingly aided by the reforms of the late Ruler, Shaikh Hamed, who, on becoming Deputy Ruler in 1923, found the working conditions of the industry in a shocking state. The pearl banks were productive and much money was being made but little of it went to the divers, many of whom had involved themselves in a form of financial slavery to the nakhudas. Divers were given advances by the captains before the season, to provide for their families while they were away at sea, and at the end of the season, while the sales of the pearls, were being carried out. The eventual result was that the captains gave advances far in excess of the money due to the divers at the end of the season and to repay these loans the divers were forced to work for the same captain in the following season. But each year the advances were again in excess of the divers' earnings and so they got deeper and deeper into debt to the captains. At the same time the latter were indebted to shore merchants for supplies, for which they were charged high rates of interest, although this was contrary to the Sheria Law. The captains passed this interest on to the divers, who thus paid a minimum of 50% of their original debt each year. Diving debts were bequeathed, sons of divers whose fathers died owing money to captains were forced to work for them, and a diver, if he became too old to work, was only released from diving if he was replaced by his son or some other relation. In addition to this, indebted divers were often made to work on land for their creditors, or were handed over as workers to merchants to whom the nakhuda owed money.

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Shaikh Hamed was determined to abolish all these practices and was supported by some of the more progressive Arabs and the Shiite and Sunni judges, who disapproved of the whole system. Amongst the bitterest opponents of the reforms were the divers themselves who were persuaded by the nakhudas and merchants into believing that they were going to lose by them. The reforms were, however, introduced and resulted in fixed advances, the amounts of which were announced annually by proclamation, the restriction of interest on advances, and all advances in excess of the legal amounts to be unreclaimable in court. The divers were also entitled to seek other work on the condition that they repaid a certain proportion of their diving debt each year. Many thousands of debts were reduced and the special diving court, which had favoured the captains and merchants, was abolished and all diving cases were heard by the ordinary courts. Finally, the debts of a diver died with him and could not be inherited by his heirs. The result of these reforms was that the industry, although reduced in size was put on a much sounder footing and its workers were not forced to dive but did so because they wanted to.

228 178 452 185 [698]

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

228 The Bahrain Government has tried hard to encourage the diving
656 industry, by the remittance of the registration fees on diving boats,
178 by customs concessions and by other means, but it is certain that the industry will never return to its palmy days when so many of the people of Bahrain were connected with it or depended on it.

228 Visitors to the pearl banks are advised to set out at about midnight
431 from Bahrain. Launches can be hired in Manama or Muharraq and
609 if they leave at twelve midnight, the banks will be reached at two or three in the morning. The remainder of the night can be spent lying at anchor and in the early morning the opening of the shells can be watched, followed by the preparations for the day's work and the actual diving. The divers have no objection to being photographed at their work and welcome foreigners on board their boats, they do, however, appreciate a present from visitors and it is a good plan to take out some fresh dates or other fruit, for the boats, particularly at the end of the season, are usually low in fresh provisions and such a gift is very welcome.

## CHAPTER VII

## LOCAL INDUSTRIES

### THE POTTERIES

323 PEARLING is not the only ancient industry in Bahrain, for the presence
[138] in many parts of the islands of pottery sherds indicates that pottery has been made here for many centuries. Today this industry is restricted to the village of Aali whose inhabitants work in the same way as did their forefathers, scorning modern innovations.

[172] From the hills around Rifaa the clay is brought to Aali ; brown and red clay for the coarser objects and white clay for finer work. The raw clay is beaten and then mixed with water until it is ready for throwing by the younger members of the potter's family, for each pottery is a separate family concern. All the processes which go into the making of pottery take place in small sheds, in each one a potter can be seen at work, his feet in a pit working the wheel which is on a level with his waist. Rapidly he flings lumps of clay on to the spinning wheel and with deft fingers works the shapeless mud into graceful jars, bowls and other utensils. When each piece is completed it is set in the sun to dry before being taken to the oven. Most of the ovens
[172] are built in the prehistoric tumuli south of the village, which have been excavated. A hole is made in the roof of the tomb and another at the side; in the former the objects to be baked are placed and the latter is filled with firewood. When the fires are lit the tombs become miniature volcanoes with thick smoke belching from their peaks, slowly the fires die down, the smoke clears and the baked pottery is removed and the ovens are prepared for the next baking.

his intrigues, and was re-expelled, fleeing to Kuwait. He later travelled to Darin, where he built up a force with which he invaded Bahrain in September 1869, defeated and killed 'Ali at Rifaa and again became ruler of Bahrain. In Muhammad b. Khalifah's army he had as lieutenant Muhammad b. Abdulla, who had been expelled by the British from Dammam, and later in the year this Muhammad overthrew the new shaikh, imprisoned him, and made himself ruler.

The confusion caused in Bahrain by these troubles resulted in the appearance there of the British consul from Bushire in a man-of-war. The consul arranged for the deportation to Bombay of both the new shaikh and his imprisoned rival, and then consulted with local notables to see which member of the Khalifah family they would prefer to have as shaikh. The choice fell upon 'Isa, son of 'Ali b. Khalifah, who was at the time residing at Qatar, and he was summoned to Bahrain and acclaimed as its ruler. He reigned for fifty-four years till his abdication in 1923.

### THE RULE OF SHAIKH 'ISA

From time to time during the remaining years of the nineteenth century the British Government rejected Turkish claims to sovereignty over Bahrain, as in the years 1870 and 1874, while at the same time the British took the opportunity to consolidate their power in Bahrain by means of two treaties signed between Shaikh Isa and the British Government in December, 1880, and March, 1892. By these treaties the shaikh bound himself not to enter into any relationship with a foreign government, other than the British, without the latter's consent, and there were also stipulations about the disposal of Bahrain territories. In 1902 a British Political Agent was posted in Bahrain, and in July, 1913, a Convention was signed by the British and Ottoman Governments, which included the recognition of Bahrain's independence and control of a number of islands near her. Three years later Ibn Sa'ud signed a treaty with the British Government in which he also agreed to refrain from aggression against Bahrain. In April and May of 1923 there were internal troubles in Bahrain which led to the abdication of Shaikh 'Isa and the succession of his son, Shaikh Hamed, who ruled for twelve years as deputy ruler, and on the death of Shaikh 'Isa in 1935 became Shaikh of Bahrain.

### BAHRAIN IN RECENT YEARS

With the accession of Shaikh Hamed the story of modern Bahrain begins, and during the nineteen years of his rule Bahrain was transformed into a modern state. Conditions in the pearl industry were reformed, the position of the divers was bettered, municipalities, education and other public services were developed, as is described in other Chapters, and in many ways the state of the people of Bahrain was improved. In 1930 Shaikh Hamed signed a Concession Agreement with a company known as the Bahrain Petroleum Company, and three years later the first tanker-load of oil left Bahrain. The

361 and on the shore there is an old deserted fort which was built by the Omanis during a short period when they occupied the Islands. A [504] ferry service of small sailing boats plies between Muharraq and Arad fort, but to drive round the bay to the fort by car takes less time than crossing by boat.

396 Boat building is one of the few local industries of Muharraq and is carried out along the shores of the town, especially on the eastern coast. Carpenters and shipwrights are apt to extend their work half across the road and when driving a car one often has to avoid sails which are pegged out for joining or for repairs, rope winders, men mending nets or carpenters working on big wooden water tanks for the pearling dhows.

361 Many visitors to Bahrain never enter Muharraq and by failing to do so they miss the sight of a comparatively untouched Arab town, a 178 sight that is rapidly becoming rarer in the oil rich Persian Gulf.

HEDD

361 Bahrain's number three town is Hedd. Long and narrow, it is built on a strip of land which juts out into the sea at the south-east end of Muharraq Island. The houses are closely packed together and extend right to the edge of the sea, one road, only just wide enough for motor vehicles, runs through the centre of the town and on each side a labyrinth of narrow lanes leads down to the shore. There are few barastis in Hedd and most of the people live in stone houses; some of them are large, built by pearl merchants in the days when the pearl industry of which Hedd was an important centre, was flourishing. The bazaar is in the main street and it contains many shops which sell all manner of goods. Water is supplied to the town by several artesian wells.

[162] The population of Hedd is entirely Sunni and predominantly Arab, although a few of the shopkeepers are Persians. It includes Arabs of the Bin Ali, Saada, Mesedem and Musallam tribes who used to be very influential in Bahrain; the last were once the rulers of Qatar. Hedd was originally a diving town but although it still has much contact with the sea, many of its inhabitants work on shore. Its people have a reputation for intelligence and energy and this is shown by the fact that they have produced better results from their schools than any other community. The town is conspicuously clean, owing partly to the fact that it is surrounded by the sea on three sides.

363 Hedd has a handsome new police station, at the entrance to the 633 town, which was completed in 1952, a Municipality and Boys' and Girls' Schools which were opened in 1937 and 1939 respectively. For some years the Muharraq Municipality included Hedd in its activities but in 1945 Hedd formed its own elected Municipal Council with four members. There is also in Hedd a dispensary and a small women's hospital with accommodation for a certain number of in-patients.

226 Hedd is famous for its prawns which are caught in special traps and sent to the fish markets of Manama and Muharraq.

5: Bahrain G-5 (192[illegible]-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

## SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

**Arabs and Baharna.** There is a sharply defined difference in Bahrain between the urban and the rural population. The people of the towns, Manamah, Muharraq, and Hedd, are mostly Arabs and foreigners, traders, shop-keepers, pearl merchants, and landowners. The villagers, who are said to form about two-thirds of the total population, although there has never been a census in Bahrain, are the aboriginal Shia inhabitants of the islands, cultivators and fishermen, many of whom dive during the pearling season. There is a racial and religious difference between the two which is outwardly apparent in the appearance, the dress, and the speech of the people, especially in the case of the women. The Baharna, who used to own Bahrain, are now the tenants and servants of the Arab landowners and the Ruling Family, and there is no sympathy between them.

**The Baharna.** During the last ten years the life of the country people has altered very little, but their outlook has changed considerably. Though still suffering acutely from an inferiority complex, they have become more independent. They have learnt to resort to the Government when they consider themselves aggrieved, and they have shaken off the remnants of feudal obligation to individual members of the Ruling Family which they unwillingly bore in the past. They recognise and appreciate the advantages of a central government which has made it impossible for individual landlords to take the law into their own hands or to unduly oppress their tenants.

Another important political change is the marked decrease in the influence of the Shia religious leaders. The Shia Qadis used to be regarded, especially in the villages, as almost divine, but to-day their power has dwindled. This is mainly owing to the undignified dissentions among the religious leaders and the public exposure, after criminal proceedings, for misappropriation of trust money, of two Shia Qadis during recent years. The transfer of the wakf administration from the control of the Qadis to a council elected by the Shia community has also contributed towards the lessening of the influence of the Qadis. Instead of depending on the advice of the Qadis in all important and political matters, the country people now follow the lead of two or three politically minded merchants of Manamah whose ideas, though progressive, are not free from self-interest.

Living conditions among the Baharna have changed very little. They are still the poorest element in the community. Their villages are dirty, unhealthy, and insanitary, and physically they are below the standard of the Arabs. Although no statistics are available, it seems evident that there is a very high death rate among young children in the villages owing to unhealthy conditions and lack of medical attention. The diet of the people is mainly vegetables, fish, and a little rice and dates, but they spend more money on their clothes, because they need no longer fear that, if they are decently dressed, they will attract the cupidity of the local overlord. Although the average amount which they spend on marriage-money has decreased by over 50% in ten years, yet they still spend large sums on making the pilgrimage to the sacred cities of Iraq, which they regard as being as important as the pilgrimage to Mecca. In spite of the obvious poverty of the Baharna, the Ruling Family still believe that their tenants, when they fail to pay their rent, have large sums of money hoarded in their houses. This belief, in the past, was one of the reasons for the frequent attacks on Baharna houses and villages by armed followers of Khalifah landlords. For some years, however, crimes of this type have ceased to take place.

The Baharna take more interest in the doings of the outer world. Although most of them are illiterate when they come into Manamah or to the weekly markets, they listen to people discussing the news in the papers or what they have heard on the 'radios,' and they carry distorted and very inaccurate stories back to their houses and villages. In their general outlook the Baharna are many years behind the town dwellers.

**The Townsfolk.** Among the townspeople, particularly in the capital, there have been startling changes during the last ten years, both in the style of living and the outlook of the people. These changes have come from the people themselves and have not been forced upon them by the Government. This is especially noticeable

9: Bahrain G-5 (192? -1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

369 in the case of the younger generation, who have passed through the schools. This generation has grown up under a regime of settled government and accepts as a matter of course the existence 178 of regular law courts, regulations, schools, municipalities, and other governmental institutions, though many of the comparatively recent innovations are still resented and occasionally opposed by the old conservative element, which looks back regretfully to the days of the past when, by a little influence with important people and a little judicious expenditure, they would usually get their own way and do as they liked. Education, facilities for easier travel, contact with foreigners, both at home and abroad, and the effect of newspapers, books, and broadcasting, which stimulate an interest in foreign affairs, are some of the chief causes of the changes among the people of Bahrain. Most of the changes are for the better, but the sudden influx of large numbers of Europeans belonging to the Oil Company, many of whom are unaccustomed to Eastern countries, has had minor but unfortunate results. Beggars, who in the past were comparatively unobtrusive, now throng the bazaars and thrive on the misplaced generosity of white people; and the Arab children in the streets of Manamah, who used to be well-behaved, now follow Europeans about the bazaars and make impudent remarks to them in English.

291 To-day, most of the young men in Manamah wear at least one article of European dress, 177 usually a coat, and European shoes are rapidly taking the place of sandals; socks are universally worn, and the more advanced young Arabs wear complete suits of European style, but retain their Arab headdress. Importers of second-hand clothes, ranging from tail-coats to Central European military uniforms, do a good trade. To-day, a young man wearing entirely Arab dress is usually a foreigner or one of the Shaikhs' retainers. Labourers in the oil field who work near machinery are compelled to wear shirts and trousers, and this has contributed to a large extent to the change in dress. Even among the women, there is a tendency to wear articles of European clothing, especially stockings and shoes.

511 Although there is still much poverty and unemployment in Bahrain, the general standard of living has improved, and the older men often complain that their sons are no longer content with the frugal diet of fish, rice, dates and, occasionally, meat, which was good enough for them when they were young. Bread is eaten much more than it used to be, and cheap tinned fruits and biscuits have become almost part of the regular diet in the houses of the middle and wealthy classes. The decrease in food prices has made it possible for poorer people to buy more food and to enjoy more variety. Ten years ago a bag of rice cost Rs 15.-; to-day it can be bought for Rs 11/-. The price of dates has fallen almost 50%, and the public can now buy cheap vegetable ghee instead of expensive clarified butter, which used only to be used by the wealthy classes. Before artesian wells were sunk, all water had to be bought, but to-day there is an artesian well in each district of the big towns, and women of the lower classes fetch their own water from the taps and cisterns. The water supply has encouraged cleanliness, as in the past, when all water had to be bought, there was little washing or bathing except by men in the sea during the summer.

The municipalities have done much to improve conditions, both by cleaning the streets, passing regulations affecting public health, and by building markets where meat, fish, and vegetables are sold under the supervision of municipal inspectors, who are also responsible for inspecting the abattoir. These officials visit the coffee shops and 'hotels' and report cases of the sale of bad meat or stale food to the public.

342 **Houses.** In Manamah there has been a great improvement in the style of buildings. A number of small, sanitary, and well-ventilated houses have been built by private persons for letting purposes. Though the rooms are smaller than those in the old-fashioned houses, the construction is better, the importance of proper foundations is appreciated, and cement and steel beams are universally used. A few years ago the use of steel beams was considered, locally, extremely dangerous. Most of the new houses are equipped with electric light and have adequate sanitary arrangements. By degrees the 'barasti' type of house, built of palm branches, is decreasing, and its place is being taken by stone houses which are more permanent, more healthy, and less liable to catch fire or to collapse during storms.

252 Houses are more elaborately equipped. Formerly a few mats and one or two carpets were sufficient furnishings for the Majlis of a merchant; but now, in most middle-class houses, there

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still that of feudal chiefs, though the feudal feeling no longer exists among the people of Bahrain. They consider it their right that they should be well provided for financially by the State, and they resent any suggestion that they should add to their incomes by doing work. They are still the biggest landowners in Bahrain, but by draining their property dry, and not spending any money on improvements, their property has deteriorated in value. They regard any real work as degrading, and only accept posts on courts or councils for the sake of obtaining more money, not because it is incumbent on them, as members of the Ruling Family, to occupy public positions. Their attitude in this respect is a contrast to that of the merchant class in Bahrain, who are unusually public minded and who freely give up much of their time to sit on courts and committees and councils.

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**The Women.**

Among the women, too, there have been changes, but they are more gradual than among the men. Every step towards emancipation is firmly resisted by the older female members of the households, but in spite of this there is a definite feeling among the younger women that they should have more freedom. Their ambition, at present, is not to take any part in public matters, but to be able to go out more frequently. They are becoming restive of the restrictions of the purdah system. Some are now educated, and a few have travelled abroad in Syria, Persia, India, and Iraq, and there they have seen the changes which are taking place in the life of the women of those countries. Many who have never been out of Bahrain read newspapers and listen to news on wireless sets, and frequently meet Indian and Syrian women in Bahrain. All this causes them to feel unsettled.

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One of the notable recent changes is that nowadays a great many young men only marry one wife, not because they cannot afford to support more wives, but because they prefer monogamy. The younger men are no longer ashamed of mentioning their wives and talking about their families, and many of them take their wives out with them in cars. A few years ago, if a man was seen with a woman in his car, one could be quite sure that she was not his wife. The modern young men look for wives who are educated, and frequently marry Persian or Iraqi girls because they received better education. One of the effects of education among the women in Bahrain is that they learn to keep their houses clean and they appreciate the value of hygiene, which is taught at school. Education also makes them willing to employ qualified doctors, especially at childbirth, when, in the past, they would have been treated by local Arab untrained midwives who are dirty and dangerous, and whose use of the notorious salt method is undoubtedly responsible for an enormous number of casualties among children and pregnant women.

Changes are taking place all over the Gulf, but of the Arab States, Bahrain is changing most rapidly. The most conspicuous visible changes in comparing Bahrain to-day and ten years ago are in the capital, where a person returning to the country would notice the wider streets, better buildings, and a decrease in straw huts, trees, gardens and more vegetation, large shops selling European goods, motor traffic, European dress worn by natives, increasing use of machinery, partly owing to installation of electric power, knowledge of English language, and a far greater interest being taken in outside world affairs.

8:Qubain S-S (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



An interesting development in recent years is the stress of the dominant group, the Sunnis, on the unity and brotherhood of all Muslims and Arabs. In 1950, when the second census was made, it was planned to count the two groups separately. This proposal, however, was construed as a British scheme to divide the Muslims and set them against each other. Strong objections were made by both groups, but primarily by the Sunnis, to the government and consequently this aspect of the census was abandoned. No such objections were raised during the census only nine years earlier.

Two factors can perhaps account for this rather nascent stress on unity: emerging nationalism and new economic forces. The conception of nationality is a Western contribution and a new arrival in the Persian Gulf. In Bahrain it is still a vague idea and certainly has not replaced to any degree the existing loyalties. It manifests itself in two ways: first, negatively in a desire to expel the foreigner (this has considerable appeal: it is concrete, intellectually easy to grasp, can be used as a rallying cry, and above all does not conflict with established social patterns); and second, positively, in a confused ideal of a pan-Arab, pan-Islamic union. No clear distinction is drawn between the two last concepts and the terms are used interchangeably. It must be admitted, however, that the pan-Arab aspect of the ideal predominates. This new spirit of nationalism has had the effect of creating a greater emphasis on unity among the native population. Furthermore, through this intellectual device the two groups can now present a common front against foreigners to protect their rights and interests, whether real or imaginary.

The new economic force for unity is the oil industry. On the surface things seem as they have always been. In fact a change, subtle and hard to detect, has taken place. The oil industry, as indicated previously, has opened the doors of employment to the Shi'is. This has resulted in bettering slightly their economic condition and consequently their relative status vis-à-vis other groups. Furthermore, such employment has meant that they are no longer restricted to agriculture. They can now sell their labor and skills as everyone else in a wider and more favorable market. On the job at the company installations, Shi'i and Sunni are brought together as laborers or artisans and placed on the same footing. For the first time in their history it has become possible for individuals from both groups to collaborate in certain areas of action, not as Shi'is or Sunnis, but as members of an economic group.

### *THE JEWS*

A third native religious group is the small Jewish minority comprising about 250 persons. Its members are well known for their industry, their higher standard of living, their higher rate of education, and their amenability to Western influences. They are exclusively engaged in trade and money changing.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2



called 'Red Line' agreement of 1928,[1] was unable to agree to conditions that IPC was in a position to dictate; it therefore sold its option to the Standard Oil Company of California. After negotiations in which the British Government and the American State Department both took a hand, the Bahrain Petroleum Company (BAPCO), a subsidiary of Standard Oil, registered in Canada, was allowed to take up the concession provided that, to conform to Britain's prior agreements with the Shaikh, it employed a considerable number of British subjects. In 1936 the Texas Company acquired a 50 per cent interest in BAPCO. These details are given to explain why the present company is Canadian by nationality and American by management, and employs a large proportion of British staff. The two American companies concerned are two of the four participants in Aramco.

Oil was first discovered in Bahrain in 1932 and first exported in 1934. Production was suspended during the Second World War, but since then it has risen to a steady level of 11 million barrels per year. A refinery was erected before the war, and has (since the Abadan refinery ceased to put through its daily 550,000 barrels) been stepped up to a throughput of over 200,000 barrels per day; it includes a catalytic cracking unit for high octane fuel. It is fed both with BAPCO's own production of oil from the Bahrain field and by a 12-inch under-sea pipeline from Aramco's wells in Saudi Arabia. The jetty for loading tankers lies off Sitra Island on the seaward side of Bahrain Island itself.

Originally, the Shaikh enjoyed the same royalty rate as his neighbour in Kuwait—3 rupees and 4 annas a ton, or 14 cents a barrel. In 1951 reports of the new agreements reached by his neighbours caused him to ask for equality of treatment. In 1952, therefore, he signed a new agreement with the company which established the fifty-fifty profit-sharing arrangement now universal on the Gulf. He also enjoys a payment on each ton of Saudi Arabian oil passing through his territory to the refinery. His revenue has risen relatively less than that of his neighbours because the volume of oil produced in Bahrain has for some years been virtually stationary; nevertheless earnings from oil have risen from $1·4 million in 1948 to $3·8 million in 1951 and $6·3 million in 1952, and three-fourths of Bahrain's national income is now derived from petroleum activities. The social and economic changes brought about by this increased wealth are not so spectacular in Bahrain as elsewhere because

[1] See R. F. Mikesell and H. B. Chenery, *Arabian Oil* (Chapel Hill, University of N. Carolina Press, 1949).

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
BahrainMK2
QatarMK3



so much that was orderly and progressive had been done already. In the days of Shaikh Hamad (1923–42) conditions in the pearl industry had been reformed, and municipalities, education, and other public services had been developed. These are now being further expanded. The state provides free medical services for all its people and free education in primary and secondary schools and in a technical school; in 1953 there were 4,700 boys and 2,300 girls at school, at a budget cost of 2½ million rupees per annum.

Socially, the impact of good employment in the oil company has been more widespread in Bahrain than in Kuwait, firstly because of the much longer period during which the company has been operating and secondly because it policy, unlike that of the Kuwait Oil Company, is to transport its local workers daily from homes in neighbouring towns instead of constructing a special township near the oilfield. Both policies present certain advantages; one effect of the former is to integrate the oil company into the daily life of the state. Yet there are so far no Bahrainis in BAPCO's senior administrative grades since all local men of this calibre have so far preferred to find jobs in commerce, with its prospects of a larger and speedier return for effort. As in Kuwait, more and more well-to-do merchants are sending sons abroad for education and it is an open question how these will react to the autocratic rule of a family in years to come.

The unit of currency in Bahrain is the Indian rupee. Imports constituted in 1952 about double the value of exports and re-exports (£14·6 million as against £7·4 million). More than half the latter were to Saudi Arabia, the balance chiefly to Qatar and to Persia with which, despite Persia's shortage of hard currency, there continues to be a considerable volume of barter trade.

## QATAR

The Shaikhdom of Qatar comprises the peninsula of that name, lying midway along the western coast of the Persian Gulf. It has an area of about 8,000 square miles with a population of some 25,000. From a dangerous coast-line the land rises to a low, monotonous plateau. The main water-supplies are from wells. Its only land frontier—that with Saudi Arabia—has never been demarcated.

Qatar has been in relations with Great Britain since 1882. An agreement with Britain of 3 November 1916 had provisions similar to those with the other Trucial shaikhs, and included a clause making the grant of pearling concessions or other mono-

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 Ml Middle East
Bahrain M22



one went to the Sheikh for the maintenance of his household and family; one was for current Government expenses and development projects; and one for investments abroad as a reserve for future contingencies. With the increase in income—directly from oil revenue and indirectly from customs duties—as a result of the Company's activities, Government services increased and a number of development projects were undertaken. By 1951 there were three hospitals on the islands—the American Mission Hospital and the Company hospital mentioned above, a Government hospital for men and women operated by a British staff, including a section for the mentally ill—as well as a number of municipal clinics. General health conditions were not good: malaria and other fevers and dysentery were prevalent; bilharzia, trachoma and hookworm took a heavy toll; and above all, a large proportion of the population was infected with venereal diseases. Medical services were supplied to every Bahreini free of charge.

Though there had been some educational facilities before the development of the oil industry,[22] it was not until 1934 that the Government engaged a number of Iraqi teachers and enlarged the facilities. By 1951 there were nine elementary schools, one secondary school, founded in 1940, and one school for girls opened in 1939, all tuition-free. The schools were staffed with 258 teachers, who instructed some 6,000 boys and girls. The Government, in conjunction with the Company, also provided scholarships to graduates of the secondary schools for study abroad.

The Government built roads, bridges, harbors and a large airport; water was supplied from artesian wells instead of being brought in by boat; and efforts were made to improve housing conditions. Though without a single newspaper in 1951, Bahrein had a broadcasting station, built in 1940 for Allied war purposes, a dial telephone system, forty miles of roads and 2,000 automobiles. Most of the streets of the main towns were electrically lighted, and a sewerage system had been installed. The net result was a higher standard of living for the Bahreinis, not only in comparison with their own pre-oil standard, but also with the people of the neighboring states.[23]

[22] In 1926 there was one school for boys only, and it was poorly attended. James Bell, "He Said Forward! to the Backward," *Life*, Nov. 17, 1952.

[23] U.N., *Summary 1952-53*, 58-59; Sanger, *The Arabian Peninsula*, 148-149;

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 Ml Middle East
Bahrein MZ2



652 There have also been other implications. The Sheikh, the
651 Government and the people have become increasingly, in fact almost exclusively, dependent on the oil. In 1932 the entire government budget was about $143,600; in 1951 the total government revenue was $5,271,000, of which approximately 61 per cent came from oil and 34.9 per cent from customs duties,[24] which must be considered an indirect result of the oil industry. In 1953 the Government revenue was derived 68 per cent from oil, 24 per cent from customs duties, and 5 per cent from [464] interest on the reserve fund.[25] The oil boom also created in-458 flationary pressures which caused many Bahreinis to seek em-471 ployment in other oil-producing areas in the Gulf. Because of ● 178 its central location, the I.P.C. subsidiary, Petroleum Concessions Ltd., which held concessions in Qatar and on the Trucial coast, had made its Gulf headquarters in Bahrein and built large offices and houses for its staff. Bahrein had become a resort and shopping center for the oil employees, especially Americans and Europeans, in Saudi Arabia and Qatar. These not only added to the inflationary pressures, but so greatly increased the social vices of gambling, drinking, prostitution and their concomitants as to cause grave concern to those responsible for the health and welfare of the population.[26]

185 The Bahrein islands are limited in area and in resources; oil,
652 in a more definitely limited quantity than that of any of the other areas in the Gulf, is the only resource supporting the Sheikh, the Government and its extended services, and also to a considerable degree the people at large. Though perhaps originally a little more advanced than some of their neighbors, the people of Bahrein, prior to the discovery of oil, had a low standard of living and consequently a very low standard of governmental and social services. When the pearling industry suffered a serious setback as a result of the world depression and the development of cultured pearls, Bahrein was in a desperate situation. With the arrival of the Bahrein Petroleum Company,

aroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 20 *et passim*; "Oil and Bahrein," *The World Today*, VII, 77-79, Feb., 1951; Bell, *loc. cit.*

[24] Bahrain Petroleum Company, Limited, *Bahrain 1952* (pages not numbered).

[25] Angus Sinclair, "The Resources and Their Potentialities. III, Petroleum and Minerals," in *Middle East Resources Problems and Prospects* (Washington, 1954). 46. The 68 per cent of the revenue directly from oil did not include the one-third which went to the Sheikh.

[26] "Oil and Bahrein," *The World Today*, VII, 79, 81-83, Feb., 1951; Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 20 *et passim*.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 MI Middle East
Bahrein MZ2



the islands entered a new era. Governmental services, education, health, housing, sanitation and other services gave the Bahreinis one of the best living standards of the area. This was the result not only of the income derived from the Company—although the Company contributed directly to the raising of the standards and the direct revenue from its operations made these improvements possible—but was primarily due to the Government's determination to utilize the income for constructive purposes. This achievement must be ascribed first to the British Government which (in spite of all disclaimers) controls the government of the Sheikh, and, secondly, to the Sheikh's adviser, J. H. W. Belgrave. It was no doubt the British Government's decision to divide the revenue from the oil into three parts, allowing the Sheikh only one-third, earmarking another third for current expenses and general development, and leaving the rest to be invested. This is perfectly illustrated by the Government's expenditure budget for 1953.[27]

But with the improvements also came drawbacks; a serious breakdown in social and religious loyalties, and an alarming rise in the social vices. Education deteriorated to an emphasis on those subjects which guaranteed employment in the petroleum industry. It has been observed that some Bahreini students know more English, even though only superficially, than Arabic; the eagerness for employment caused many parents to take their children out of school long before their graduation even from primary school. Yet even with this limited education and the experience of employment with Bapco, some of the workers began to show symptoms of discontent. They demanded that the Company allow trade unions in its operations, and that Bahreinis have more control over the Company.[28] All in all, considering the conditions of the islands and the general stage of the people's development, one must conclude that the discovery of oil has brought Bahrein pros-

[27] Government operating expenses including administration, courts and public protection, $707,000 (9 per cent); health and education, $1,464,000 (18 per cent); public works, $1,453,000 (18 per cent); two capital works projects—gas supply for the city of Manama and a deep water terminal, $1,260,000 (15 per cent); surplus for investment, $2,846,000 (36 per cent). Sinclair, *loc. cit.*, 46.

[28] In July 1954 it was reported that a general strike had been proclaimed in Bahrein, directed against the ruler, Sir Salman Bin Hamad Al Khalifah, for failure to reform the despotic regime. The strikers demanded that a commission be set up to examine reforms, including improvements of public health and education facilities. *Daily Telegraph* (London), July 12, 1954.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrein M22



178 perity and a higher standard of living, and that the oil revenue there has been better employed than in other areas. The credit for that must go to the British Government and the British adviser to the Sheikh.[29]

471 What of the Bahrein Petroleum Company? As mentioned above, Standard of California paid $50,000 to the Gulf Corporation for the concession. Bahrein's capitalization was $100,000. At the end of 1947, H. M. Herron, chairman of the Board of Directors, testifying before the Special Senate Committee Investigating the National Defense Program, stated that the Company's earned surplus was $55,472,255. In addition, it had paid-in capital surplus of $28,191,709 and surplus reserves of $8,705,779. From its organization until 1947 it had paid no dividends.[30]

The reason for these enormous profits was given by Mr. Herron when he reluctantly revealed to the Committee that the cost of producing a barrel of oil in Bahrein, including royalties paid to the Sheikh, was about 25 cents.[31] If crude was selling in the Persian Gulf at the time at $1.05—$1.15 a barrel, that would have produced a profit on each barrel of 80-95 cents.

Caltex, Bapco's subsidiary marketing company, was organized in the Bahamas in 1936 with a capitalization of $1,000,000. As of December 31, 1946, ten years later, it had an earned surplus of $17,192,529, and a paid capital surplus of $8,195,144. No dividends were paid.[32]

[29] For Belgrave's contributions to the achievements in Bahrein, see Bell, *loc. cit.*, and the many articles and books by Belgrave himself. A more ideal picture of the adjustment of the Bahreinis to the new conditions resulting from the oil development is presented in Bahrain Petroleum Company, Limited, *Bahrain 1952*.

[30] U. S. Senate, *Hearings Saudi Arabia*, 25030-25031. Senator Owen Brewster, chairman of the Committee, intimated that had dividends been paid to the parent companies, the latter would have had to pay U. S. taxes. Faroughy states that in 1945 the Bahrein Petroleum Co. estimated that its consolidated net profit for the year, after taxes and all other costs had been deducted, was approximately $10.5 million. In 1946 profits were estimated at $23 million. The total investment, according to Faroughy, was not more than $65 million. *The Bahrein Islands*, 45.

[31] U. S. Senate, *Hearings Saudi Arabia*, 25022.

[32] U. S. Senate, *Hearings Saudi Arabia*, 25029-25030. The earnings for the years 1942-1946 were 1942, $1,903,520; 1943, $686,673; 1944, $1,457,509; 1945, $2,416,362; 1946, $1,469,245. While the Bahrein Petroleum Company was a Canadian corporation registered in the British Empire, Mr. Herron admitted that Caltex could have been an American corporation. The inference drawn by Senator Brewster was that it was registered in the Bahamas only to escape United States taxation, and that for the same reasons no dividends were distributed. The Government of the Bahamas does not tax corporations, and the Canadian Government taxes only declared dividends. *Ibid.*, 25016-15018.

875 **Teachers Training Courses.** Eight students graduated at the end of the school year from the teachers' training class for secondary school students. They were posted to village and primary schools. At the beginning of the next term fifteen new students joined the class.

Evening classes for teachers were held during the term with an examination for certificates on the completion of the course.

**Special Courses.** In March, 1953, for the fourth time, the British Council Representative in Basra arranged a week's English course in Bahrain. This time the course was taken by Mr. W. R. Keight, M.B.E., of the British Council and Mr. W. Hedley, the British teacher lent by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The aim of the course was to teach masters and students in training for teachers, the correct use of the Oxford University English Course books.

In the summer eleven senior primary school teachers attended a refresher course at the American University of Beirut which was arranged for teachers from Bahrain and other Arab states. They lived in the British Council Hostel and had their meals in the University.

873 **Higher Education.** Four more boys, who passed out of the Secondary School, went to Beirut University for further education, three of them had scholarships from the Government and one had a scholarship from the Bahrain Petroleum Company. Two students were nominated for scholarships in Baghdad schools, allocated by the Government of Iraq to boys from Bahrain. One of these boys, however, did not take up the scholarship but entered the American University of Beirut at his own expense.

Again some of the Shaikhs and merchants sent their sons, sometimes after finishing only primary education, to schools and colleges abroad, in Beirut, Syria, Egypt and England, in one case a member of the Ruling Family was sent to a University in America. Privately made arrangements for educating young men abroad are not always successful, students who go to Europe, not under the auspices of the Government, seem disinclined to stick to one line of learning, sometimes they wander from one school to another which is an expensive waste of time.

873 177 183 It is very doubtful whether at present the education of Bahrain boys at schools in England is beneficial to them or desirable. A few boys who were at school in England have returned to Bahrain and if they can be taken as typical of the results of a European education then it is clear that the experiment is not usually successful. Parents, who in many cases have never been in Europe, send their sons to English schools with the hope that they will return equipped and eager to help their fathers in their business. The boys return. They have acquired some education, sufficient to make them critical and contemptuous of many things in their own homes and country, they resent having to resume the life which they used to lead and they have no inclination to settle down in Bahrain.

871 The Bahrain schools provide primary education for all and secondary education for a limited number of boys. The standard of education is about on a level with that in similar schools in other states in the Middle East. It is not proposed that higher education should be introduced in Bahrain, this can be obtained in neighbouring Arab countries, particularly at the American University of Beirut where 31 boys from Bahrain are now studying, 16 hold scholarships from the Government, four have scholarships from the Bahrain Petroleum Company and 11 are studying there at their own expense. In addition, the Government has sent six young men to study religion in Mecca and in Iraq.

872 Another 20 Bahrain boys are being educated, at their own expense, in schools and colleges in England and in the Middle East.

658 The policy of the Government is to give scholarships for higher education to boys from Bahrain schools to universities in the Middle East; it does not send boys to schools in England. It does, however, send young men from various government departments to do courses in England in the type of work on which they are employed in Bahrain. These candidates are sent at Government expense or, sometimes, they are granted bursaries by the British Council. This arrangement has produced satisfactory results in the case of men from the Passport Department, Municipalities, Technical School, Electric Department, Public Works Department and State Police. Men who have held positions of some responsibility for some years in Government service are improved by such courses in England and do not return to Bahrain with unsettled minds.

pearls, and also the large scale manufacture of cultured pearls in Japan. It was indeed lucky for Bahrain that oil was found in 1932, or else she would have seen her principal industry slowly decline with nothing with which to replace it. Once the oil industry was established, however, it in its turn served to precipitate the decay of the older industry by providing employment with better conditions and higher pay than were to be found on the pearl banks. The decline had also been unwittingly aided by the reforms of the late Ruler, Shaikh Hamed, who, on becoming Deputy Ruler in 1923, found the working conditions of the industry in a shocking state. The pearl banks were productive and much money was being made but little of it went to the divers, many of whom had involved themselves in a form of financial slavery to the nakhudas. Divers were given advances by the captains before the season, to provide for their families while they were away at sea, and at the end of the season, while the sales of the pearls, were being carried out. The eventual result was that the captains gave advances far in excess of the money due to the divers at the end of the season and to repay these loans the divers were forced to work for the same captain in the following season. But each year the advances were again in excess of the divers' earnings and so they got deeper and deeper into debt to the captains. At the same time the latter were indebted to shore merchants for supplies, for which they were charged high rates of interest, although this was contrary to the Sheria Law. The captains passed this interest on to the divers, who thus paid a minimum of 50% of their original debt each year. Diving debts were bequeathed, sons of divers whose fathers died owing money to captains were forced to work for them, and a diver, if he became too old to work, was only released from diving if he was replaced by his son or some other relation. In addition to this, indebted divers were often made to work on land for their creditors, or were handed over as workers to merchants to whom the nakhuda owed money.

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Shaikh Hamed was determined to abolish all these practices and was supported by some of the more progressive Arabs and the Shiite and Sunni judges, who disapproved of the whole system. Amongst the bitterest opponents of the reforms were the divers themselves who were persuaded by the nakhudas and merchants into believing that they were going to lose by them. The reforms were, however, introduced and resulted in fixed advances, the amounts of which were announced annually by proclamation, the restriction of interest on advances, and all advances in excess of the legal amounts to be unreclaimable in court. The divers were also entitled to seek other work on the condition that they repaid a certain proportion of their diving debt each year. Many thousands of debts were reduced and the special diving court, which had favoured the captains and merchants, was abolished and all diving cases were heard by the ordinary courts. Finally, the debts of a diver died with him and could not be inherited by his heirs. The result of these reforms was that the industry, although reduced in size was put on a much sounder footing and its workers were not forced to dive but did so because they wanted to.

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his intrigues, and was re-expelled, fleeing to Kuwait. He later travelled to Darin, where he built up a force with which he invaded Bahrain in September 1869, defeated and killed 'Ali at Rifaa and again became ruler of Bahrain. In Muhammad b. Khalifah's army he had as lieutenant Muhammad b. Abdulla, who had been expelled by the British from Dammam, and later in the year this Muhammad overthrew the new shaikh, imprisoned him, and made himself ruler.

The confusion caused in Bahrain by these troubles resulted in the appearance there of the British consul from Bushire in a man-of-war. The consul arranged for the deportation to Bombay of both the new shaikh and his imprisoned rival, and then consulted with local notables to see which member of the Khalifah family they would prefer to have as shaikh. The choice fell upon 'Isa, son of 'Ali b. Khalifah, who was at the time residing at Qatar, and he was summoned to Bahrain and acclaimed as its ruler. He reigned for fifty-four years till his abdication in 1923.

### THE RULE OF SHAIKH 'ISA

From time to time during the remaining years of the nineteenth century the British Government rejected Turkish claims to sovereignty over Bahrain, as in the years 1870 and 1874, while at the same time the British took the opportunity to consolidate their power in Bahrain by means of two treaties signed between Shaikh Isa and the British Government in December, 1880, and March, 1892. By these treaties the shaikh bound himself not to enter into any relationship with a foreign government, other than the British, without the latter's consent, and there were also stipulations about the disposal of Bahrain territories. In 1902 a British Political Agent was posted in Bahrain, and in July, 1913, a Convention was signed by the British and Ottoman Governments, which included the recognition of Bahrain's independence and control of a number of islands near her. Three years later Ibn Sa'ud signed a treaty with the British Government in which he also agreed to refrain from aggression against Bahrain. In April and May of 1923 there were internal troubles in Bahrain which led to the abdication of Shaikh 'Isa and the succession of his son, Shaikh Hamed, who ruled for twelve years as deputy ruler, and on the death of Shaikh 'Isa in 1935 became Shaikh of Bahrain.

### BAHRAIN IN RECENT YEARS

With the accession of Shaikh Hamed the story of modern Bahrain begins, and during the nineteen years of his rule Bahrain was transformed into a modern state. Conditions in the pearl industry were reformed, the position of the divers was bettered, municipalities, education and other public services were developed, as is described in other Chapters, and in many ways the state of the people of Bahrain was improved. In 1930 Shaikh Hamed signed a Concession Agreement with a company known as the Bahrain Petroleum Company, and three years later the first tanker-load of oil left Bahrain. The

## DIVING INDUSTRY

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464 There is little to report on this subject. Under present conditions it seems probable that in a few years the diving Nakhudas will find that it is impossible to obtain any recruits for diving in Bahrain. During the season only 12 boats went out to the banks from Bahrain and most of the divers who were engaged were from Persia and the Trucial Coast. So much money can be earned on shore that few men are willing to leave their shore jobs in order to dive during the summer months.

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439 The tax on imported pearls imposed by the Government of India was in force throughout
228 and after the diving season and this contributed to a large extent to the slackness in the pearl trade. Taking into consideration the small number of boats employed in diving the catch was moderately good and pearl prices were not much lower than in the previous season.

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## MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

### 1372

(Report by Dr. R. H. B. Snow, M.B.E., Senior Medical Officer)

**Summary of the Year**

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751 A change is gradually infiltrating and making itself evident in the scope and policy of medical work which is increasing in every department and subconsciously affecting the life of the Island. Traditions are now being established which the new generation are growing up with, and health ideas which once were revolutionary are now accepted as the normal course of reasonable upbringing.

657 The medical department which started in a small way, and expanded slowly is seeing results which are very satisfying but which are taken for granted, although they took years of striving to achieve. From its small beginnings and tiny nucleus of key staff it has now spread out from something rather personal to more of a departmental outlook. This in the course of things is bound to be, but its danger is that lack of co-ordination may develop or that the department may absorb the individual expression. At present there seems to be no signs of this because the various heads of departments meet together continually to exchange ideas and align themselves in a common policy, and also they are readily accessible to the public.

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758 Lines of expansion have shown themselves everywhere. The surgical work has been given great impetus by the advent of an F.R.C.S. specialist, Mr. R. D. Wilkins.

The operation theatre now runs a staff rota for every 24 hours of the day, made possible by recruiting Sister Ford and Sister Johnson from England. Sister Edwards was appointed to the Nursing Home to replace Sister Millson. The X-Ray department has an English Radiographer in charge—Mr. Havey. The Laboratory has a staff of six technicians. Four new Indian doctors arrived, one lady doctor for the Women's Hospital, and the others, male, were appointed to the Boys' Schools, The Port, and the Hospital. Mr. Burgin replaced Mr. Hanvey as Public Health Inspector, and Mr. Nambiar became the new Anti-Malaria Supervisor. Both hospitals recruited many more Indian trained nurses. The lack of sufficient staff has now been made good and at present meets all needs which recently have been very pressing. It meant also that more specialised apparatus could be installed being safely handled by expert hands. Such things include a more powerful X-Ray plant, a modern anaesthetic apparatus to administer all gases and curare, an electro-cautery unit and an electro-cardiograph.

## EDUCATION

### Boys Schools

(From the report of Mr. Ahmed Umran, Director of Education).

**Schools.** Three new village schools, at Sanad, Tubli and Karzakan, were built and presented to the Government by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The schools were fully furnished and in each place there was space for a playground near the building. His Highness Shaikh Sulman was present at the opening of the Tubli school and His Excellency Shaikh Abdulla, Minister of Education, attended the openings of the other two schools. The gift of these three buildings was much appreciated by the Government and by the people of the villages for which the schools provided education.

A large new school, on the Muharraq sea front, for small boys, was opened at the beginning of the term, with this school and three new village schools, and some additional class rooms in existing schools, it was possible to increase the total number of boys in the state schools by 610.

The building of these three schools roused immediate demands from other villages for schools to be built in their districts. Some of these requests came from villages within easy walking distance from schools. The desire for schools and sometimes for dispensaries is not always governed by real need; the existence of a school now seems to confer on a village a certain cachet. It was decided by His Highness on his return from England that three more village schools should be built by the Government, at Jidhafs, Asker and Jaw, the last place being the most distant inhabited village on the western coast. Towards the end of the year work was begun on these schools.

The growth of schools in the villages has had some repercussions. In the past the Shia villages provided the tenants and labourers in the date gardens, most of which are owned by Sunni Arabs. Landlords now realise that when the village boys acquire education they will no longer be content to work in the gardens, or as fishermen, as their fathers did before them. There is already a shortage of local labour for the date gardens and little competition to lease them. The town-dwelling landlords therefore do not view with enthusiasm the spread of education in the villages.

**Staff.** Every year the expansion of education makes it necessary to employ more teachers; those who complete their training in Bahrain are insufficient and have not enough experience to fill all the posts so each term the number of foreign teachers increases. Among most people this is regarded with disfavour, although there is a tendency among some to assume that because a teacher comes from abroad he must necessarily be better than any local product. Again in 1372 more teachers were recruited from neighbouring countries. The Director of Education, with the valuable assistance of the British Council in Beirut, enlisted 22 Lebanese, Syrians and Palestinians and he obtained from Cairo 5 Egyptians teachers to fill vacancies made by retirements and to provide staff for larger schools. At the end of the year the number of teachers in the boys schools was as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Egyptians .. .. .. | 10 |
| Indians .. .. .. .. | 2 |
| Syrians .. .. .. .. | 6 |
| Lebanese .. .. .. | 24 |
| Palestinians .. .. .. | 23 |
| Others .. .. .. .. | 3 |
| Bahrainis .. .. .. | 136 |
| Total .. | 204 |

There was a continued improvement in the standard of English in the Secondary School, due principally to its being taught by a British teacher lent to the Government by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. This arrangement has proved extremely successful.

1 [A.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst]

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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which caused considerable resentment among the Shias, although at that time the proportion of Shias at the Government schools was much lower than it is now. If more care had been given to the selection of the candidates, this experiment would have been more successful. The boys remained at Beyrout for two years; a longer course would have been more useful to them but, mainly owing to financial reasons, the Government decided not to extend their time.

Some years have now passed since these boys returned to Bahrain, and the result of their education can now be seen. In my opinion, it was successful in the case of three of the boys, moderately successful in the case of three, and a complete failure in the case of one boy. If the boys had been younger when they left Bahrain, I believe that the experiment would have been a complete success.

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**Education of the Ruling Family.**

In 1925, Shaikh Hamad allowed two of his sons to go as boarders to the American Mission school in Basrah. They stayed there for one term and did not return to school.

In 1930 a tutor was obtained from India to teach Shaikh Hamad's younger sons. He was well recommended and highly qualified and had previously been in charge of an Indian princeling. Although the tutor worked hard under difficult conditions and did his best to teach his pupils, it was soon apparent that his employment was a waste of his time and of the Government's money. The tutor lived in Shaikh Hamad's house, but the boys were disinclined to work and so did nothing. It was impossible to bring any compulsion on them to do their lessons. The experiment was a complete failure and, after completing one year, the tutor's agreement was not renewed.

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**Future Development of Education.**

There is danger in the creation of a class of semi-educated young men in Bahrain who, because they have a little learning, regard themselves as too superior to do manual work and who will become too many to find employment of a clerical nature. The people, however, especially the Shias, are urgent in their demands for increased education, and more schools, and in reply to this the Government intends to open more small country schools in the villages. A knowledge of reading, writing, and simple arithmetic is all that is needed by boys from the villages, most of whom will eventually become divers, cultivators, and fishermen. In these occupations, school education is unnecessary, though for divers and fishermen a knowledge of figures is some assurance against being swindled.

Boys who attend the town schools in Manamah and Muharraq are mostly sons of shopkeepers, merchants, and pearl traders, and many of them enter their fathers' shops and offices, where they benefit from a knowledge of accounts, book-keeping, and the more advanced education which is given at the two big schools.

If the newly started technical classes are successful, the Government will develop this experiment and, if possible, introduce more subjects which will provide lucrative employment for trained boys when they leave school. It should be possible for boys who have learned carpentry, etc., at school to secure employment with the Bahrain Petroleum Company in place of some of the many foreign artisans who are now employed by the Company.

## ELECTRIC DEPARTMENT

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**Original Installation.**

The possibility of introducing electricity in Manamah was first considered over ten years ago, and for some time funds were set aside for the purpose; it was not, however, till 1928 that any action was taken by the Government. That year the services of Mr. Stevenson, electrical inspector in Sind, were obtained in an advisory capacity and a scheme was prepared by him in Bahrain, together with plans for the layout and a rough specification. Bahrain was then in a prosperous condition, and it was estimated that the initial load would be not less than 2,000 lamps and 200 fans. The people in Manamah were anxious to form a public company, but after consideration this suggestion was dropped, and eventually it was decided that the scheme was to be undertaken by the Government and the Manamah Municipality.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

644 461 471 still that of feudal chiefs, though the feudal feeling no longer exists among the people of Bahrain. They consider it their right that they should be well provided for financially by the State, and they resent any suggestion that they should add to their incomes by doing work. They are still the biggest landowners in Bahrain, but by draining their property dry, and not spending any money on improvements, their property has deteriorated in value. They regard any real work as degrading, and only accept posts on courts or councils for the sake of obtaining more money, not because it is incumbent on them, as members of the Ruling Family, to occupy public positions. Their attitude in this respect is a contrast to that of the merchant class in Bahrain, who are unusually public minded and who freely give up much of their time to sit on courts and committees and councils.

562 178 185 **The Women.** Among the women, too, there have been changes, but they are more gradual than among the men. Every step towards emancipation is firmly resisted by the older female members of the households, but in spite of this there is a definite feeling among the younger women that they should have more freedom. Their ambition, at present, is not to take any part in public matters, but to be able to go out more frequently. They are becoming restive of the restrictions of the purdah system. Some are now educated, and a few have travelled abroad in Syria, Persia, India, and Iraq, and there they have seen the changes which are taking place in the life of the women of those countries. Many who have never been out of Bahrain read newspapers and listen to news on wireless sets, and frequently meet Indian and Syrian women in Bahrain. All this causes them to feel unsettled.

[595] One of the notable recent changes is that nowadays a great many young men only marry one wife, not because they cannot afford to support more wives, but because they prefer monogamy. The younger men are no longer ashamed of mentioning their wives and talking about their families, and many of them take their wives out with them in cars. A few years ago, if a man was seen with a woman in his car, one could be quite sure that she was not his wife. The modern young men look for wives who are educated, and frequently marry Persian or Iraqi girls because they received better education. One of the effects of education among the women in Bahrain is that they learn to keep their houses clean and they appreciate the value of hygiene, which is taught at school. Education also makes them willing to employ qualified doctors, especially at childbirth, when, in the past, they would have been treated by local Arab untrained midwives who are dirty and dangerous, and whose use of the notorious salt method is undoubtedly responsible for an enormous number of casualties among children and pregnant women.

Changes are taking place all over the Gulf, but of the Arab States, Bahrain is changing most rapidly. The most conspicuous visible changes in comparing Bahrain to-day and ten years ago are in the capital, where a person returning to the country would notice the wider streets, better buildings, and a decrease in straw huts, trees, gardens and more vegetation, large shops selling European goods, motor traffic, European dress worn by natives, increasing use of machinery, partly owing to installation of electric power, knowledge of English language, and a far greater interest being taken in outside world affairs.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Maritime Arabs MK 2
Bahrain MZ2



N 228 164 such a number of chronic running ears. The lungs are often affected, and all along the diving coast pulmonary tuberculosis is common. This is not remarkable when we know that in the opening days of the season the men frequently dive in water that is so cold that they spit blood. Many return from their summer of semi-starvation and unsuitable diet of rice and dates with their gums sore and bleeding from scurvy.

Living conditions in the community are what might be M 511 expected. Disease is common. The death rate is high. Poverty is universal. In good years the standard of life is none too high. In bad years it is reduced almost to the starvation point. During a hard year the food of the divers is poor in quality and scanty in amount almost to the degree of partial starvation. They usually live in date-stick huts, and in the winter must frequently shiver in unwarmed houses because they have no money for fuel.

M 871 212 In such communities there is little or no interest in education. A diver has reason enough, one might suppose, for wanting to know how to read and write and keep his own accounts, but it is rare that one of them knows as much as that, and apparently it is equally unusual to find one who is trying to educate his children so M- 868 that they may escape the slavery that binds him. The boys are frequently taken out to learn pearl diving while B 871 they are still under twelve. In Bahrein the American Mission has tried for many years to develop educational 185 work of an elementary sort, but has found it practically 658 impossible because there is no demand for such things. The considerable Persian community in the city has made efforts from time to time to establish educational work for its own boys. The Persian schools exist for a little

[* of pearl divers -- Analyst]

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bahrain rnz 2
Maritime Arabs Mk2



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871 time and then break up and disappear. Few care whether
185 they live or die. One of the Bahrein sheikhs made a visit
658 to England at the invitation of the British Government about three years ago. On his return he collected nearly a hundred thousand dollars for the founding of a free public school. A large building was projected, but by inefficiency and carelessness, if not worse, the entire sum was spent on the first story of that building. Now the project languishes and seems about to die, purely because nobody cares whether it lives or not. Even Koran schools are few in number and poor in quality. There is nothing like the diffusion of education that prevails in the inland
M desert towns.

463 Although the vast majority of the people in these towns
226 are pearl divers, there are a few fishermen and a smaller number who gain a precarious livelihood as sailors in Arab sailing ships. There are abundant supplies of fish in all these harbors, but fishing is a very unpopular occupation. It is hard, disagreeable work, and the men must frequently be out in the little boats all night. When times are good and the captain's allowances liberal, nobody is willing to fish. When the pearl catch is bad or the price low every one feels poor, many eke out their small resources by this additional work, and fish becomes plentiful and cheap.
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505 There were once many sea-going sail boats engaged in carrying various cargoes from port to port in this district, for the Arabs are bold navigators and can travel in these ships from India to the Suez Canal. They still bring goods from the various East African ports to Arabia, and rarely fail to make these long trips successfully, but the work is hard, and since the steamers of the "Ingleez" have absorbed more and more of the better

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2
Saudi Arabia M31



were to be kept away from all food. That epidemic stopped as if it had been cut off with an ax. There was not another fresh case reported after that day.

Bahrein is full of malaria. One of the city officials came to me not long ago to inquire as to the possibility of putting kerosene oil on the stagnant pools with which Bahrein abounds and so diminishing the amount of that disease. In matters like these the medical missionary has a most wonderful opportunity to be the pioneer in public health service. He hopes to see the day when all such work will be taken up by the governing sheikhs and carried to a point far beyond anything that he can do, but in the meantime helping to get such projects started is one of his keenest pleasures. He is also interested in the creation of an elementary medical literature for these backward communities. Simple pamphlets on malaria have found a wide reading in Basra, and a series of similar popular presentations of the dangers, means of transmission, and treatment of tuberculosis, syphilis, gonorrhea and malaria is projected for Bahrein. This is a work that often taxes the medical missionary to the utmost, for his literary abilities are not always of a high order and his available time is still less adequate, but it is something that he must do.

Not the least charm of work in such a country as Arabia is the number of medical problems that invite investigation. We have, for instance, a large amount of tuberculosis in Arabia, especially in the nomad communities. In America probably seventy-five per cent of all tubercular infections are pulmonary, but in Arabia perhaps less than twenty-five per cent. Just what causes the difference it would be interesting to investigate. One is tempted to speculate on the possibility of Arabian tuber-

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941 1951) 1954
MI Middle East
Bahrain MZ 3

THE COMPANY ALSO OPERATES
refinery on the eastern side of the island, 315
opposite Sitra. It was expanded in 1945, and 382
80 to 85 per cent of the crude oil processed
is now obtained by pipeline from Saudi
Arabia. The refined petroleum products are
pumped to storage tanks on Sitra Island,
and subsequently to a deep-water loading
terminal 3 miles offshore. Over 6,000 Bah- 464
rainis, as well as some 1,600 British and 651
Americans, are employed in different 185
branches of the industry. Two thirds of the
royalties accrue to the Bahrain government,
half of which are utilized for capital ex-
penditures designed to raise the standards
of living of the people. Reports for 1951
indicate that 68 per cent of the government
income was derived from oil revenues, as
against 26 per cent from customs receipts.

The renewed prosperity of the islands and 471
the concurrent growth in population have
stimulated private enterprise and the
growth of small factories to supply current
needs, particularly as regards building ma-
terials. Fishing is an important seasonal 228
occupation of many villagers, and pre- 241
served fish, fish oils and other fish products 312
are items of export. Agriculture plays a
minor role. Barely 5 to 10 per cent of the
total land area is under cultivation, and
further expansion is restricted by the nature
of the terrain, the concentration of water
supply in limited areas and a feudalistic
system of land tenure. Date gardens flourish 241
in oases on Bahrain, Muharraq and Sitra 654
Islands, but the supply equals less than one
quarter of the local requirements. The gov-
ernment is endeavoring to promote the in-
troduction of other crops, and maintains an
experiment station at Budaiya.

The sea approaches to the archipelago are 504
shallow, making it necessary for ocean ves- 505
sels and oil tankers to anchor 2 to 4 miles
from the shore. Bahrain and Muharraq,
however, have good harbors which accom-
modate dhows and other shallow-draft ves-
sels. Manama is an active trading center: 505
coastal traffic is more or less continuous,
while frequent steamer services are avail-
able to the northern Gulf ports and to India
AND PAKISTAN.

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN MZ 2

Sukal Khamis and Karzakkan. Venereal disease and trachoma clinics were carried on in the boys' schools, and regular school health services in the girls' schools. 743

The Reformed Church of America started a medical mission in Manama at the end of the last century. Its Mason Memorial Hospital has sections for men and women which, in 1951, had a combined capacity of 100 beds, as well as outpatient clinics. 747 743

The Bahrain Petroleum Company maintains a hospital at Awali for the care of its employees. The division for the British and the American staff had a capacity of 40 beds in 1951, while that for the Arab and the Indian personnel had a capacity of 70 beds. The Company also operates dispensaries at its refinery and in the towns of Manama and Sitra. 743

**Laboratories.** A laboratory which undertakes examinations for all the government institutions is connected with the men's hospital in Manama. It has facilities for the performance of microscopic, bacteriologic, serologic and biochemical tests. Serologic, bacteriologic and clinical laboratories are attached to the hospital of the oil company in Awali. Clinical facilities are also available in the mission hospital. X-ray departments are incorporated in the government and the industrial hospitals. 742

**Schools.** No schools for the training of medical personnel exist in Bahrain, but plans are under consideration for the development of a course for the training of nurses in the government hospitals at Manama. Medical assistants are trained in all the general hospitals. 874 185

## Personnel

**Physicians.** Twenty-four British, American and Indian doctors were associated with hospitals in Bahrain in 1952. Of this number, 11 were in the government hospitals, 2 in the mission hospital and 11 in the oil industry hospital. A few Indian doctors are engaged in private practice in the town of Manama. 759

**Dentists.** One dentist is engaged by the

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrein MZ 2

*Chapter XV*

# BAHREIN

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IN DISCUSSING IRAN, Iraq and Saudi Arabia, two basic differences were noted between the two former and the latter. The regimes of Iran and Iraq were not as completely autocratic as that of Saudi Arabia; the income from the oil, while very important and constantly increasing, was only one of many sources of income for the Government. In both countries the political leadership realized the importance of the oil revenue to long-range economic development and appreciated their own inability to envision and project plans for development, and they therefore invited foreign experts to prepare large-scale as well as long-range plans for the realization of the economic potentialities of their countries. The basic difficulty in both Iran and Iraq was implementation; both being sovereign and deeply suspicious of foreigners, especially Westerners, they would not voluntarily surrender their powers to foreign specialists to exercise supreme authority in the utilization of the oil revenue for development. They devised means within political-legislative limits and set up authorities to implement the plans prepared by the foreign experts. The limitations of the political leadership in control of these authorities—the Seven Year Plan Organization in Iran, and the Development Board in Iraq—hampered the successful achievement of the desired objectives.

Saudi Arabia differed from Iran and Iraq in two important aspects, and the problem of development became much more acute. Because the country was in a very primitive stage of development, it became almost exclusively (about 90 per cent) dependent on the income from oil. The absolutist King saw no need for foreign experts to work out a long-range program of development; whatever projects were undertaken were decided upon by the ruler, who could not by any stretch of the imagination be considered an economic expert with knowledge, training and experience in development.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrein MZ2



651 The British protectorates in the Persian Gulf present still
185 another situation, and because of that the results of the development of these territories are different from those in Iraq and Iran as well as in Saudi Arabia. While in theory the sheikhdoms of Bahrein, Kuwait and Qatar are nominally independent; they are far from sovereign and are subject in different degrees and by different methods to British guidance and authority. While all three have become increasingly dependent on oil revenue for almost their entire governmental budget, the disposal of the revenue is subject to British control, exercised sometimes openly, sometimes subtly, and in consequence a good portion of the income has been used for the economic development of the territories. It should be underlined that this has been primarily due to the efforts and determination of outsiders rather than to the wisdom and foresight of the native rulers.

### *Bahrein*

000 The sheikhdom of Bahrein is composed of a group of islands in the Persian Gulf, situated about fifteen miles off the coast of Saudi Arabia between the province of al Hasa and the Qatar peninsula. The capital, Manama, is on the main island; the second largest island is Muharraq. The islands, with a population estimated at 120,000 are ruled by the al Khalifah family. The traditional economic sources of income were pearling at Muharraq and trading for the Arabian mainland at the port of Manama.

648 Since December 2, 1880 the sheikhdom has been a British protectorate; on that date the Sheikh of Bahrein signed an agreement in which he declared: "I Isa Bin Ali Al Khalifah, Chief of Bahrein, hereby bind myself and successors in the Government of Bahrein to the British Government to abstain from entering into negotiations or making treaties of any sort with any State or Government other than the British without the consent of the said British Government, and to refuse permission to any other Government than the British to establish diplomatic or consular agencies or coaling depots in our territory, unless with the consent of the British Government."[1]

[1] Abbas Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands (750-1951)*, (New York, 1951), 28. This was confirmed by a subsequent agreement on Mar. 13, 1892. *Ibid.*, 123-124.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 Ml Middle East
Bahrein MZ2



652 There have also been other implications. The Sheikh, the
651 Government and the people have become increasingly, in fact almost exclusively, dependent on the oil. In 1932 the entire government budget was about $143,600; in 1951 the total government revenue was $5,271,000, of which approximately 61 per cent came from oil and 34.9 per cent from customs duties,[24] which must be considered an indirect result of the oil industry. In 1953 the Government revenue was derived 68 per cent from oil, 24 per cent from customs duties, and 5 per cent from
[464 interest on the reserve fund.[25] The oil boom also created in-
458 flationary pressures which caused many Bahreinis to seek em-
471 ployment in other oil-producing areas in the Gulf. Because of
178 its central location, the I.P.C. subsidiary, Petroleum Concessions Ltd., which held concessions in Qatar and on the Trucial coast, had made its Gulf headquarters in Bahrein and built large offices and houses for its staff. Bahrein had become a resort and shopping center for the oil employees, especially Americans and Europeans, in Saudi Arabia and Qatar. These not only added to the inflationary pressures, but so greatly increased the social vices of gambling, drinking, prostitution and their concomitants as to cause grave concern to those responsible for the health and welfare of the population.[26]

185 The Bahrein islands are limited in area and in resources; oil,
WA in a more definitely limited quantity than that of any of the other areas in the Gulf, is the only resource supporting the Sheikh, the Government and its extended services, and also to a considerable degree the people at large. Though perhaps originally a little more advanced than some of their neighbors, the people of Bahrein, prior to the discovery of oil, had a low standard of living and consequently a very low standard of governmental and social services. When the pearling industry suffered a serious setback as a result of the world depression and the development of cultured pearls, Bahrein was in a desperate situation. With the arrival of the Bahrein Petroleum Company,

aroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 20 *et passim;* "Oil and Bahrein," *The World Today*, VII, 77-79, Feb., 1951; Bell, *loc. cit.*

[24] Bahrain Petroleum Company, Limited, *Bahrain 1952* (pages not numbered).

[25] Angus Sinclair, "The Resources and Their Potentialities. III, Petroleum and Minerals," in *Middle East Resources Problems and Prospects* (Washington, 1954), 46. The 68 per cent of the revenue directly from oil did not include the one-third which went to the Sheikh.

[26] "Oil and Bahrein," *The World Today*, VII, 79, 81-83, Feb., 1951; Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 20 *et passim.*

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 Ml Middle East
Bahrein MZ2



the islands entered a new era. Governmental services, education, health, housing, sanitation and other services gave the Bahreinis one of the best living standards of the area. This was the result not only of the income derived from the Company—although the Company contributed directly to the raising of the standards and the direct revenue from its operations made these improvements possible—but was primarily due to the Government's determination to utilize the income for constructive purposes. This achievement must be ascribed first to the British Government which (in spite of all disclaimers) controls the government of the Sheikh, and, secondly, to the Sheikh's adviser, J. H. W. Belgrave. It was no doubt the British Government's decision to divide the revenue from the oil into three parts, allowing the Sheikh only one-third, earmarking another third for current expenses and general development, and leaving the rest to be invested. This is perfectly illustrated by the Government's expenditure budget for 1953.[27]

But with the improvements also came drawbacks; a serious breakdown in social and religious loyalties, and an alarming rise in the social vices. Education deteriorated to an emphasis on those subjects which guaranteed employment in the petroleum industry. It has been observed that some Bahreini students know more English, even though only superficially, than Arabic; the eagerness for employment caused many parents to take their children out of school long before their graduation even from primary school. Yet even with this limited education and the experience of employment with Bapco, some of the workers began to show symptoms of discontent. They demanded that the Company allow trade unions in its operations, and that Bahreinis have more control over the Company.[28] All in all, considering the conditions of the islands and the general stage of the people's development, one must conclude that the discovery of oil has brought Bahrein pros-

[27] Government operating expenses including administration, courts and public protection, $707,000 (9 per cent); health and education, $1,464,000 (18 per cent); public works, $1,453,000 (18 per cent); two capital works projects—gas supply for the city of Manama and a deep water terminal, $1,260,000 (15 per cent); surplus for investment, $2,846,000 (36 per cent). Sinclair, *loc. cit.*, 46.

[28] In July 1954 it was reported that a general strike had been proclaimed in Bahrein, directed against the ruler, Sir Salman Bin Hamad Al Khalifah, for failure to reform the despotic regime. The strikers demanded that a commission be set up to examine reforms, including improvements of public health and education facilities. *Daily Telegraph* (London), July 12, 1954.

The young business men and merchants are proud of their country and are inclined to be annoyed by visitors who confine their attention to the antiques and "quaint" sights of Bahrain, ignoring modern buildings and new enterprises. Graduates of Bahrain and foreign schools are go-ahead in their outlook and are determined to modernise Bahrain as much as possible; for this purpose they are willing to break with many of the traditions of the past, which are so often of interest to Europeans and Americans. Despite this, the young men of Bahrain appreciate meeting the foreigners who live in or visit their country.

## CHAPTER III

## THE STATE

BAHRAIN has been in treaty relations with the British Government since 1820. Its relations with the British Government and with other foreign governments are conducted through the British Political Agent in Bahrain. Bahrain is also the headquarters of the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, who lives at Jufair.

The Head of the State is His Highness Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed al-Khalifah, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., who was born in 1894, the eldest son of the late Ruler, Shaikh Hamed bin' Isa al-Khalifah, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. He succeeded his father in 1942 and has three sons: Their Excellencies Shaikhs 'Isa, Khalifah and Muhammad, and seven brothers. Shaikh Sulman is the tenth Shaikh of the Khalifah family to rule in Bahrain since it was conquered by his ancestor Shaikh Ahmed bin Khalifah in 1782.

The form of government can be described as a benevolent autocracy; the Ruler governs his State through Arab and British officials, who are in charge of the various departments of State, and by means of councils and committees consisting of elected and nominated members representing the different communities. Shaikhs of the Ruling Family preside over many of the councils and hold posts in the administration.

The principal government departments are the Adviserate (The Secretariat), Customs, Education, Electricity, Finance, Judical, Lands, Police, Public Health, Public Works, Passports, Religious Endowments etc., etc. In the towns of Manama, Muharraq, Hedd and Rifaa there are municipalities; the first of these was established in Manama in 1920.

The revenue of the State is mainly derived from oil royalties, including payments on oil which is imported for refining, and from customs dues on imports. There is no income tax and no land tax but in the towns there is a small municipal tax on houses, shops and places of business. The revenue of the State for the year 1370 A.H. (October 1950—October 1951) was Rupees 25,155,700 (£1,866,000) and the estimated revenue for 1372 (September 1952—September 1953) is much greater owing to a revision of the oil payments by which the

before this day, but gathers strength on the night of the 9th. As the mourners leave the martams they are joined by others, some bearing torches and others carrying models of the tombs of Ali, Hussein and the others, while small children act the parts of the children of Hussein. Bands of men perform complex dances as they beat their backs with metal whips, while others cut their foreheads with swords. Men beat their bare chests as they are led by flag-bearers who keep time for the dancers. Music is supplied by the drums and chanting which fills the air with the sound, while wailing of black-clothed women on the roof-tops of the houses lining the route adds to the noise of the procession. White horses painted red to represent the blood of the martyrs, little children carried in litters and various other figures represent events in the drama of the passion play. As the morning of the 10th breaks preparations are made for the renewal of the procession, police line the routes, by-standers gather and the members of the procession leave the martams, joined later by the Shia from the villages. Slowly the great mass of men and boys passes through the streets, often taking over 1½ hours to pass one point but always completely under control and in time with the beating of the drums and the clash of the cymbals. Each group of men is led by one who is in charge of them and sees that they keep in time. In front of the breast-beaters is a man with a flag whose duty it is to indicate where they are to stop walking and start thumping their chests, and with his flag he indicates the tempo, and all along the route the thud can be heard as thousands of brawny men crash their arms and fists against their chests. In the centre of each huge circle of chain-men are two men with cymbals; these run up and down the road beating the cymbals and shouting "Ya Hussein" as the black robed men and boys strike their naked backs with copper chains. Despite its sound, this latter does little harm to the men and it is very rare that blood is drawn.

In former times it has been known for the man who acted the part of Yazid, the villain of the Passion Play, to have been seriously wounded by people carried away by the scene, but today Yazid no longer appears in the procession, nor does the Christian who gave water to Hussein and his people and who was formerly represented as a man with a sun-helmet, waving a whisky bottle and obviously drunk. This was in the days when the British were the only Christians in Bahrain and this was therefore considered the way in which to indicate a Christian ! Today, with the exception of the small children who are carried in litters the only person who appears in the play is Zain al-Abdin, the only adult male survivor of the massacre, who appears riding on a horse or a camel and whose part is usually taken by one of the religious teachers or their assistants.

The procession is arranged in nationalities, the Bahrainis, Persians, Qatifis and Hasawis, and the two latter groups of people come to Bahrain from Saudi Arabia, where the procession is banned. Each group, led by men with huge embroidered banners, passes along the road through rows of silent onlookers, many of whom are Sunni and

* [On the 10th Muharram 73 - Analyst]

## EDUCATION

### Boys Schools

(From the report of Mr. Ahmed Umran, Director of Education).

**Schools.** Three new village schools, at Sanad, Tubli and Karzakan, were built and presented to the Government by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The schools were fully furnished and in each place there was space for a playground near the building. His Highness Shaikh Sulman was present at the opening of the Tubli school and His Excellency Shaikh Abdulla, Minister of Education, attended the openings of the other two schools. The gift of these three buildings was much appreciated by the Government and by the people of the villages for which the schools provided education.

A large new school, on the Muharraq sea front, for small boys, was opened at the beginning of the term, with this school and three new village schools, and some additional class rooms in existing schools, it was possible to increase the total number of boys in the state schools by 610.

The building of these three schools roused immediate demands from other villages for schools to be built in their districts. Some of these requests came from villages within easy walking distance from schools. The desire for schools and sometimes for dispensaries is not always governed by real need; the existence of a school now seems to confer on a village a certain cachet. It was decided by His Highness on his return from England that three more village schools should be built by the Government, at Jidhafs, Asker and Jaw; the last place being the most distant inhabited village on the western coast. Towards the end of the year work was begun on these schools.

The growth of schools in the villages has had some repercussions. In the past the Shia villages provided the tenants and labourers in the date gardens, most of which are owned by Sunni Arabs. Landlords now realise that when the village boys acquire education they will no longer be content to work in the gardens, or as fishermen, as their fathers did before them. There is already a shortage of local labour for the date gardens and little competition to lease them. The town-dwelling landlords therefore do not view with enthusiasm the spread of education in the villages.

**Staff.** Every year the expansion of education makes it necessary to employ more teachers; those who complete their training in Bahrain are insufficient and have not enough experience to fill all the posts so each term the number of foreign teachers increases. Among most people this is regarded with disfavour, although there is a tendency among some to assume that because a teacher comes from abroad he must necessarily be better than any local product. Again in 1372 more teachers were recruited from neighbouring countries. The Director of Education, with the valuable assistance of the British Council in Beirut, enlisted 22 Lebanese, Syrians and Palestinians and he obtained from Cairo 5 Egyptians teachers to fill vacancies made by retirements and to provide staff for larger schools. At the end of the year the number of teachers in the boys schools was as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Egyptians .. .. .. | 10 |
| Indians .. .. .. .. | 2 |
| Syrians .. .. .. .. | 6 |
| Lebanese .. .. .. | 24 |
| Palestinians .. .. .. | 23 |
| Others .. .. .. .. | 3 |
| Bahrainis .. .. .. | 136 |
| Total .. | 204 |

There was a continued improvement in the standard of English in the Secondary School, due principally to its being taught by a British teacher lent to the Government by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. This arrangement has proved extremely successful.

[A.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst]

**Abolition of visas.** An order was issued at the beginning of the year allowing nationals of Oman, the Trucial Coast, Muscat, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the Yemen to enter Bahrain without being in possession of visas for Bahrain, issued by the British Consular or other authorities, provided that they had valid national passports or travel documents endorsed for Bahrain. Unfortunately this arrangement enabled a large number of Persians to enter Bahrain carrying travel papers describing them as being subjects of Trucial Shaikhdoms. The Government has no wish to restrict Arabs from other parts of the Gulf from coming to work in Bahrain, where there is still a demand for unskilled labour, but it views with distaste any increase in the Persian minority which exists in Bahrain. When it became evident that a number of Persians were entering Bahrain under the guise of being permanent residents of Oman or the Trucial Coast the passport authorities were ordered to allow such persons to remain in Bahrain not longer than 15 days. It is estimated that during the year about 9,075 immigrants from Oman and the Trucial Coast entered Bahrain in order to find work, they were issued with permits to remain in Bahrain for one year, subject to renewal. In almost every case the immigrants were men.

**Illegal Entries.** The number of persons who were arrested and repatriated to their countries, having attempted to enter the country without travel documents, was 124, consisting of 68 Pakistanis, 23 Omanis and 33 Persians. The number of persons who succeeded in entering Bahrain without being caught is undoubtedly large. The Pakistanis crossed the Gulf to Muscat by dhows and continued their journey by foot up the coast to Doha, there they chartered a dhow to take them to the nearest port in Saudi Arabia, on their way to Mecca. The Nakhuda, however, landed them on the Bahrain coast, somewhere near Jaw, probably telling them that it was the coast of Arabia. These unfortunate pilgrims were eventually sent back by steamer to Karachi.

During the year the Bahrain courts heard four cases against Bahrain Nakhudas who had landed passengers in Bahrain knowing that they were illegal entrants. They were severely dealt with. Most of the passenger smuggling is done by Qatar Nakhudas who land the people on unfrequented stretches of coast or on shoals on the Eastern side of Bahrain. Two Persian Nakhudas were prosecuted in the Agency Courts and sentenced to imprisonment and fines for the same offence.

In January 1953 information was received that a certain Persian Nakhuda, Ghulam Reza, a naturalised Bahrain subject, had arranged to ship a number of Persians to Bahrain. His launch arrived with 63 Persians on board who were refused permission to land, not being in possession of papers. They were transferred to another launch bound for Kuwait. Later some of the same passengers were found in Manama and it was discovered that the Nakhuda had, after leaving Bahrain, transferred the passengers to another vessel and landed them on the coast where they were met by motor buses which conveyed them to Manama. Ghulam Reza was subsequently arrested, prosecuted, imprisoned for one year and fined Rs. 4,000. His charge was Rs. 150 a head for landing Persians in Bahrain.

**Bahrain Nationality.** During the year 31 applications were received from people of various nationalities applying for Bahrain nationality. Of these 19 were accepted, being from persons long resident in Bahrain and possessing immovable property ; three of these were Indian subjects and three were Pakistanis. The courts investigated 44 applications by Persians who claimed to have been born in Bahrain. Proof of birth, especially in the case of older people, cannot easily be produced. Only 9 of these applicants were able to prove that they were born in the country. At the beginning of the year an order was issued to the effect that no Persian whose application for Bahrain nationality was accepted would be issued with a passport until two years had elapsed from the date on which he was granted nationality. As a result of this order only a small number of Persians submitted applications. The main object of the Persians who applied for Bahrain nationality was to obtain passports with which to enter Saudi Arabia where their presence was not appreciated.

**Passport Official's Course.** Ali bin Abdulla, a clerk in the Passport Department, did a course in England studying and learning passport and immigration methods and procedure. The course was arranged by the British Government, the results appear to be satisfactory.

At the end of the year the amount in the Police Provident Fund was Rs. 2,11,507. The balance of the Police Fund was Rs. 11,563/-, the sum of Rs. 5,744/- was paid out in loans to Police and Naturs, most of the payments being for building or repairing houses.

**Crimes and Accidents.** There was a slight increase in the number of serious crimes which is thought to be partly due to the large influx of foreigners, especially Omanis, during recent years.

On 25th January, 1953, some Omanis who were living in the brothel area, missed one of their party, Abdulla bin Salim. They went to his house which was found to be locked. One of them climbed over the wall and on entering the house he found Abdulla with his throat cut. The victim was a bad character, a procurer in the brothel area. Police investigations produced no evidence to justify a prosecution.

On 13th December, 1952, a youth named Abdul Husain bin Isa, who worked as a car cleaner and who habitually slept in a garage in Manama, was found by the owner of the garage, when he came to take out his car, lying dead on his bed with a wound in his back and signs of having been throttled. The garage doors were locked, one key was in the possession of the youth and the owner of the garage had another key. The garage, however, could have been entered by an inner door. There appeared to be no motive for the murder as the victim was not of the type to be associated with an affair of sex. The Police arrested the owner of the garage and his brother and laid a charge of murder against them in the Bahrain Court. The family of the murdered man were insistent that he had been murdered by the owners of the garage. The case was heard and the accused were acquitted owing to lack of evidence.

On 17th May, 1953, one Abdul Husain bin Haji Sulman bin Khalaf, a local Bahraini, was walking in a lane near his house, at night. His brother, Ibrahim, came on him from behind and stabbed him twice with a knife. He was seriously injured but after hospital treatment he recovered. The reason for the attack was a family quarrel. The attacker was sentenced to four years imprisonment with hard labour.

On 7th November, 1952, two men were cleaning their hands with petrol at one of the garages in Manama. Another man lit a match which ignited the petrol causing serious burns to both of the men one of whom subsequently died in hospital.

An Omani came from Dubai and reported to the Police that two years before his son, aged 18, who was working in a garage in Bahrain, died from burns. It was established that the boy had died in hospital as a result of burns but no evidence was forthcoming about the cause of the burns.

A man who was arrested for pickpocketing attempted to commit suicide by cutting his throat with a razor blade, in the Police Station.

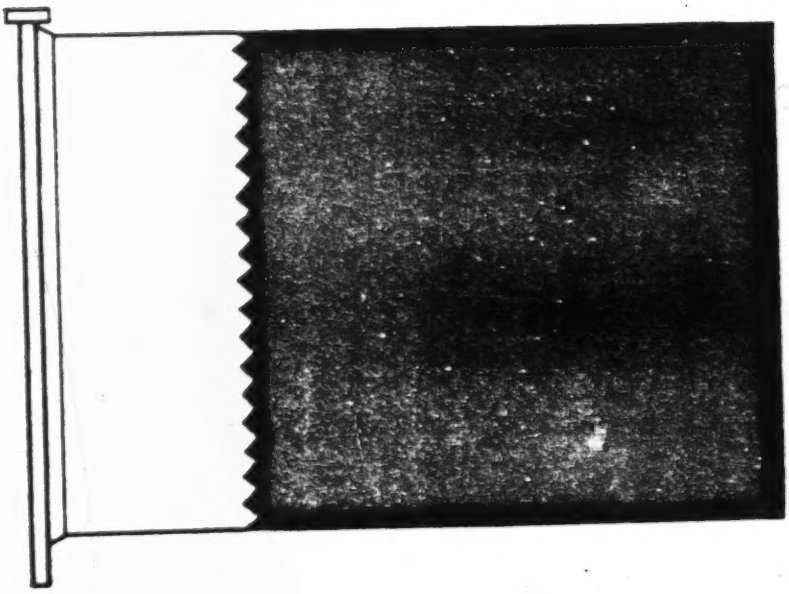
There were two deaths from electrocution. A boy of 12 years caught hold of an electric wire in a shop and was killed, and a man climbed an electric standard, in order to catch birds, touched a live wire and was killed immediately.

Five cases of accidental drowning occurred, two men were lost when their small fishing craft capsized, an old man, reputed to be nearly 100 years old, fell into the sea from a fishing boat during stormy weather off Barbar and two children were drowned on the shore west of Manama town. In none of these cases was there any suggestion of foul play.

On 23rd August, 1953, some boys were out shooting on the shore near Jasrah. A shot from the gun of Mohamed Ahmed Al Ghatam entered the neck of one Ibrahim bin Mohamed Al Khalifah and killed him. The owner of the gun immediately left Bahrain. His father was ordered to pay Rs. 5000 to the relatives of the victim and to remove himself from Jasrah and an order was passed against the son forbidding him to return to Bahrain for an indefinite period. The families were related and were branches of the Ruling Family.

There were 280 cases of theft reported to the Police against 303 cases in 1371. Of these cases 55 were presented in Court, 133 cases were undetected and 92 cases were not proceeded with for lack of evidence. Most of the cases were pickpocketing and thefts of clothes.

186



FLAG

The flag of Bahrein is red with a vertical white bar next to the staff

[facing page 29]

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



An interesting development in recent years is the stress of the dominant
group, the Sunnis, on the unity and brotherhood of all Muslims and Arabs. In 1950, when the second census was made, it was planned to count the two groups separately. This proposal, however, was construed as a British scheme to divide the Muslims and set them against each other. Strong objections were made by both groups, but primarily by the Sunnis, to the government and consequently this aspect of the census was abandoned. No such objections were raised during the census only nine years earlier.

Two factors can perhaps account for this rather nascent stress on unity: emerging nationalism and new economic forces. The conception of nationality is a Western contribution and a new arrival in the Persian Gulf. In Bahrain it is still a vague idea and certainly has not replaced to any degree the existing loyalties. It manifests itself in two ways: first, negatively in a desire to expel the foreigner (this has considerable appeal: it is concrete, intellectually easy to grasp, can be used as a rallying cry, and above all does not conflict with established social patterns); and second, positively, in a confused ideal of a pan-Arab, pan-Islamic union. No clear distinction is drawn between the two last concepts and the terms are used interchangeably. It must be admitted, however, that the pan-Arab aspect of the ideal predominates. This new spirit of nationalism has had the effect of creating a greater emphasis on unity among the native population. Furthermore, through this intellectual device the two groups can now present a common front against foreigners to protect their rights and interests, whether real or imaginary.

The new economic force for unity is the oil industry. On the surface things seem as they have always been. In fact a change, subtle and hard to detect, has taken place. The oil industry, as indicated previously, has opened the doors of employment to the Shi'is. This has resulted in bettering slightly their economic condition and consequently their relative status vis-à-vis other groups. Furthermore, such employment has meant that they are no longer restricted to agriculture. They can now sell their labor and skills as everyone else in a wider and more favorable market. On the job at the company installations, Shi'i and Sunni are brought together as laborers or artisans and placed on the same footing. For the first time in their history it has become possible for individuals from both groups to collaborate in certain areas of action, not as Shi'is or Sunnis, but as members of an economic group.

### *THE JEWS*

A third native religious group is the small Jewish minority comprising about 250 persons. Its members are well known for their industry, their higher standard of living, their higher rate of education, and their amenability to Western influences. They are exclusively engaged in trade and money changing.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



563 875 208 177 are the moulders of the new generation of Bahrainis. It is significant that all these teachers come from countries which have just emerged from British or French control.

## *TRENDS FOR THE FUTURE*

578 795 Social realignment among the Sunnis and the Shi'is must be thought of in terms of the distant future. It is true that secular and technical education, nationalism, and economic forces are all operating to bring these two groups together. As a result they have begun to cooperate with each other in certain areas of common interest as nonreligious groups; nevertheless, the old loyalties and social patterns are still strongly entrenched, as is very graphically illustrated by the religious riots of 1953 and 1954. It is even conceivable that when and if religion loses the depth of meaning it has at present to both groups, it may still remain as the basis of political alignment or power, as is the case in highly literate Lebanon.

167 563 Nationalism has replaced religious tradition as the basis of the relations of the Jews with the major segments of society. The resultant tension is being resolved through emigration, but a few will no doubt remain. All indications are that the political struggle between the Arabs and Israel will leave them little chance of reintegrating themselves on some new basis into society in Bahrain. It is possible, although highly improbable thanks to the presence of the British, that mass violence may be used against them. If this does take place, the problem in all likelihood will assume an international character. Israel, which has established itself as the protector and defender of Jewish minorities, no doubt would use every measure to dramatize the plight of this minority to the world.

563 ● 186 The animosity of the native population toward Persians and Indians does not arise from fundamental issues of a permanent nature. There is, for instance, no parallel feeling toward Iran, India, or Pakistan; on the contrary, warm sympathy prevails for them as combatants against Western domination. Both the causes and the issues are transitory in character, and

875 162

*Table IV.* FOREIGN TEACHERS IN BAHRAIN

| *Year* | *Egypt* | *Syria* | *Lebanon* | *Palestine* | *Other Arab Countries* | *Other Nationalities* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1944/45..... | 12 | 2 | 12 | — | — | 2 | 28 |
| 1945/46..... | 10 | — | 13 | .. | 1 | 2 | 26 |
| 1946/47..... | 13 | 9 | 12 | — | 1 | 2 | 37 |
| 1947/48..... | 11 | 7 | 14 | — | 1 | 2 | 35 |
| 1948/49..... | 22 | 6 | 14 | — | 1 | 3 | 46 |
| 1949/50..... | 20 | 7 | 14 | 9 | 1 | 3 | 54 |
| 1950/51..... | 9 | 9 | 15 | 10 | 1 | 3 | 47 |
| 1951/52..... | 9 | 7 | 27 | 18 | 2 | 4 | 67 |

Source: Government of Bahrain, Dept. of Education, *Report on the Condition of Education in Bahrain* (Bahrain, 1952), p. 47. (In Arabic.)

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



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[871
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the course of development in Bahrain leaves no doubt that they will gradually be resolved. Bahrainis are receiving education at an increasing rate and are now gradually replacing these two foreign elements in clerical and intermediate positions. There will come a time when foreign labor is no longer needed. All foreign establishments in Bahrain, in response to local pressure, are now replacing foreign employees with Bahrainis, even if at the cost of some efficiency.

578
186

Once the clerical and professional group becomes expendable, the major source of resentment will have been removed. Even if some Indians remain, the native Bahrainis will be able to compete with them on equal terms. In the case of the Persians, until the political issues primarily between the British and the Iranian governments concerning sovereignty over Bahrain are clarified, their position will stay the same.

What of the Westerners? It is my belief that the crisis is yet to come. Despite considerable talk, especially among the literate segment of the population, about exploitation, imperialism, and privileges, the Westerners' higher social status is accepted. The native population has been used for generations to think of them as a group with a special status over and above its own, and it will take some time before a mental reorientation is completed. In the second place, the native people fully realize that they need them. They may want to hate the foreign doctor but they need his medical skill; they may detest the oil company, but it supplies them with necessary royalties. The time, however, is drawing near when the problem will have to be faced. Negative nationalism and other political forces such as Communism (which at present has little influence in the Gulf) may force the issue prematurely if favorable circumstances arise.

342 flat roofs, surrounded by parapets. Those with two or more stories sometimes have broad balconies.

342 511 In the towns, the poorer people often occupy multifamily houses in the older, congested districts or live in hut settlements on the outskirts. The huts, known locally as *barastis*, are made of bamboo or date-stick poles interwoven with palm leaves, and roofed with palm-leaf matting. They are frequently grouped within pole and matting stockades, the individual huts being separated by narrow alleys. Of the 5,703 houses 342 counted in the town of Manama at the time 511 of the 1950 census, 2,608 were of palm-leaf 361 construction. Although the standards of living have improved among the laboring classes within recent years, most of the rural inhabitants dwell under primitive conditions, as did their forefathers. Palm-leaf huts predominate in the date garden and the fishing villages. They are admirably adapted to the heat of summer, but afford poor protection against the occasional cold winds.

186 361 663 342 The rural Baharna and Arabs live apart in segregated villages, and even in the towns there is a tendency for the different racial and religious groups to form distinct communities. The Bahrain Petroleum Company has created a self-sufficient modern settlement for its British and American employees at Awali, on the edge of the oil field area. The development of modern housing projects is also being promoted by the government, and plans are under consideration for the demolition of certain slum areas and the erection of low-rental dwellings.

## ENVIRONMENT AND SANITATION

### Water Supplies

312 The fame of the sweet-water springs of Bahrain stems from ancient times, and undoubtedly contributed to the early development of Manama as a trading center. Not only do abundant sources of water exist in the oases along the northern end of Bahrain

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



comes the north wind, and in violence the south-wester (*Qaus*), which is fiercely hot in August and blows irregularly between December and April. See further, vol. ii, p. 346 f.

## Population

Though no census has been taken, the population of the 4 towns and 104 villages in the principality has been estimated as over 100,000, of whom 60,000, chiefly townsmen, are Sunni, and 40,000, chiefly villagers, Shiah. The latter are for the most part *Baḥārinah* (see p. 299), but this class, which is mainly agricultural, is here hardly above the servile state. The most numerous Sunni community is that of the *Hūwalah*, who are townsmen of Manāmah, Muharraq, Budeyya', Hadd, and Hālah Bin Anas, living by trade and without solidarity among themselves or influence on others. The 'Utūb, Sādah, and Dawāsir are the most influential tribesmen, the first on account of their connexion with the ruling family, the second by virtue of their supposed sacred origin, the Dawāsir because they are well disciplined by their chief and comparatively wealthy; there are also a few Beni Khālid (see below, p. 608). The remainder of the Sunni population live mostly on the coast, and depend for their subsistence rather on the sea than on cultivation. There are at least 5,000 free negroes and 6,000 negro slaves; a few Persians, Hindus, Basra Arabs and Jews complete the population. Life in Bahrein is more various and many-coloured than on the mainland of Arabia; the exclusiveness of a people cut off from intercourse with other races is absent, and the opportunity to indulge a taste for luxury has not been disdained. Direct relations with Persia and India have influenced costume, domestic appliances, and the architecture of the larger houses, in which the pointed arch is a conspicuous feature.

## Industries and Trade

The most important occupation in Bahrein is pearl-fishing, and the fisheries are the most valuable in the Gulf next to those of Trucial Oman. Were the fisheries to cease, most of the urban population would have to leave the country. They employ more than 900 boats, each with a crew of about 20, the total crews amounting to nearly 20,000 men. The pearling season opens in May, and some boats continue operations until about October. Special measures had to be taken in 1915 by the Sheikh, in conjunction with the British Resident, to enable the pearl-fishing population to tide over the crisis caused by the stoppage of the

### CUSTOMS REGULATIONS

439 There is usually little difficulty in importing goods into Bahrain, except the following, which are not allowed :—

656 (a) Arms and Ammunition,

651 (b) Alcoholic and intoxicating liquors (except under licence).

(c) Cultured, bleached or tinted pearls and undrilled pearls produced outside the Persian Gulf,

(d) Obscene, indecent or seditious literature or pictures,

(e) Dogs, except with special permission of the Director of Customs which will only be granted in the case of dogs accompanied by a veterinary surgeon's certificate of innoculation against rabies.

(f) Counterfeit coins,

(g) Opium and its allied products and cocaine and its allied products.

Books and printed matter, gold and silver bullion and coinage, samples, undrilled Persian Gulf pearls, implements and tools of trade for the use of the traveller are exempt from customs duties. For those arriving for the first time in Bahrain to take up residence, household effects, new clothing, silver and plate are also exempt from duties.

[276] All travellers may bring into the country not more than 100 cigarettes, 50 cigars or ½ pound of tobacco, the containers of which must have been opened.

651 All other goods are liable to a customs duty. The duty on tobacco and liquor is 15%, luxuries pay 10% and necessities, 5%, but prospective travellers should not depend upon this as a hard and fast rule but are advised to ascertain the rates for each article. The Bahrain Government published a Customs Ordinance in 1950 in the form of a booklet, price Rs.2, which is obtainable from the Director of Customs, Manama, Bahrain.

### LANGUAGES

191 The official language of Bahrain is Arabic, but some English is spoken in most parts of the State; it is usually possible in cases of difficulty to find an English-speaking Arab

On the other hand the Arabs much appreciate foreigners who take the trouble to learn even the rudiments of their language, which, it must be admitted, is very difficult. For this purpose possibly the best book in print is Van Ess's *Spoken Arabic of Irak*. There are, of course, many other excellent books on Arabic, but for conversational purposes the one above approaches nearest to the particular brand of Arabic spoken in Bahrain.

### PASSPORTS AND VISAS

486 All intending visitors to Bahrain are required to have passports endorsed for Bahrain, and in addition they should apply for an entry

8·Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



563 In the third place, clerical positions occupied by Indians and other
578 foreigners are highly coveted by the high-school graduates of Bahrain. This
554 must be understood within the context of traditional Arab respect for the scribe and the great power wielded until recent times by government employees: clerking represents a social position as well as a source of livelihood.

641 Finally, Indians are given privileges denied to Bahrainis. They are al-
273 lowed, for instance, a monthly allotment of alcoholic beverages and certain
563 public places are open to them and to Westerners only. The problem of
578 alcohol is a delicate one in Bahrain. In accordance with Muslim law it is prohibited to all Muslims. Foreigners and non-Muslims, however, can obtain a monthly allotment at specified prices through a permit from the British Residency. The only two groups that can benefit from such an arrangement are the Westerners and the Indians, since most other foreigners are Muslims.

563 An example of the resentment felt against the Indian clerks may be
578 seen in the following letter to the newspaper *al-Qafilah* from an indignant
191 Bahraini criticizing the Post Office Department:

> I came to the post office window with a large number of greeting cards which I wanted to send to friends outside Bahrain. I inquired from the clerk whether there were any special rates? Snatching the cards from my hands, he gave me an answer in a strange language, the only part of which I understood was "three annas and a half."
>
> It is strange that this department continues to employ clerks who do not understand the language of the country. In this connection, I remember that a short time ago I sent my manservant with a piece of paper on which I had written in Arabic the quantity of stamps I wanted of each denomination. Shortly afterwards he came back very angry. He told me that the clerk threw him out of the building and ordered him to "tell [your master] to write in Indian, Persian, or English. . . . We are not Arabs." [12]

609 A factor which also has considerable effect on the attitude of the native toward foreigners is the development of the oil industry in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. In Saudi Arabia the political climate has been such that the native is truly master of his house. The moment the foreigner, and particularly the Westerner, steps on Saudi Arabian soil, government officials and civilians alike do not hesitate to remind him in a thousand ways that he is in an independent country, that he is only a temporary guest, and that his sojourn in the country depends on good behavior. The Arabian American Oil Company, as part of its public relations policy, cooperates with the government fully in this respect and it is a well-known fact that a number of its American employees have been sent home for minor infractions of the local law or for being in some way rude to the native inhabitants.

Bahrain is only a few miles away from Saudi Arabia. Stories of how

[12] *al-Qafilah*, January 2, 1953.

132 siderable violence, particularly in June and July and in January and February.

## POPULATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### Population

161 464 At the time of the second census in 1950, the population of Bahrain numbered 109,650, with 91,179 Bahrain subjects and 18,471 foreigners. In addition, about 5,000 Bahrain nationals were believed to be working in other countries, chiefly in Saudi 162 Arabia. Among the foreign residents there were 6,934 Iranians, 3,043 Indians, Pakistanis and Goanese, 2,526 Saudi Arabians, 2,466 Omanis and Muscatis, and 2,208 British and other Europeans and Americans.

144 The Bahrainis represent a medley of Arab and Persian peoples, as well as various Negro admixtures, descendants of former slaves from Africa. The Baharna, the original inhabitants of the islands, are of mixed Arab-Persian origin, while the Arabs derive 795 chiefly from the mainland of Arabia. The population is almost exclusively Moslem: in 1950, only 4 per cent of the local residents belonged to other religious communities, with 2,348 Christians, 975 Hindus and 293 Jews. Both the Shia and the Sunni sects of Islam are prominent. The Baharna and the Iranians are Shiites, while most of the Arabs are Sunnites, including a small contingent which adheres to the Wahhabi 191 branch of central Arabia. Arabic is the national language. Other tongues are employed by the different racial groups, but most educated Bahrainis and town-dwelling laborers are familiar with English.

62 632 The returns of the 1950 census indicated that almost 62 per cent of the people lived in the 3 main towns of Manama, Muharraq and Hedd, and the remainder in some 80 rural villages and settlements. Manama, the seat of government and the largest town, located on the island of Bahrain, had a population of 39,648. Muharraq, the chief town on the adjacent island, numbered ap-

7:Khadduri S-4 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2
Iran MA1



and the Wahhabi Amirs. It was partly owing to this threat of neighboring rulers, but mainly to internal feud among members of the Khalifa family (chiefs of the Utubi tribes) that Great Britain found ample reasons for intervention.

In 1820, when Great Britain had already made her appearance on the scene in the Persian Gulf, the chiefs of Bahrayn sought British support for security from outside attack as well as for internal stability. This coincided with Britain's interests in the security of her trade relations and in the suppression of piracy and the slave trade in the Persian Gulf. It was in pursuance of this objective that Britain signed the first of a series of treaties with the Shaykhs of Bahrayn without encroaching upon their independence; but these treaties resulted later in the gradual change of the islands from independent to dependent status.

The foregoing brief sketch shows that Bahrayn, during its long and checkered history, was able to maintain a large measure of internal independence even when it had fallen under foreign control. Apart from its uncertain status in antiquity, which is hardly necessary to determine for our purpose, the islands passed under Arab rule at the opening of the seventh century and remained, either as an integral part of the Arab Empire or as a semi-independent entity, until the sixteenth century. Arab rule, accordingly, may be said to have lasted for more than eight centuries. The Portuguese rule roughly lasted for a century (*circa* 1507 to 1622), and the Persian rule (1622–1783) for a little over one and a half century. From a purely historical standpoint, the Persian period has left no special impact on the inhabitants of the islands, whether racial or cultural, which would distinguish it from other periods. Contrary to the Iranian contention (as stated in its note of August 2, 1928), the inhabitants of the islands have either originally migrated from Arabia or have been Arabicized under long Arab rule. They speak the Arabic language, though many of them speak Persian too, and their manners and customs are Arabian. Finally, they have been ruled since 1783 by their own Arab chiefs, even though they acknowledged British protection—a period which lasted longer than that of Persian rule. Iran's historical claim, based on a very limited past attachment, seems to carry with it the air of propaganda; it could hardly challenge Arab historical claims.

### IV. British Protection

From the time when Napoleon invaded Egypt in 1798 a period of Anglo-French rivalry for the domination of Eastern waters began, and the Persian Gulf was but one portion of the field in which the struggle was fought out. When Napoleon had been eliminated, the Eastern waters, including the Persian Gulf, became an undisputed field of British influence and commerce. Britain began to prepare the way by combatting piracy and the

At Awali are the offices and the homes of the European employees of BAPCO, while outside the fence is the Arab camp for the few Bahrainis who prefer to live there rather than in their own towns and villages. Near Awali's eastern gate is the Training School for Bahrainis, where something is done to equip them for higher posts in the company. This is a field of activity which the company is beginning to develop and it is very important that is should succeed.

South of Awali, in the desert around the Jebal ad-Dukhan, is the oil field, the *raison d'etre* of BAPCO, an unimpressive area with many little squares of cement decorated with taps and valves and surrounded by low fences, which are the oil wells, while here and there derricks mark the search for more oil which is always in progress.

After the Abadan Refinery the one on Bahrain is the largest in the Middle East and supplies large quantities of refined products to India, Pakistan, East Africa and other countries "East of Suez." During the day it would be difficult to describe the refinery as anything but a large and ugly mass of iron and steel, with the great Cat. Cracker rising above the squat silver tanks. The air is hot and dusty and in the summer the iron-work is so hot that to touch it raises blisters ; but in the evening the refinery takes on the appearance of a slightly shapeless but nevertheless well decorated Christmas Tree, covered in lights and set against a background of flares of burning gas which illuminate the sky like a lurid orange back-cloth.

The Sitra anchorage has at all times an appearance of feverish activity, it is being improved so that it will be possible to load ships and tankers round the clock. In order to do this the jetty is being floodlit with great arc lamps.

On low-lying Sitra Island all that can be seen from the sea are the storage tanks, it is only on approaching nearer that the island itself becomes visible. The Tank Farm spreads across the middle of Sitra, and as it expands it threatens to cut the island in two. To the south of the Tank Farm is a large group of buildings from which a crashing sound is continually heard ; this is the Drum Plant. Further evidence of this is present in the thousands of newly painted drums that are piled in huge rows near the plant.

The oil industry is directed from the main office in Awali, where from air-conditioned coolness in the summer and air-conditioned warmth in the winter instructions go out to all parts of Bahrain where BAPCO has its installations. Bahrain is well situated for an oil industry. The oil wells are about eight miles from the Refinery, which itself is scarcely more than half that distance from the Pier and Tank Farm, while from Awali it is possible to see on a clear day both the Refinery and the Field. The radio-telephone and the aeroplane used in other Middle Eastern fields have no place in Bahrain where phones and cars are quite sufficent.

Of the 7,749 workers employed by BAPCO at the end of 1951, 4,937 were Bahrainis and 1,035 were British, American and other

4 Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

The following are the first days of the next ten Hijra years : 805

1372—September 21st, 1952
1373—September 10th, 1953.
1374—August 30th, 1954.
1375—August 20th, 1955.
1376—August 8th, 1956.
1377—July 29th, 1957.
1378—July 18th, 1958.
1379—July 7th, 1959.
1380—June 26th, 1960.
1381—June 15th, 1961.

## WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

In addition to the standard weights and measures, the following are in use in Bahrain : 804

| *Weight.* | | *Length.* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 39 tolas | = 1 ratl (1 pound) | 12 busas (inch) | = 1 qadm (foot) |
| 4 ratls | = 1 rub'a | 3 aqdam | = 1 waar (yard) |

56 ratls = 1 maund.
14 rub'as = 1 maund.

## SUNRISE AND SUNSET

| *Date.* | *Sunrise.* | *Sunset.* | *Date.* | *Sunrise.* | *Sunset.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st Jan. | 7.25 a.m. | 5.58 p.m. | 1st July | 5.49 a.m. | 7.34 p.m. |
| 1st Feb. | 7.44 a.m. | 6.20 p.m. | 1st Aug. | 6.03 a.m. | 7.26 p.m. |
| 1st Mar. | 7.02 a.m. | 6.40 p.m. | 1st Sep. | 6.18 a.m. | 6.57 p.m. |
| 1st April | 6.31 a.m. | 6.55 p.m. | 1st Oct. | 6.30 a.m. | 6.25 p.m. |
| 1st May | 6.02 a.m. | 7.09 p.m. | 1st Nov. | 6.47 a.m. | 5.56 p.m. |
| 1st June | 5.41 a.m. | 7.27 p.m. | 1st Dec. | 7.08 a.m. | 5.45 p.m. |

## CHURCHES

At the time of writing there are three churches in Bahrain, the Roman Catholic Church on Shaikh Isa Road, Manama, where there is also an English speaking school, and the Dutch Reformed Church of America, at the junction of Shaikh Isa Road and Shaikh Abdulla Road. 795 797

There is also in Bahrain an Anglican Chaplain and an Anglican Church on a plot of ground to the east of the Police Fort donated by the Ruler of Bahrain.

There is a church building in Awali which is used for services by various denominations.

## NEWSPAPERS AND BOOKS

There are no English language newspapers published in Bahrain with the exception of a fortnightly duplicated magazine published by and for the English speaking employees of BAPCO. There are, however, four Arabic publications. The *Government Gazette*, the official publication of the Bahrain Government in which official notices, laws and reports are found, *Sawt al-Bahrain*, a monthly with articles of literary, cultural and religious interest, articles on Bahrain, poetry and a gossip column, *al-Khamila*, a weekly mainly concerned with the doings of the entertainment world in Egypt and containing light articles, jokes and poems and *al-Qafila*, the newest publication. 204 ●

204 In addition to the English language papers published in Iraq, Lebanon and Egypt, many English and American papers have airmail editions, which take a very short time in reaching Bahrain. Other papers and magazines are on sale in the Manama shops, both American and English, but they take rather longer to arrive. It is possible to receive the *Irak Times* by air, and also numerous Arabic papers from Egypt and Lebanon.

217 There is a public library in Bahrain, the Library of the Education Department, in Shaikh Abdulla Road, which contains Arabic and English books and magazines. There is a subscription library of English fiction and non-fiction at the Residency, Jufair and also libraries in many of the clubs. The largest library in Bahrain is that of the Bapco Club. Some Manama shops have large selections of books and one of them specialises in new books on Middle Eastern topics and stocks them soon after their publication.

### CLOTHING (EUROPEAN)

291 Men in the summer wear shirts and slacks or shorts and light tropical suits on formal occasions. In the evening white opened-necked and short sleeved shirts and white trousers are usual, with black shoes and socks and a black cummerbund at more formal affairs. Aertex or similar day shirts are the most suitable form of wear and cellular vests are useful, not for warmth but to absorb sweat. All forms of clothing for summer wear in Bahrain can be bought in Manama, both ready made and tailored.

In cold weather ordinary tweed suits are worn, or flannel trousers and sports coats and dinner jackets in the evening. It is cold enough for pullovers and overcoats, especially after sunset.

Washing frocks, preferably cotton, are the best wear for women in the very hot weather, as linen or silk are unsuitable when the temperature and humidity are high. Light frocks are usually worn from April till December. Hats are worn on rare occasions. Cotton dress materials can be obtained locally as well as ready made English and American frocks.

In the cold season women require the type of clothing which is worn in England in April and May, and in the Fall in the States. In addition, the cold winter winds call for a really warm coat. As with summer clothes, those needed in the winter can be made in Manama from locally purchased material.

### HOTELS

185 366 There are only two hotels in Bahrain attaining European standards, the B.O.A.C. Guest House and the Bahrain Hotel. The former is primarily built for the benefit of transit passengers and it is often difficult for visitors to Bahrain who expect to stay for some time to get a room there. The Bahrain Hotel, which is at the west end of Prior Road, offers good food and is in fact the only alternative to the B.O.A.C. Guest House. There are a number of small local hotels which are not in the same class as these two.

organize the secondary school system. The teachers received from £25 to £30 a month and "bed and board" paid by the Bahrein government. Interestingly enough, the first director of the first school opened at Muharraq was the present Saudi Arabian Minister to London, Sheik Hafiz Wahba.

At present, there is no newspaper in Bahrein. A weekly newspaper, Al Bahrein, was founded in 1939, but ceased its publication after the death of its publisher, Abdallah Za-id. In 1940 a broadcasting station was built, and the Al-Bahrein Radio started short-wave broadcasts on a 23-m, 50 band on November 4. During the war, Radio Bahrein was most useful to the Allied cause, since its four daily news broadcasts in Arabic and Persian were heard more easily throughout the Near East than those of Egypt.

Besides the schools, two "circles" for the discussion of political and literary matters were established in 1935 under the patronage of the brother of the Sheik. There was already a Cercle Israelite in the island.

## ECONOMY

The geographical features and the geological formation of the islands greatly reduce the economic value of Bahrein. The scarcity of water and the sandy nature of the soil exclude agricultural development. The application of modern methods of agriculture and the utilization of artesian wells and gasoline operated pumps are too recent and too inadequate to make Bahrein even partially independent of imported food. For many years to come, and probably forever, the islands will be dependent on food, meat, vegetables, and fruits brought chiefly from the Persian or Arabian mainland.

Fortunately, in most of the islands of the Persian Gulf and the surrounding regions, wherever water is found naturally or captured artificially, date palms grow with astonishing ease. The northern part of Bahrein Island, thanks to natural springs and more recently to artesian wells, is practically a string of oases with palm groves numbering several hundred thousands.

796 795 who therefore disapprove of the whole affair, but it is rare that there is any trouble between the two sects, both of them having adopted the principle of live and let live.

796 In the afternoon of the 10th Muharram the more energetic members of the procession go out into the villages where similar smaller processions take place and which are often made more colourful by the use of additional model tombs which are no longer seen in Manama. In the evening, as in every evening of the first ten days of the month, those who took part in the processions are feasted in the martams, and for three more days the orators continue to preach to the people, for it was for three days that Hussein lay on the field of Kerbela. But on the 13th of the month the period of mourning ends, the "props" are returned to the various martams, the collecting boxes are again displayed in the Shiite shops, out of which some of the expenses of Ashura are paid, and the Mullas return home to Iraq.

796 609 656 Europeans are permitted to witness the procession on the 9th and 10th days of Muharram, but it is illegal to photograph any part of the procession and the State Police remove the cameras or movie-cameras and expose the film of those who break this law. In addition, unwary photographers have often been roughly handled by members of the Shiite faith, who feel that a sacred procession is not a suitable subject for casual snap-shots. It is therefore much more tactful to dispense with artificial means and to rely on one's memory for recording what is an unique occasion, for the procession has been banned in Iraq and Persia and so Bahrain is now one of the very few places where it can be seen.

## CHAPTER X

## BAHRAIN'S STAMPS

205 THE generally accepted date for the establishment of the first post office in Bahrain, in the town of Manama, is 1884, and as the Indian Government was at that time responsible for political relations with the Ruler of Bahrain, it naturally followed that Indian stamps were used in the Islands. It was not till 1911, however, that a formal agreement granting the British a monopoly of postal services in Bahrain was signed.

In the first instance Indian stamps were used without an overprint—Indian stamps of Queen Victoria and George V post-marked "Bahrain," and it is only possible to trace stamps used in Bahrain by the post-mark. The two most usual post-marks are a circle with bars outside and two circles with the name at the top and the date across the centre. Fortunately the word Bahrain shows up quite well in most of these, provided that there is enough of the post-mark on the stamp if the latter is not on a cover. These issues were usually limited to 3 pies, ½ anna, 1 anna and 2½ anna stamps.

The use of Indian stamps overprinted "Bahrain" dates from the 10th August, 1933, but the first set was replaced in the following year and the S.G. (Stanley Gibbon's Catalogue) No. 9, 4 anna value, is quite hard to obtain and is sometimes confused with the 4 anna No. 19, although the latter does not bear the word "revenue." Following the issue of new Indian stamps in 1937 the set was overprinted for use in Bahrain in 1938; six stamps of this set are pictorial and most attractive, showing the history of the postal service in India. A new Indian issue in 1940 was overprinted for use in Bahrain in 1942 and continued in use until India and Pakistan obtained their independence, whereupon the Bahrain Post Office changed from being part of the Indian postal system to being a branch of the British G.P.O. Following this change British overprinted stamps were issued on the 1st April, 1948. 205 ●

1948 was a prolific year for stamps. On 26th April the Royal Silver Wedding issue was overprinted for use in Bahrain, and on 29th July the stamps commemorating the Olympic Games were issued. 1949 was the 75th anniversary of the Universal Postal Union, and in common with most countries, an issue of four stamps was overprinted for use in Bahrain. 1950 saw the issue of one stamp, a 4 anna value, but in May of the following year five low value stamps in the Universal Postal Union colours were issued, together with new designs of the three high-value stamps of the United Kingdom.

There has never been a postage due stamp in Bahrain, a rubber stamp has served the purpose. Recently an air letter form was issued as a trial and became very popular, so that sales exceeded all expectations. Bahrain stamps are in considerable demand, but owing to the smallness of the internal mail and the popular use of franking machines Bahrain stamps are far from easy to find. The most valuable Bahrain stamp is the 2½ anna Olympic Games issue with a double overprint of which only half a sheet of unused stamps has come to light. The S.G. No. 42, a 1 anna 3 pies value, in good used condition, is also a very hard stamp to obtain and is worth more than the current catalogued price.

Although revenue stamps are not collected by the majority of philatelists, those of Bahrain are of interest by reason of their attractive designs, which are of Bahrain scenes and activities. The 4 anna value shows an old peddler weighing out his goods, the 8 anna value a section of Manama and some sailing boats, the 1 rupee, an Arab with his two means of hunting, the falcon and the salugi; the 5 rupees shows a pile of pearl shells, the 10 rupees a donkey carrying skins of water, the 50 rupees a pair of camels and the 100 rupees, date palms. 651

At the time of writing a new set of revenue stamps were in the process of printing, of the following values: 4 annas, 5 rupees, 10 rupees, 50 rupees and 100 rupees. All bear the head of H.H. The Ruler and in addition the four high values have the Suq al-Khamis Minarets, The Rifaa Palace, the Sitra Pool and a sailing boat as designs.

to buy liquor for their own use. In Awali liquor is sold through the medium of BAPCO, while residents in Manama must apply for a permit to buy liquor from H.B.M.'s Political Agent. 273

It is a serious offence in Bahrain for a Moslem to be found in possession of liquor, or "under the influence" and it is also illegal for non-Moslems in possession of liquor to give or sell it to Moslems.

## MEDICAL FACILITIES

There are in Bahrain a number of private and public hospitals, as well as dentists, doctors and chemists. 743

For the benefit of the people of Bahrain the State Department of Health maintains a number of medical institutions in various parts of Bahrain. At the western end of Manama is the Naim Hospital for men and women, containing both public and private wards and equipped to deal with all emergencies. This hospital is used by the foreign community, except those employed by BAPCO, as well as by the people of the country. Also in Manama there are isolation hospitals, a mental hospital, a T.B. Sanatorium and the Office of Public Health. There are also State Hospitals in Muharraq and Hedd and dispensaries in the three towns and various villages. 657

For the use of its employees, both Bahraini and foreign, BAPCO has two hospitals in Awali.

The oldest hospital in Bahrain is that run by the mission of the Dutch Reformed Church of America in Shaikh Isa Road, Manama. This hospital contains both public and private wards. There are also several dentists and doctors practising privately in Manama. [797]

## RATES OF POSTAGE 205

| | LETTERS | Rs. | As. |
|---|---|---|---|
| INLAND : | Not exceeding 1 oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 1½ |
| | For each additional oz. | 0 | 1 |
| FOREIGN : | | | |
| *Seamail* : | | | |
| | Kuwait, Dubai and Muscat, not exceeding 1 oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 1½ |
| | For each additional oz. | 0 | 1 |
| | Great Britain and Eire, British Empire and territories under British Mandate, U.S.A. and Egypt, not exceeding 1 oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 2½ |
| | For each additional oz. | 0 | 1 |
| | All other countries, not exceeding 1 oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 4 |
| | For each additional oz. | 0 | 2½ |
| *Airmail* : | | | |
| | Europe, per half oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 6 |
| | Australia, New Zealand, per half oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 12 |
| | Canada, U.S.A., per half oz. or fraction thereof | 1 | 0 |
| | India, per half oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 6 |
| | Saudi Arabia, Irak, Cyprus, Dubai, Egypt, Lebanon, Kuwait, Syria and Jordan, per half oz. or part thereof | 0 | 3½ |

205 For those interested in sending food parcels to friends or relatives in England the following facts may be of interest. Not more than one parcel may be sent at any one time to one consignee in England. The total weight of the food parcel may not exceed 18 pounds, and no more than four pounds of any one commodity can be sent. There are no restrictions at present in force regarding the export of foodstuffs from Bahrain.

There are three post offices in Bahrain, one on Prior Road, Manama, a second on Sea Road, Muharraq and a third at Awali.

PUBLIC HOLIDAYS

627 The following are public holidays in Bahrain :

*Every Friday*, this is the Moslem sabbath.

*New Years Day*.

*Eid Ramadan*, a three days holiday at the end of the month of fasting, in 1953 this feast will fall on the 13th, 14th and 15th June.

*Eid al-Hajj*, a three days holiday on the 10th 11th and 12th of the Arabic month of Dhul Hajj at the conclusion of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. In 1953 this feast will fall on the 10th, 11th and 12th August.

*Ashura*, a two days holiday, but not a feast; these days, the 9th and 10th Muharram are when the Shia mourn the death of Hussein at Kerbela. In 1953 this holiday will take place on the 18th and 19th September.

*The Prophet's Birthday*, the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad. In 1953 this feast will take place on 19th November.

*Christmas Day*.

The dates of Moslem feast days and holidays are based on the Islamic lunar calendar, and consequently *move back ten days each year and eleven days in leap years*,

CALENDAR

805 The official calendar in Bahrain is the Moslem calendar and as stated above, Moslem holidays are based on it. The Moslem months are as follows :

| | |
|---|---|
| Muharram | Rajab |
| Safar | Shaban |
| Rabia al-Awal | Ramadan |
| Rabia ath-Thani | Shawal |
| Jamadi al-Awal | Dhul Qada |
| Jamadi ath-Thani | Dhul Hajj |

**The Islamic calendar dates from 622 A.D., the year in which the Hijra took place.**

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

205

STAMPS OF BAHREIN

[facing page 47]

804 The Chow is also used as the nominal weight in Bombay by the pearl traders, but the Bombay Chow weighs only one-fourth the Bahrein.

## CURRENCY

436 Indian money is the national currency. The rupee, a silver coin about the size of a United States half-dollar, is the basic unit and is worth about thirty cents, its sterling equivalent being ls. 6d. The rupee is divided into 16 *annas* (sing., *anna*).

Other silver coins are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Half rupee | = 8 annas |
| Quarter rupee | = 4 annas |
| Eighth rupee | = 2 annas |
| Pice | = ¼ anna |
| ½ Pice | = ⅛ anna |

Copper coins less than one anna in value are also in circulation. There are 12 pies to an anna, or 192 pies to a rupee.

Indian paper currency is also in general use.[1] Besides the rupee the Persian *rial*[2]; (about $0.29), the Saudi Arabian *riyal*,[3] the Maria Theresa Thaler, (about $.45), and the Turkish pound, or *lira*, (about $3.60), are also in limited use.

## STAMPS

●205 Up to 1947, the stamps of Bahrein were the old stamps of British India, with the word "Bahrain" over-printed across in black ink.[4] However, since the division of Indian colony into Dominions of India and Pakistan, the stamps used in Bahrein are those of United Kingdom with the word "BAHRAIN" and values in rupees over-printed in black ink. The Sheikdom has adhered to the International Postal Union and its membership in that organization is the only international agreement signed by Bahrein.

[648]

1. One hundred thousand rupees is called a *lakh*, and is written Rs. 1,00,000.
2. The Persian rial is fixed by the law of 1932 at a value of 0.07322383 grammes of gold.
3. The Saudi Arabian riyal was declared in 1940 to be equivalent to the Indian rupee.
4. The British and American differ in spelling the name of the island. Throughout the book we have followed the American use.

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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Bookings can be made in Bahrain on these air lines either through their Bahrain offices or through any of the various travel bureaux that function in Manama. It is also possible to charter aircraft from Gulf Aviation Ltd. at rates which can be ascertained from the Company or its agents. D.H. Doves, carrying 7 passengers, are used.

Below are given some of the current air fares to various world cities and to the other Persian Gulf towns :—

| *Bahrain to* : | *Fare single* Rs. | *return* Rs. | *Bahrain to* : | *Fare single* Rs. | *return* Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Amsterdam | 1547 | 2475 | Doha | 65 | 130 |
| Bombay | 680 | 1224 | Karachi | 547 | 985 |
| Brussels | 1494 | 2475 | Kuwait | 147 | 265 |
| Cairo | 627 | 1129 | London | 1547 | 2475 |
| Colombo | 907 | 1633 | New York* | 3428 | 5861 |
| Damascus | 534 | 962 | Paris | 1547 | 2475 |
| Delhi | 707 | 1273 | Rome | 1240 | 2232 |
| Dhahran | 30 | 60 | Sharjah | 150 | 280 |

**Off season return fare New York Rs.5380.*

TELECOMMUNICATIONS

206 ● 207

The telecommunication system of the islands is owned and operated by Cable and Wireless Ltd., who maintain an automatic telephone system within Bahrain itself and also a radio-telephone system with other countries.

The following are representative cable rates :—

*Telegraph Rates (per word).*

| *Country.* | Ordinary (*Full Rate*) | Letter telegram (*Min. charge for 22 words*) | *Each additional word.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. As. | Rs. As. | Rs. As. |
| Australia | 2 13 | 30 15 | 1 6½ |
| Canada | 1 10 | 17 14 | 0 13 |
| Egypt (1 and 3 regions) | 1 13 | 19 15 | 0 14½ |
| Egypt (region 2) | 1 14 | 20 10 | 0 15 |
| France | 1 1 | 11 11 | 0 8½ |
| Great Britain | 1 1 | 11 11 | 0 8½ |
| Holland | 1 1 | 11 11 | 0 8½ |
| India | 0 13 | 8 15 | 0 6½ |
| Irak | 0 10 | 6 14 | 0 5 |
| Italy | 1 1 | 11 11 | 0 8½ |
| Pakistan | 0 12 | 8 4 | 0 6 |
| U.S.A. : | | | |
| New York City | 1 6 | 15 2 | 0 11 |
| Alaska | 1 14 | 20 10 | 0 15 |
| All other places | 1 8 | 16 8 | 0 12 |

The following are radio-telephone charges, for three minute calls :—

| | Rs. As. |
|---|---|
| (*a*) Great Britain, Northern Ireland and Eire | 40 0 |
| (*b*) France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg | 43 15 |
| (*c*) Denmark, Germany and Switzerland | 48 1 |
| (*d*) Norway and Sweden | 49 15 |
| (*e*) United States of America and Canada | 50 0 |

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

377
653

considerably, there was not a corresponding increase in revenue owing to the use of cheap low-power Japanese lamps which were bought by the public in place of the more powerful lights which had originally been installed.

In 1352 (1933-34) there was a further increase in revenue: 415 more points were connected and power was used for refrigerators, water-pumps, etc. The Electric Department acquired the sole agency for International General Electric Company's refrigerators which, after experiments with other makes, were found to be the most satisfactory. The increase continued through 1353 (1934-35); revenue from sale of energy amounted to Rs 6,000/- more than during the previous year, but, unfortunately, owing to an experiment which was made by a temporary engineer, there was a loss of over Rs 5,000/- on wiring. A reduction in the price per point resulted in wiring being carried out by the department at an actual loss, and the amount involved was considerable, as the department had undertaken a large amount of wiring work for the Bahrain Petroleum Company in addition to the normal work in Manamah and Muharraq. A large quantity of material was ordered at the same time in expectation of wiring orders which did not materialise.

**First Profitable Year.** In 1354 (1935-36) the Electric Department made a profit of Rs 4,800/- after covering all charges including depreciation. Sixty new premises were wired, 302 lighting points and 33 fans were installed, and the load increased by 27 kilowatts. The department carried out all the wiring work for the naval base at Jufair and also put in a land telegraph line from the wireless office to the terminus of the subterranean cable on the coast west of Manamah.

In 1355 (1936-37), the seventh year of the undertaking, the net profit was Rs 16,757/-, the load increased by 58 kilowatts, and 91 new premises were wired. A new one-ton ice plant was installed, the existing supply being found insufficient for local requirements, and indications appeared that the public were beginning to use electric power commercially, for example, in carpentry, etc. A three-phase line and underground cable was run from Naim to the new direction-finding station installed by Cable & Wireless Limited, and underground mains replaced the overhead lines in the customs square. During the winter months the generating sets were run continuously, for the first time, in order to encourage the use of power appliances.

**Future Prospects.** It can be reasonably assumed that during the next two or three years the load will increase. There are still a large number of houses which are not provided with electric light, and all new houses, especially those which are built for letting, are nowadays fitted with electric light. During the last year the two engines have frequently been running at the same time in order to cope with peak loads. This is undesirable and dangerous. It is now proposed to instal a third engine consisting of one 300 BHP Mirrlees set which will obviate any possibility of a breakdown and which will provide for future expansion.

A reduction in the rate charged for heating appliances was made during 1355 (1936-37), but it has not yet been possible to reduce the cost of the unit for lighting or cost of power for other purposes. It may be possible to effect a reduction during the year 1357 (1938-39).

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**Telephone System.** In 1351 (1932-33) a public telephone was opened in Manamah, and by the end of the first year twelve lines had been connected and two were in course of erection. The telephone exchange was installed in a room above the Police Station, which was both a safe and central position. Two young men from the schools were trained by the State Engineer as operators. The yearly rent for a telephone, with an unlimited number of calls, was Rs 150/-, which was reduced after two years to Rs 125/-, as it was found possible to reduce the rent and still allow a small profit from the undertaking.

In 1353 (1934-35) an extension of the telephone system was run from the exchange to the aerodrome in Muharraq in conjunction with the Imperial Airways Company, which paid for this additional line. In 1354 (1935-36) the exchange was connected to the Bahrain Petroleum Company Limited telephone system by a trunk line, and another line was erected to the naval base at Jufair. In 1355 (1936-37) a new exchange of 25 lines was installed in Manamah, and a day and night service was instituted. At the end of 1355 (1936-37) it was decided to connect the

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Ruler's house at Sakhir with the exchange by means of a line from Manamah through the Bahrain Petroleum Company's exchange. Telephonic communication now exists over a great part of the islands; from the aerodrome in Muharraq it is possible to talk to steamers lying off Sitra, as a submarine cable was laid by the Bahrain Petroleum Company to the Sitra anchorage, or to distant points on the oil field far down at the south end of the island.

At the end of 1355 (1936-37) there were 40 telephone subscribers, and it is expected that during the next year this number will increase to 60. The trunk line to the Bahrain Petroleum Company's Camp was duplicated in order to deal with the increased traffic. The possibility of installing an automatic switchboard (100 lines) is now under consideration. The advantages would be the elimination of operators and the language difficulties and the prevention of listening-in.

SUMMARY OF SEVEN YEARS' WORKING

| *Year.* | *Units Generated.* | *Units Sold.* | *Revenue Rs* | *Connected Load in Kw.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1349 (1930-31) ... | 88,080 ... | 47,340 ... | 20,750/- ... | 102 |
| 1350 (1931-32) ... | 111,367 ... | 65,813 ... | 22,486/- ... | 46 |
| 1351 (1932-33) ... | 120,629 ... | 79,550 ... | 27,463/- ... | 23 |
| 1352 (1933-34) ... | 134,744 ... | 83,241 ... | 30,987/- ... | 9 |
| 1353 (1934-35) ... | 147,050 ... | 100,449 ... | 36,797/- ... | 16 |
| 1354 (1935-36) ... | 163,751 ... | 116,440 ... | 43,828/- ... | 27 |
| 1355 (1936-37) ... | 232,320 ... | 151,255 ... | 60,108/- ... | 58 |

The revenue figures are shown to the nearest rupee.

## AGRICULTURE

Until a few years ago agriculture in Bahrain consisted of cultivating dates and lucerne fairly extensively and growing citrus fruit and a few poor vegetables such as onions, tomatoes, radishes, and melons. In 1930 the Government attempted to encourage agriculture by employing an agricultural expert from Iraq, but owing to lack of funds his services were dispensed with before he could make much progress.

The encouragement of agriculture presents many difficulties. Bahrain Arabs regard all agricultural work as derogatory; I have never met one who worked in a garden or a date grove. All the cultivators are Shia aboriginals or Hasawis imported from the mainland as labourers. This feeling against working on the land, and also the question of land tenure have, I believe, restricted the increase of agriculture during the last century. There is ample evidence to show that in the past a great deal more land was cultivated than is to-day. The people who do work on the land are intensely conservative and view all methods except their own with dislike and suspicion.

**Land Tenure.** Most of the open, cultivatable land, which is along the coast, is claimed by the Ruling Family, who make no use of it themselves, but prevent the Baharna from extending their existing gardens. In the past, Shaikh Sir Isa was in the habit of issuing papers to various of his relations, gifting to them whole districts of Bahrain. These 'hiba' documents, which were often written on scraps of paper, included large areas described as 'sehat,' containing roads, villages, springs, privately owned property as well as open land. The Shaikhs who acquired 'hibas' enjoyed feudal rights over the territories which were mentioned in their documents, and in the past they were allowed to make what they could out of them by independent taxation of the people living in the villages, by employing forced labour and by using open land as grazing grounds for the animals which they used to own before the days of motor cars. When the 'hiba' system began, long before the introduction of artesian wells, the possibility of increased cultivation was not visualised, but now the holders of 'hibas'

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Bookings can be made in Bahrain on these air lines either through their Bahrain offices or through any of the various travel bureaux that function in Manama. It is also possible to charter aircraft from Gulf Aviation Ltd. at rates which can be ascertained from the Company or its agents. D.H. Doves, carrying 7 passengers, are used.

Below are given some of the current air fares to various world cities and to the other Persian Gulf towns :—

| *Bahrain to* : | *Fare single* Rs. | *return* Rs. | *Bahrain to* : | *Fare single* Rs. | *return* Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Amsterdam | 1547 | 2475 | Doha | 65 | 130 |
| Bombay | 680 | 1224 | Karachi | 547 | 985 |
| Brussels | 1494 | 2475 | Kuwait | 147 | 265 |
| Cairo | 627 | 1129 | London | 1547 | 2475 |
| Colombo | 907 | 1633 | New York* | 3428 | 5861 |
| Damascus | 534 | 962 | Paris | 1547 | 2475 |
| Delhi | 707 | 1273 | Rome | 1240 | 2232 |
| Dhahran | 30 | 60 | Sharjah | 150 | 280 |

**Off season return fare New York Rs.5380.*

## TELECOMMUNICATIONS

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The telecommunication system of the islands is owned and operated by Cable and Wireless Ltd., who maintain an automatic telephone system within Bahrain itself and also a radio-telephone system with other countries.

The following are representative cable rates :—

| *Country.* | *Telegraph Rates (per word).* Ordinary (*Full Rate*) | Letter telegram (*Min. charge for 22 words*) | *Each additional word.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. As. | Rs. As. | Rs. As. |
| Australia | 2 13 | 30 15 | 1 6½ |
| Canada | 1 10 | 17 14 | 0 13 |
| Egypt (1 and 3 regions) | 1 13 | 19 15 | 0 14½ |
| Egypt (region 2) | 1 14 | 20 10 | 0 15 |
| France | 1 1 | 11 11 | 0 8½ |
| Great Britain | 1 1 | 11 11 | 0 8½ |
| Holland | 1 1 | 11 11 | 0 8½ |
| India | 0 13 | 8 15 | 0 6½ |
| Irak | 0 10 | 6 14 | 0 5 |
| Italy | 1 1 | 11 11 | 0 8½ |
| Pakistan | 0 12 | 8 4 | 0 6 |
| U.S.A. : | | | |
| New York City | 1 6 | 15 2 | 0 11 |
| Alaska | 1 14 | 20 10 | 0 15 |
| All other places | 1 8 | 16 8 | 0 12 |

The following are radio-telephone charges, for three minute calls :—

| | | Rs. As. |
|---|---|---|
| (*a*) | Great Britain, Northern Ireland and Eire | 40 0 |
| (*b*) | France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg | 43 15 |
| (*c*) | Denmark, Germany and Switzerland | 48 1 |
| (*d*) | Norway and Sweden | 49 15 |
| (*e*) | United States of America and Canada | 50 0 |

organize the secondary school system. The teachers received from £25 to £30 a month and "bed and board" paid by the Bahrein government. Interestingly enough, the first director of the first school opened at Muharraq was the present Saudi Arabian Minister to London, Sheik Hafiz Wahba.

At present, there is no newspaper in Bahrein. A weekly newspaper, Al Bahrein, was founded in 1939, but ceased its publication after the death of its publisher, Abdallah Za-id. In 1940 a broadcasting station was built, and the Al-Bahrein Radio started short-wave broadcasts on a 23-m, 50 band on November 4. During the war, Radio Bahrein was most useful to the Allied cause, since its four daily news broadcasts in Arabic and Persian were heard more easily throughout the Near East than those of Egypt.

Besides the schools, two "circles" for the discussion of political and literary matters were established in 1935 under the patronage of the brother of the Sheik. There was already a Cercle Israelite in the island.

## ECONOMY

The geographical features and the geological formation of the islands greatly reduce the economic value of Bahrein. The scarcity of water and the sandy nature of the soil exclude agricultural development. The application of modern methods of agriculture and the utilization of artesian wells and gasoline operated pumps are too recent and too inadequate to make Bahrein even partially independent of imported food. For many years to come, and probably forever, the islands will be dependent on food, meat, vegetables, and fruits brought chiefly from the Persian or Arabian mainland.

Fortunately, in most of the islands of the Persian Gulf and the surrounding regions, wherever water is found naturally or captured artificially, date palms grow with astonishing ease. The northern part of Bahrein Island, thanks to natural springs and more recently to artesian wells, is practically a string of oases with palm groves numbering several hundred thousands.

3: Bahrain G-5 (1950) 1950 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# BAHRAIN'S SECOND CENSUS

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THE 1359 (1941) CENSUS. The first General Census of Bahrain was taken on the 22nd January 1941. Previous to this there were no accurate figures about the population of Bahrain although figures were given in various books of reference showing the number of inhabitants as being as much as 200,000. The basis of these estimates, which were so wide of the mark, is not known; they were not calculated from the numbers of births and deaths because the registration of births and deaths is not yet compulsory in Bahrain, it is however a measure which the Government hopes soon to introduce.

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In 1359 the Government announced by proclamation that there was to be a counting of the people. The news was received with disapproval and suspicion by a large proportion of the community. Few people, except those who had been abroad, believed that the only reason for the census was because the Government wanted to know how many people lived in the country. Many rumours, some of them very wild, became current, especially in the villages. It was said that conscription was to be introduced, that taxation was to be imposed, that a municipality was to be set up in every village and, finally, that no woman in future would be allowed to give birth to a child except in one of the Government hospitals. Some of the rumours were deliberately spread by mischief makers. Another factor which affected the census was the rationing system which allowed a larger ration of cereals to adults than to children under a certain age. Eventually after many public meetings, talks from the Bahrain Broadcasting Station, which was then in action, articles in the local paper and intensive propaganda intended to remove doubts and suspicion this first census was carried out.

563 167 Indians and Pakistanis (3,043) mostly living in Manamah, were the next largest foreign community followed by Saudi-Arabians (2,526) who included many Hassawis employed as agricultural labourers; Omanis, Muscatis and Arabs from the Trucial Coast (2,466) were mostly people who entered Bahrain in recent years seeking work; British, Americans and other Europeans numbered 1,683, this total does not include ships crews at Sitra and at Jufair (584). In Manamah and Muharraq the British and American population was 270, including R.A.F. personnel. Other nationalities included Iraqis (224), Qataris (438), Kuwaitis (149), Yemenis (105). In the population of Bahrain at the time of the census over 30 nationalities were represented.

● [208] 745 Owing to local feeling Sunnis and Shias were not registered separately but sectarial distribution outside Manamah and Muharraq is sharply defined. The Shia villages contain no Sunnis and the Sunni villages contain very few Shias. Muharraq contains a small number of Shia Baharna, who are scarcely distinguishable from the Arabs and a long established community of Persian Shias. In Manamah the Shias, both Baharna and Persians, are a large and important section of the population; certain quarters of the town are inhabited almost exclusively by Baharna and some of the suburbs are occupied almost entirely by Persians.

115 162 Bahrain is predominantly Moslem. There are less than 4,000 persons belonging to other religions, of these 2,348 are Christians, not including men on ships in the harbours, 293 are Jews and 975 are Hindus.

## AGE AND SEX.

162 Reliable information about ages was difficult to obtain because few of the local inhabitants knew their own ages. There is as yet no registration of births

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



609 foreigners are "kept in their place" there circulate by word of mouth — a method of communication highly developed in the Middle East — and exaggerated several times in the process. One of the central themes of the local Bahrain press is a comparison between Saudi Arabia and Bahrain in this respect. As is to be expected, this is causing a feeling of frustration among the natives and creating an atmosphere of restiveness and increasing antagonism toward foreigners.

In Kuwait a rather ambitious development program has been under way for several years, made possible by increasing oil royalties. There is an atmosphere of feverish activity, psychologically exaggerated because of its concentration in a small area. By contrast, life in Bahrain is slow and development sober but limited, in view of the comparatively small oil revenues. This causes some jealousy which finds an emotional outlet in an increasing suspicion of foreigners and increasing demands on the major companies, such as the Bahrain Petroleum Company, to do more for the country than they have been doing so far.

## *FOREIGN ARAB GROUPS*

563 167 463 A rather large number of foreign Arabs live in Bahrain. They can be divided into two main groups which in custom and social mores have little in common. The first group is composed of Arabs from Saudi Arabia, Oman, Muscat, Qatar, and Yemen. These people have always been part of the scene. They come and go as they have always done, with hardly any restriction on their movement. Many of them are related to people in Bahrain by blood or marriage and are looked upon as "cousins," *awlad al-'amm*, a term which carries with it all the emotional overtones of the traditions of tribal life. Some of them are merchants; a large number, especially of those from Oman, Muscat, Qatar, and Yemen, are employed by the oil industry as common laborers, and others work with local industries. Their community life and standard of living do not vary a great deal from that of the local population; in fact they are hardly distinguishable from it.

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The second group of foreign Arabs, made up of a small number of Egyptians, Syrians, Lebanese, Iraqis, and Palestinians, is comparatively new to the area. On the whole, their standard of living is probably higher than that of any other group with the exception of the Westerners. Few are engaged in trade; the majority are white-collar workers.

563 875 ● 208 177 Although they are largely new arrivals, they already exert considerable influence on the life of the country. Unlike all other foreigners, they are genuinely welcomed and looked up to by the local population. They are the missionaries of Arab nationalism. Most of the high-school and a good number of the elementary-school teachers in Bahrain come from this group (see Table IV); in this key position, it can be truly said of them that they

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



are the moulders of the new generation of Bahrainis. It is significant that all these teachers come from countries which have just emerged from British or French control.

## *TRENDS FOR THE FUTURE*

Social realignment among the Sunnis and the Shi'is must be thought of in terms of the distant future. It is true that secular and technical education, nationalism, and economic forces are all operating to bring these two groups together. As a result they have begun to cooperate with each other in certain areas of common interest as nonreligious groups; nevertheless, the old loyalties and social patterns are still strongly entrenched, as is very graphically illustrated by the religious riots of 1953 and 1954. It is even conceivable that when and if religion loses the depth of meaning it has at present to both groups, it may still remain as the basis of political alignment or power, as is the case in highly literate Lebanon.

Nationalism has replaced religious tradition as the basis of the relations of the Jews with the major segments of society. The resultant tension is being resolved through emigration, but a few will no doubt remain. All indications are that the political struggle between the Arabs and Israel will leave them little chance of reintegrating themselves on some new basis into society in Bahrain. It is possible, although highly improbable thanks to the presence of the British, that mass violence may be used against them. If this does take place, the problem in all likelihood will assume an international character. Israel, which has established itself as the protector and defender of Jewish minorities, no doubt would use every measure to dramatize the plight of this minority to the world.

The animosity of the native population toward Persians and Indians does not arise from fundamental issues of a permanent nature. There is, for instance, no parallel feeling toward Iran, India, or Pakistan; on the contrary, warm sympathy prevails for them as combatants against Western domination. Both the causes and the issues are transitory in character, and

*Table IV.* FOREIGN TEACHERS IN BAHRAIN

| *Year* | *Egypt* | *Syria* | *Lebanon* | *Palestine* | *Other Arab Countries* | *Other Nationalities* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1944/45..... | 12 | 2 | 12 | — | — | 2 | 28 |
| 1945/46..... | 10 | — | 13 | .. | 1 | 2 | 26 |
| 1946/47..... | 13 | 9 | 12 | — | 1 | 2 | 37 |
| 1947/48..... | 11 | 7 | 14 | — | 1 | 2 | 35 |
| 1948/49..... | 22 | 6 | 14 | — | 1 | 3 | 46 |
| 1949/50..... | 20 | 7 | 14 | 9 | 1 | 3 | 54 |
| 1950/51..... | 9 | 9 | 15 | 10 | 1 | 3 | 47 |
| 1951/52..... | 9 | 7 | 27 | 18 | 2 | 4 | 67 |

Source: Government of Bahrain, Dept. of Education, *Report on the Condition of Education in Bahrain* (Bahrain, 1952), p. 47. (In Arabic.)

graves were like those in the ancient graveyard nearby, they did not point towards Mecca as do Moslem graves, and so it would seem that the mosque was built on top of part of the ancient burial ground. The pillars and columns of the mosque were connected by keel-pointed arches and the ceiling was supported by two teak pillars 13 feet in height on the top of which rested a beam. The pillars and beam have been removed from the mosque and are in the possession of the Bahrain Government. It would seem that owing to the comparative weakness, of the pillars the roof can only have been made of some light material probably brushwood or palm-branches covered with earth. 172 778 346

Diez states that when he visited the mosque, early in the century, there was a long inscription in the Qibla wall of the courtyard which showed that the mosque in its latest form was built in the year 740 A.H. (1339/40 A.D.). This tablet, together with some inscribed blocks which used to be above the Qibla wall, have fallen from their place and while some pieces of them are still in the possession of the Bahrain Government many have disappeared. These inscriptions and the square inscribed stone over the door of the western minaret are all of the same period, but it seems probable that the shorter inscription near the door of the minaret dates from the eleventh century A.D. At the feet of the pillars of the west wall of the courtyard are the remains of two Qibla stones. These have also fallen into disrepair since the visit of Diez, the top half of each stone has disappeared and the writer has been unable to trace them. The presence of these Qibla stones is unusual, only in the mosques of Ibn Tulun in Cairo and of the Prophet at Medina are they present. Qibla stones were used before the introduction of the mihrab niche to indicate the direction of prayer. 172 778 346 212

The two Qibla stones bear inscriptions that show them to be of Shiite origin and so the mosque in its present form is a Shiite one. The inscription on a wooden pillar which once supported the roof and which has also disappeared, was of the same period and bore a similar inscription. The wooden pillars formerly in the mosque led Diez to ascribe the original mosque to the tenth or eleventh centuries A.D. It is interesting to note that wooden pillars of the same style and with the same ornamentation were found in the mosque at Samarra, in Iraq, which was founded by the Caliph al-Mu'tasim in 836 A.D. The mosque also had a school and a well attached to it, the traces of the latter can still be seen near the graves to the east of the mosque itself.

In the corner of Bilad al-Qadim nearest to the Suq al-Khamis mosque is another ancient inscription, in the mosque known as Masjid ar-Raf'ia. This is also a Qibla stone, set into the west wall of the mosque, but although it is in Kufic characters the work does not seem as fine as in the Kufic inscriptions in the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, possibly because this mosque was of less importance than the one at the Suq. The inscription bears the names of Muhammad, Ali, Fatima, Hussein and Hassan and is therefore also of Shiite origin. Bilad al-Qadim itself presents a sorry spectacle and with the exception of the

south-west corner the town is deserted and in ruins. Also on this plain is the Abu Zaidan Mosque, built over a spring of the same name. This mosque has recently been repaired by the Government and is much used by the Shia people of Manama, especially by the women during weddings.

To the north of the Budaiya Road is the ruined mosque of Abu Mahara, a strange little building with two storeys and a tall column in the centre of the spring. This mosque was built in the year 889 A.H. (1484 A.D.) as shown by an inscription to this effect in its west wall.

There are many other mosques in Bahrain, some of which contain inscriptions giving the date of their foundation, but they are of comparatively recent date and the mosques themselves are of no architectural interest.

### THE FORTS OF BAHRAIN

Portuguese and Persians, Arabs and Omanis, all these have at one time or another attacked and occupied Bahrain and have retained control of the islands by the construction and garrisoning of forts and castles. The oldest surviving fort in Bahrain is the Qalat al-Ajaj, built by the Portuguese some time after their occupation of Bahrain in 1521. This fort lies on the northern shore of Bahrain Island some three miles from Manama and the easiest way to visit it is by driving along the Manama-Budaiya Road and then by turning off to the north when the ruins of the fort can be seen through the date palms.

On the sea shore below the fort can be seen the steps by which the Portuguese entered their boats, but with the exception of these remains there are no relics of the Portuguese in Bahrain. A number of cannon have been found, but there is a surprising absence of inscriptions, coins or gravestones.

The exact date of the construction of the fort is not known, but the fort was repaired in 1562 and 1586, this need for continual repair was no doubt due to the many revolts which took place in Bahrain against the Portuguese. Shaikh Khalifah an-Nabhani, in his history of Bahrain, mentions that he visited the fort and saw this latter date inscribed in four places on the walls of the fort, but today there is no sign of these inscriptions.

Page 62 shows a map of north Bahrain Island and Muharraq taken from a Portuguese book of the seventeenth century. It is interesting to see that whereas the Portuguese fort, in fact, has five sides, with square towers at four corners and a turret at the fifth, in the map the fort appears as square in shape while the moat is five-sided. The fort is at present in such a bad state of repair that it is almost impossible to discover the purposes of the various towers and chambers found in it, but an idea can be obtained of the great skill and care that went into the making of the walls by an examination of the towers and wall on the west side of the fort. The moat is no longer filled by the sea due to its neglect, although after the expulsion of the Portuguese the fort continued to be used by the Persian garrison in Bahrain.

A further examination of the map reveals that in the time of the

level of the ground. Every 10-20 yards along the length of the channels are airholes, round chimneys lined with stone and varying in diameter from 2 to 5 feet. The top of the shaft, which resembles a well head, is surrounded by a low wall. Page 116 shows the channel which has been uncovered and in which the construction of the airholes can clearly be seen. At the shaft of the water channel which runs west of the village of Shakhura there is a large subterranean room which serves the purpose of a bathing hall. It has a high arched roof with columns branching out from a central pillar. It is roofed over and has a hard gypsum floor covered with fine white sand. There is a continual stream of cold water through the chamber, which is still used by the inhabitants from the surrounding villages as a bathing place to which they go in the heat of the summer and sit in comfort in the shady coolness below. It is rumoured that there are more such chambers, but this is the only one that the author has personally visited.

The channels in most cases carry water from springs in the hills a few miles inland to the coastal gardens. Many of them are still used, although others have long since fallen into ruin, but very skilful work was involved in their building and the fact that water still flows in many of them is a conclusive proof of their scientific construction. So far, no inscriptions have been found within them, but there is no doubt that if they were examined with care some signs would be found of their exact origin.

In these four sections most of the antiquities of the Bahrain Islands have been described, for they are unfortunately rare and, with the exception of the Tumuli, the mosques, the forts and the Qanats there, is little of archaeological interest in Bahrain. There are possibilities of future discoveries, however, especially in Bilad al-Qadim which should, as the ancient capital, yield something of interest to any archaeologist who explores its ruins. The numerous Arabic inscriptions would also be worth further study and their translation should add something to the history of Bahrain by giving the names of the various rulers who, at one time or another, built mosques or other buildings and had their good deed inscribed on stone.

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In addition to these works a number of books appear in the general bibliography at the end of this guide which may be consulted for further information about Bahrain's antiquities.

## LITERACY

212 An effort was made to ascertain the number of literates.
162 In addition to people who were educated at Government and private schools those who had learned to read and write at Quran schools were counted as literate. The first Government school was opened in 1919 and during the last twenty years the number of schools for boys and girls has steadily increased. Persons registered as literate amounted to 14,057. If Europeans and Indians were deducted from this total there remain about 10,000 literates among the local population of 105,000, approximately 10% of the indigenous population being literate. This percentage, for Bahrain, is not low.

## HOUSES

362 All occupied houses were numbered and counted; in some cases a "house" consisted of one small hut, in other cases it was a building occupied by thirty or forty members and hangers-on of one family. Empty houses, of which there were none in Manamah and few in Muharraq, were not included. The number of houses in Manamah was 5,703 and in Muharraq 3,720; in the first census the numbers were 4,051 and 3,155 respectively. In nine years 1,600 new houses have been built in Manamah and 500 in Muharraq. In both towns the proportion of stone houses has increased considerably. The figures for houses in the villages are less accurate, it was often difficult to determine where one dwelling, consisting of a group of huts in a compound, ended and the next dwelling began. The census showed 6,232 houses in the villages and islands as against 5,575 in 1941. Taking the whole population and the number of houses, the average number of persons occupying one house was 6½.

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## DISTRIBUTION BY TOWNS AND VILLAGES

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| Town or Village | Census 1941 (1360) | Percentage of population | Census 1950 (1369) | Percentage of population |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd. | 49,274 | 56% | 65,225 | 61½% |
| Other towns and Villages | 39,164 | 44% | 40,579 | 38½% |
| Total | 88,438 | | 105,804 | |

## CENSUS OF DWELLING HOUSES

| Towns or Villages | Census 1941 (1360) | Census 1950 (1369) |
|---|---|---|
| Manamah | 4,649 | 5,703 |
| Muharraq | 3,317 | 3,720 |
| Hedd | 719 | 619 |
| Other towns and villages | 5,697 | 6,232 |
| Total | 14,382 | 16,274 |

## LITERACY

212 Census 1941 (1360) Not recorded.

162 Census 1950 (1369) 14,057 (literates)

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1162 proximately 26,000 residents, and Hedd, a
632 pearl fishing center, around 10,000. The population exceeded that of the 1941 census by almost 20,000: the increase was confined mainly to the towns of Manama and Mu-
[167] harraq, and was attributed in large part to immigration.

871 Since the organization of the first government school in 1919, education has made considerable progress, but expansion is handicapped by a shortage of trained teach-
658 ing personnel. In 1950, the Bahrain govern-
562 ment supported 13 primary schools for boys
872 —8 in the towns and 5 in the villages. Educational facilities were made available to girls in 1928, and at present 6 primary schools are in operation. Of the 5,770 pupils registered in government schools in 1950-51,
871 slightly over 1,700 were girls. A few private
658 schools are established in Manama, while Koranic schools are found in most towns and villages. The government also maintains a secondary school, a technical school and a school hostel for boys, and provides scholarships for qualified students for advanced study at the American University
212 of Beirut and in Great Britain. In the recent census, the literacy rate in the indigenous population was estimated at 10 per cent.

### Vital Statistics

659 The registration of births and deaths is
361 not compulsory in Bahrain, and no data for
165 the calculation of vital statistics are obtain-
163 able. Local medical authorities agree that the mortality rates in infancy and early childhood are uniformly high. Observations made by the census enumerators in 1950 suggest that the infant mortality is particularly serious in the rural villages, in contrast with the towns, where living conditions have improved within recent years. The maternal mortality rates are correspondingly high.

161 The size of the population remained
165 practically stationary in the rural districts
163 in the 9-year interval between the first and the second census surveys. The rate of increase in areas outside the towns of Ma-

1.256(8)

In addition to the English language papers published in Iraq, Lebanon and Egypt, many English and American papers have airmail editions, which take a very short time in reaching Bahrain. Other papers and magazines are on sale in the Manama shops, both American and English, but they take rather longer to arrive. It is possible to receive the *Irak Times* by air, and also numerous Arabic papers from Egypt and Lebanon.

There is a public library in Bahrain, the Library of the Education Department, in Shaikh Abdulla Road, which contains Arabic and English books and magazines. There is a subscription library of English fiction and non-fiction at the Residency, Jufair and also libraries in many of the clubs. The largest library in Bahrain is that of the Bapco Club. Some Manama shops have large selections of books and one of them specialises in new books on Middle Eastern topics and stocks them soon after their publication.

### CLOTHING (EUROPEAN)

Men in the summer wear shirts and slacks or shorts and light tropical suits on formal occasions. In the evening white opened-necked and short sleeved shirts and white trousers are usual, with black shoes and socks and a black cummerbund at more formal affairs. Aertex or similar day shirts are the most suitable form of wear and cellular vests are useful, not for warmth but to absorb sweat. All forms of clothing for summer wear in Bahrain can be bought in Manama, both ready made and tailored.

In cold weather ordinary tweed suits are worn, or flannel trousers and sports coats and dinner jackets in the evening. It is cold enough for pullovers and overcoats, especially after sunset.

Washing frocks, preferably cotton, are the best wear for women in the very hot weather, as linen or silk are unsuitable when the temperature and humidity are high. Light frocks are usually worn from April till December. Hats are worn on rare occasions. Cotton dress materials can be obtained locally as well as ready made English and American frocks.

In the cold season women require the type of clothing which is worn in England in April and May, and in the Fall in the States. In addition, the cold winter winds call for a really warm coat. As with summer clothes, those needed in the winter can be made in Manama from locally purchased material.

### HOTELS

There are only two hotels in Bahrain attaining European standards, the B.O.A.C. Guest House and the Bahrain Hotel. The former is primarily built for the benefit of transit passengers and it is often difficult for visitors to Bahrain who expect to stay for some time to get a room there. The Bahrain Hotel, which is at the west end of Prior Road, offers good food and is in fact the only alternative to the B.O.A.C. Guest House. There are a number of small local hotels which are not in the same class as these two.

228 story that Bahrain pearls are superior in colour to all others because of the presence in the seas around Bahrain of numerous fresh-water springs. In fact the real origin of the pearl inspires no romance, it is the process by which the pearl shell rids itself of an unwelcome intruder. The oyster, when opening to obtain food, often admits small particles of sand or some other substance which irritate its soft flesh, the shell therefore covers the intruder with a secretion that forms a smooth coat of nacre. Once this process has started it continues, more and more layers are built up until the process is stopped by the pearl being removed from its shell or when some accident happens to it. If a pearl is cut in half and examined under the microscope the layers of the nacre can clearly be seen.

221 228 The "Gaus al-Kabir" or main diving season takes place from June to early in October, but before and after the season there is the "Gaus al-Bard" or cold diving season, the duration of which is determined by weather conditions, but which is not recognised as the diving season *par excellence*. In former days the departure of the Bahrain fleet for the pearl banks was the occasion of great excitement, and with drums playing and small boys cheering the boats would sail away from Muharraq. After being joined by boats from other coastal towns and villages the fleet would proceed to the pearl banks, where each boat would choose its own anchorage and prepare for diving.

501 228 Formerly the boat built especially for pearl diving was the sambuq (see Chapter VII), but today the most usual boat is the jalibut, while many very small boats with crews of a dozen men go out to the banks. All pearlers are equipped with special oars with square blades, and on arriving at the banks these are tied so that they project over the water. 228 At each oar two ropes are thrown overboard, one attached to a stone or metal weight and the other to a net bag, although the bag is sometimes hung round the diver's neck. The divers then strip to the buff, or content themselves with a narrow loin cloth, they put on nose clips of bone or tortoise-shell and protect their fingers with leather guards. Putting their feet in a loop in the weighted rope, the divers are swiftly let down, each by his Saib or puller, who remains on deck holding the ropes with the careful hand of a fisherman, but more is at stake than a trout or a salmon, for if the Saib fails to hoist the diver to the surface directly he feels his pull on the rope, the diver's life is in danger. When the diver reaches the sea-bed the weighted rope is pulled up while the diver keeps hold on the second rope. While on the sea-bed the diver hacks off with a small knife as many pearl shells as he can, usually collecting about ten shells in the minute and a half he spends below the surface. When exhausted he tugs sharply at the rope and is hauled to the surface. Twelve fathoms is about the maximum depth to which he dives, and it is easy to picture the frantic rush at this depth to collect the necessary shells. On coming to the surface the diver hangs, resting on the weighted rope, while the Saib tips the bag of shells on to the deck. The rest periods vary with the weather. When it is cold the divers spend two thirds of the time resting on the deck of the

241 Almost all the cultivators are Baharna or Hassawis, who are of the
565 Shiite sect, descendants of Baharna who emigrated to Arabia. The
461 Sunni Arabs do not work in the gardens. The people living in the villages which are scattered among the date gardens originally earned their livelihood entirely by working in the gardens; now many of them are employed by the oil company or in Manama. During the date
[221] picking season, which in many ways resembles the hop picking season in England, temporary villages of palm branch huts spring up among the date gardens when people from other parts of Bahrain come to pick the crop.

565 The village people are the aboriginal inhabitants of the country and in the past they suffered much during the many invasions of Bahrain when their homes, gardens and water channels were destroyed and even in times of peace they were regarded as milch cows, whose wealth was extracted by their rulers. But in recent times their position has changed, they are more prosperous than they used to be and are on terms of equality with their neighbours.

## BOAT BUILDING

174 It is claimed by some authorities on Middle Eastern history that the Phoenicians originated in Bahrain and sailed their craft up the Gulf, which then extended much farther northwards than it does today. and following the Euphrates to the point where the river is nearest to the Syrian coast, they landed and settled there. This may or may not be true but there is no doubt that the people of Bahrain have been sailors for at least as many centuries as the pearl industry has been in existence and their stitched boats not only sailed the Persian Gulf but entered the Indian Ocean.

501 Most of Bahrain's boats were in former days employed as pearlers,
396 and although the Kuwait shipyards built the largest craft it was natural that Bahrain, nearer the Indian source of timber and itself the centre of the pearling industry, should have its own yards. It should also be remembered that Kuwait is a comparatively modern town, having been founded early in the 18th century, before which date it did not attain importance as a harbour for north-east Arabia.

Today most of the boat building is carried on in Muharraq, although there are some yards at the western end of Manama. In former days, before iron nails were obtainable, Arab boats were not nailed but stitched together, with a giant needle and cord as thread, yet these boats of such fragile construction were able to weather the heaviest gales that swept the Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

In recent years launches have been made in greater numbers than sailing boats, so builders have inclined to specialise in the construction of those boats to which engines can best be fitted. For this reason many "jalibuts" have been built, they can be identified by their vertical bow and the straightness of the keel. The origin of this name is doubtful and many suggestions have been made to explain it. Possibly

al-Khamis Mosque and half a mile south of the village there is an inlet of the sea which can be crossed at low tide by a ford which leads to the village of Tubli. 361

Bilad al-Qadim is a Shiite village and was the capital of Bahrain before the Arab conquest of the Islands. It is frequently referred to in local Shiite histories and is described but not named in a number of early Moslem writings. A large area of the town is now in ruins, but its walls and mounds show that it was once a place of considerable size and importance. According to local reports the sandy mound near the School opposite Suq al-Khamis Mosque is all that remains of the fort that protected the town, while the mosque itself was its Friday Mosque. The Thursday Market (Suq al-Khamis), after which the district takes its name, is probably a relic of the time when this was the capital of Bahrain and when goods were brought here from the country for sale, just as today the Wednesday Market serves the same purpose in Manama.

There are several well-known springs in the vicinity including Qasari, which has already been mentioned, the Dhobi Pool and Abu Zaidan. A relic of the old town still stands in the shape of Masjid ar-Rafia, a mosque built over a spring, which is on the west side of the town and contains an ancient Kufic inscription. Date groves and gardens surround the town but many of the inhabitants work in Manama, where some of them own shops. The white buildings in the clearing opposite the Suq al-Khamis Mosque are a Government Boys School and a dispensary. [312]

## ADARI

"The Lido of Bahrain" is a description which is often used for Ain Adari (The Virgin's Pool). It is especially applicable in the summer when every evening buses, cars, lorries and bicycles convey people from Manama to the deep, cool blue waters of the pool where they swim or sit about in the public garden or coffee-shop. Adari is the largest natural spring in Bahrain and the stream which flows from it irrigates many acres of gardens. 312 529

Adari was once a very messy pool where camels and donkeys were watered, but it has been developed by the government into a bathing place. The sides of the pool have been lined with cement and provided with steps, there is a mosque, a coffee shop, bathing huts and diving boards, and around the pool a flower garden where oleandar, bougainvillea and ponciana flourish. The road to Adari, which branches off Awal Road, is indicated by a sign-post about half a mile south of Suq al-Khamis. [491]

## UPPER AND LOWER SEHLAH

These are two villages on opposite sides of Awal Road. Upper Sehlah is a small village of stone and barasti houses built on a hill overlooking the surrounding gardens; in summer the village expands when the date pickers descend on the village and put up their barastis. 361 245 221

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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The Ruler's Palace at Rifaa al-Gharbi. Photo : National Art Studio.

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An Asli potter making jar tops.

A hunting falcon on the hand of one of the Ruler's retainers. Photo : Sir Charles Belgrave.

131 length and a mile wide. "Howar" means "Young Camel" and the island was so called because it is similar in shape though smaller than Bahrain, and so was described as its offspring.

There are many other little islands in the Bahrain archipelago ; some contain small villages or fishermen's huts while others are deserted except during the occasional visits of migratory birds or pearl divers who come to the islands during the diving season to draw water from the freshwater springs.

311 Along the northern coast of Bahrain there is a narrow strip of land
137 some three miles wide which is under cultivation. The fertile gardens containing date and loz (Indian almond or Terminalia) pomegranate, banana and fig trees are irrigated from many natural springs and artesian wells. But in the waterless areas south of the cultivation, in the centre of the island, only sparse and hardy desert flora exists. Although this desert may seem bare to the eyes of a visitor accustomed to the lush greenness of Europe or the States, it is in fact covered with a great variety of desert plants which were found, in a recent survey, to include some 200 species.

133 Beyond the cultivated area the land is barren and the landscape consists of low rolling hills with numerous rocky cliffs and dry wadis. Most of the Islands of Bahrain are surfaced with hard limestone rock, covered in many places with sand dunes, and, in the case of the main island, with pre-historic tumuli. From the shore line the topography rises gradually towards the centre where it again drops off into a basin surrounded by steep cliffs. Towards the centre of the basin there is a very pronounced rocky promontory known as "Jebal ad-Dukhan," the "Mountain of Smoke," a name given to it because of the vague and hazy appearance it often presents, particularly during the hot summer months. The Jebal is only 450 feet above sea level and 250 feet above the surrounding plain but often, when mist surrounds its base, it gives the impression of being a considerable mountain.

226 Although Bahrain is a small country yet it displays a very varied
228 landscape and many surprising contrasts between old and new. It is primarily a sea faring state. The brilliant blue and green waters, studded with white sails, which surround the islands provide the people of Bahrain with fish, which they catch from boats and in traps, fresh water, from the submarine springs, coral stone for building and pearls which made Bahrain such an important trading centre in the past.
361 The coastal towns have an attractive appearance. Manama's water front is lined with high white houses and beyond the town date gardens extend in an unbroken line down to the water's edge. Roads in the northern part of Bahrain pass through avenues of tall and stately date palms, bearing great bunches of golden, red and yellow fruit during
133 the summer months. The south of the island is a miniature desert and in the foothills around the Jebal there are many little wadis which
ooo after the rainy season are bright with desert flowers and shrubs. Even

226 There are many different ways of fishing in Bahrain. Most of the fish is caught in "hadhra", fish traps built from palm branches. From the air these traps are a conspicious feature in the Persian Gulf, looking like huge arrow-heads with two long wings and a small circular head set along the shore and pointing out to sea. On closer inspection it can be seen that the sides of the arrow consist of fences built of date branches fastened into the ground and tied with rope, these lead to a circular enclosure at the end of the trap. The principle is simple ; as the tide comes in the fish approach the shore, when the tide recedes it carries them into the arms of the trap and eventually into the trap itself where they are left flapping about in the shallow water. The owner of [423] the trap then comes from the shore and collects the catch. The sites of the traps are very valuable and are registered in the Land Department. Some sites have been sold for as much as 30,000 rupees. Poaching fish in the area of a fish trap is regarded as a serious offence.

Another type of fish trap is like a giant lobster pot, made from wire and as much as eight feet in diameter. This is filled with ground bait, the fish enter it through a narrow funnel in its side and once there they are unable to escape. Fish of many sizes and varieties are caught in these traps, which can be seen on the shore along the Muharraq water front.

Nets of various kinds are used including circular throwing nets and drifters. The sight of an experienced net thrower is always fascinating and fishermen using this form of net can often be seen in the shallow seas to the south of the Manama-Muharraq Causeway. Drifting nets with pieces of date palm bark in place of corks are also popular and are used by the villagers on the coast. Fishing with hook and line is practised mostly by sporting amateurs and those who fish for amusement off the Causeway and elsewhere, The local fishermen depend mainly on traps, nets and Sim.

Sim, which literally means "poison," is the seed of the Persian Lilac tree and is much used in Bahrain during the hot weather. The seed, when dried, is pounded up into a mixture of dead crabs, small fish and paste which serves as bait. The fishermen choose a calm warm day when the tide is coming in and sprinkle the mixture on shallow water so that it will drift over the area where they expect to find fish. After a short wait small fish appear flapping about on the surface, apparently chasing their tails or else diving steeply. Soon the larger fish appear, behaving in the same manner. The fishermen then slip into the sea and set about catching the fish, which is by no means easy, for though the fish are doped they are still able to elude the grasping hands of the fishermen. Sometimes very big hauls of fish are caught in this manner. The effects of the drug are not lasting and the fish who have eluded the fishermen recover and swim away. Although Sim has a stupifying effect on fish it does no harm to people who eat them. Much of the fish which is sold in the markets of Manama, Muharraq and Hedd has been caught in this way.

361 and on the shore there is an old deserted fort which was built by the Omanis during a short period when they occupied the Islands. A [504] ferry service of small sailing boats plies between Muharraq and Arad fort, but to drive round the bay to the fort by car takes less time than crossing by boat.

396 Boat building is one of the few local industries of Muharraq and is carried out along the shores of the town, especially on the eastern coast. Carpenters and shipwrights are apt to extend their work half across the road and when driving a car one often has to avoid sails which are pegged out for joining or for repairs, rope winders, men mending nets or carpenters working on big wooden water tanks for the pearling dhows.

361 178 Many visitors to Bahrain never enter Muharraq and by failing to do so they miss the sight of a comparatively untouched Arab town, a sight that is rapidly becoming rarer in the oil rich Persian Gulf.

## HEDD

361 Bahrain's number three town is Hedd. Long and narrow, it is built on a strip of land which juts out into the sea at the south-east end of Muharraq Island. The houses are closely packed together and extend right to the edge of the sea, one road, only just wide enough for motor vehicles, runs through the centre of the town and on each side a labyrinth of narrow lanes leads down to the shore. There are few barastis in Hedd and most of the people live in stone houses ; some of them are large, built by pearl merchants in the days when the pearl industry of which Hedd was an important centre, was flourishing. The bazaar is in the main street and it contains many shops which sell all manner of goods. Water is supplied to the town by several artesian wells.

[162] The population of Hedd is entirely Sunni and predominantly Arab, although a few of the shopkeepers are Persians. It includes Arabs of the Bin Ali, Saada, Mesedem and Musallam tribes who used to be very influential in Bahrain ; the last were once the rulers of Qatar. Hedd was originally a diving town but although it still has much contact with the sea, many of its inhabitants work on shore. Its people have a reputation for intelligence and energy and this is shown by the fact that they have produced better results from their schools than any other community. The town is conspicuously clean, owing partly to the fact that it is surrounded by the sea on three sides.

348 633 Hedd has a handsome new police station, at the entrance to the town, which was completed in 1952, a Municipality and Boys' and Girls' Schools which were opened in 1937 and 1939 respectively. For some years the Muharraq Municipality included Hedd in its activities but in 1945 Hedd formed its own elected Municipal Council with four members. There is also in Hedd a dispensary and a small women's hospital with accommodation for a certain number of in-patients. 226 Hedd is famous for its prawns which are caught in special traps and sent to the fish markets of Manama and Muharraq.

There is a bus service between Hedd and Muharraq and also a few taxi cabs in the town. 494

In addition to the towns of Muharraq and Hedd the island of Muharraq is fringed by many villages ; going north round the coast from Muharraq town they include Busatin, Dair, Raiya, Galali and Arad. The first three villages contain many homes of members of the Ruling Family and are especially popular in the summer when the Muharraq weather is considered superior to that of Manama. Galali is a sizeable village inhabited by fishermen and industrial workers, while Arad is the centre of the agriculture of the island and is built near a large pool in the centre of the date gardens on Arad peninsular. The inhabitants of the village work in the gardens, but on the shores of the Bay near the old Omani fort is a large village built entirely of barastis. In the summer this temporary village is entirely filled with people from Muharraq who spend the nights here, crossing by ferry every day to Muharraq town. 361

In general Muharraq island is very low-lying, so much so that it was thought at one time that there was a danger of the sea affecting the efficiency of the Airport, but this has been removed by pumping stations around the field which remove, when necessary, surplus water from the runways. It was, however, found necessary to build a raised road from Muharraq town to Hedd, for when there was any rain or an exceptionally high tide the road was often blocked. 133 491

### UMM ASH-SHAGAR ISLANDS AND UMM ASH-SHIYAIRA

These are the two islands that lie to the south of Hedd town; the former, to the north, is covered with small stone and barasti houses; the second, whose name is a diminutive of the first, contains only barastis and is inhabited by fishermen. 361 101

### THE ISLANDS

In addition to these two, there are several other small islands south of Muharraq, of which the three largest, although none of them is more than a few hundred square yards in area, are Halat-as-Suluta, Halat-al-Khulaifat and Abu Mahur.

The first two islands lie to the south of Arad peninsular and at low tide they are joined by a sand-bar which permits walking between them. They contain small villages, whose people derive their livlihood from fishing, and they are lucky enough to have on them fresh water springs. Abu Mahur, the third and largest island, is in fact named after one of the largest of these springs, which is in the sea a short distance from the shore. The fort of Abu Mahur is now in ruins but the island is now used as a quarantine station. 361 226

The fresh water submarine springs south of Muharraq and the manner in which the people obtain water from them has astounded 312

among residents of Bahrain and is filling a long-felt want for an organised centre for the small boat enthusiast. The R.A.F. Club was started in July 1951 mainly to provide a form of recreation for members of the R.A.F. stationed in Bahrain, but later it was found that many of the Britishers and Americans resident in Bahrain were interested in sailing so it was decided to admit fifty civilian members. In August 1952 the membership of the club numbered eighty. 526 575

The Club premises are open daily from noon to 8 p.m. except Fridays and Sundays when they open at 10 a.m. Races are held every week-end and there is a Club Day on the first Friday of each month. At the time of writing there are twelve sailing boats and numerous other craft at the Club, of the sailing boats, four are the property of the club, three loaned to it and the remainder are privately owned. There are also half-a-dozen dinghies, including four 14-foot "G.P. Dinghies" designed by Jack Holt—a class which it is planned to develop and also to encourage among private owner members. Helmsmanship is taught and tests must be passed before members are permitted to take out club boats. Sailing matches are arranged from time to time with the sailing club at Qatar.

The Club buildings are ideally situated in what used to be the B.O.A.C. Marine Airport. The premises are at the end of a short jetty which extends into the sea from a point of the shore of Manama in Quadabiya, and the areas protected from the full strength of the north-west and north winds by the mainland of Bahrain. The Khor Khaliya, the bay to the east of the Club, provides pleasant and safe water for races and the training of beginners. For qualified helmsmen who know these reef-ridden coastal waters there are many sailing excursions round the coast and to nearby islands.

The entrance fee to the R.A.F. Sailing Club for civilian members is 25 rupees with a monthly subscription of 10 rupees, the subscription for officers is *Rs*.5 and for airmen, *Rs*.3. Wives and families of members are included, paying no fees and having no voting rights.

Enquiries about membership of the Club, for which there is a long waiting list, should be made to the Hon. Secretary on forms supplied by him.

*Fishing*. "A S-T-R-I-K-E—Turn the boat!"; a pause, and then that triumphant warning scream from the reel which is music to all fishermen—"He's on." In Bahrain "he" may be a 7-lb. "Chanad" or a 40-lb Barracuda—they will both take the same 6-inch Wilson spoon or Stewart "wobbler." 526 526

The most popular method of fishing is Trolling, from any motor driven boat which can maintain a trolling speed of about 3-4 knots. A variety of rods are used—from light to heavy—and the humble hand-line is just as effective, although obviously not so much sport. Nickelled spoons, feather jigs and natural bait are the usual lures used for trolling. The best natural bait is a small gar-fish ("silts" in Arabic)

526 about 6-in. to 9-in. long which trolls well because of its streamlined
●226 shape. The fish most commonly caught by trolling are listed hereunder;
[136] those marked with an asterisk have also been reported, but on rare occasions :—

Sea bass.
King Mackerel ("Chanad" or Indian seer).
Leer Fish.
Rock Cod.
Barracuda.
*"Sikkan" (English name unknown but weighs up to 60 lbs.).
*Sailfish.
*Shark (usually sand sharks up to 150 lbs.).
*Bonito.

Bottom fishing in the deeper water a mile or so off the coast, using crab, cuttlefish or large prawn as bait, yields Queen-fish, "Hamriyah" (English name unknown but similar to red snapper) and several kinds of rays, in addition to three or four of the above-listed species caught trolling. Many of these fish weigh 30 to 60 lbs. and give very good sport on a light sea-rod with a reel carrying about 250 yards of cutty hunk or nylon line with 18 or 24 lb. breaking strain. The American type 5-star drag reel is popular for trolling because by insulating the shock of the initial fierce strike, it enables lighter tackle to be used. Sailfish weighing about 55 lb. have been caught near the Black Buoy, the northern entrance marker to the Sitra channel, on at least two authenticated occasions. A game-fishing maxim says that "where there are sailfish, there are marlin" and, although not yet reported in local Bahrain waters, marlin have been seen as near as Umm Said on the east coast of the Qatar peninsular.

Bass (Ar. "Zbaiti"), "Shari" (12-in. long, drab colour), "Saafi" (about 24-in. long, white colour) and a colourful variety of small fish up to 5-6 lb. are caught fishing from the shore at many places around the coast. A trout rod or other light bait-casting rod with a 2½-oz. tip gives excellent sport and can be most exciting when, for instance, a 10 lb. sea bass is hooked and landed, as was done with such tackle in the 1952 season.

The spring and autumn are the best fishing seasons, although fish are sought and caught by the enthusiasts throughout the winter, except during the very cold spells. The hot summer months of July, August and September are the worst or fishing in Bahrain, the Bahrainis say that the fish go out to the deeper water to keep cool, in which they are both missed and envied by the local "Isaac Waltons," left ashore to prepare their tackle for the coming autumn season.

526 *Riding and Racing.*/ Bahrain offers excellent opportunities for
231 riding, but it is only recently that these have been recognised by European and American residents in the Islands. The BAPCO Club has a stable of twelve horses at Awali and riding classes are held for children and adults. In Manama a number of Arab merchants keep horses for

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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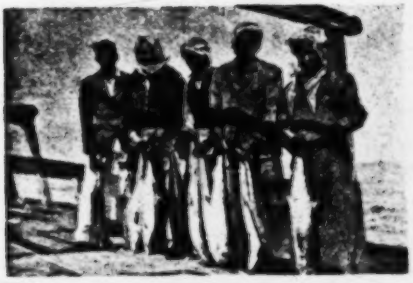

The Results of a Fishing Expedition. Photo: Y. A. Shirawi.

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A Village Pool, North Sitra. Photo: The Author.

Rifaa Ash-Sharqi. Photo: The Author.

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A Bahrain Football Team.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

need not be registered, but the existence of a Government title deed ensures that the property is free from claims. Before this rule was made, cases frequently occured in the courts in which the same property was mortgaged to two different people. 647 423

**Government Title Deeds.** Government title deeds are hand-written documents in Arabic, describing the property with all measurements, boundaries, water rights, and particulars, and on the reverse of each title deed there is a plan of the property with measurements shown in feet and inches. The documents are signed on both sides by the Ruler, the Adviser, and the Superintendent of the Land Department. A person wishing to register his property makes a written application to the Land Registration Department. The property is surveyed by the Land Department surveyors in the presence of the owner or his agent, or, in the case of a sale, in the presence of both parties; if necessary, boundary pillars are erected. A proclamation is then issued, calling on all persons having any claim on the property to submit claims in writing within fifteen to thirty days in the case of a sale, and ninety days in the case of registration of ownership. Claims are forwarded to the Bahrain Court by the Land Department and are decided by the court, which also examines all applications for titles before the final documents are issued. The procedure is somewhat slow, but it is effective, and since it has been in force the number of disputes about land, boundaries, water rights, and fish-traps is gradually declining. Fees are charged for registration of sales according to a sliding scale in the case of sales, depending upon the sale price, and at a fixed rate in the case of registration of ownership. The fees in the latter case are low and do not cover in some cases the cost of the work, but it is to the advantage of the public and the Government that as much property as possible should be registered and, to encourage registration, fees are small. Between 400 and 500 title deeds have been issued by the department every year during the last ten years, and each year there has been a gradual but steady ncrease in applications for registration of ownership.

**Fish-Traps.** In 1353 (1934) all fish-traps round the coast of Bahrain and the various islands were registered, and rules were laid down with the object of preventing people from erecting and then claiming ownership to fish-traps on Government property. It was enacted that the owners of fish-traps had no rights over the boundaries mentioned in their title deeds, except as far as protection from other persons who might wish to erect fish-traps within the area described. In many cases great pieces of the sea were described in old documents as being the boundaries of a certain fish-trap, and if full ownership to these areas was admitted, valuable land along the foreshore would be lost to the Government if the owners chose to reclaim it. The department dealt with the question of a batch of very valuable traps close to the Bahrain Petroleum Company's pier at Sitrah, and was mainly responsible for arranging a settlement between the Bahrain Petroleum Company and the owners of the traps. 226 ●

**Land Leases and Government Forms.** In addition to survey and registration work, the Land Department is responsible for leasing Government land, mostly in the neighbourhood of Manamah, to persons who live upon it in Barastis. The rents are very low, but the existence of a regular agreement between the Government and the occupier of the ground ensures that the Government retains its ownership of the land. In Bahrain, ten years' undisputed and uninterrupted occupation is sufficient to establish the ownership of the ground. Printed Government forms, the use of which is compulsory in the case of senads, powers of attorney, and diving 'barwas,' etc., are sold by the Land Department, and every year over 15,000 of these forms are purchased by the public. 427 475

The revenue collected by the Land Department does not cover the cost of the department, but the value of land registration to the Government and to the public is very great. The continued success of the registration work can only be ensured as long as the principle that Government title deeds, when once issued, cannot be contested is maintained. Frequent attempts have been made, usually by influential personages, to set aside title deeds, but so far without success. If one case of this kind should meet with success, the whole system would be seriously affected.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

228 Because of the vastly more economical methods involved in the production of cultured pearls, the Japanese industry threatened to flood the market, and not only brought down the cost of the pearls but also dissipated some of the glamour which has been for so long associated with them. As a result of this competition the fisheries of Bahrein began to suffer and the income of the Sheik to decline. In turn, however, royalties from oil concessions in some measure supplemented his income.[1]

## FISHING

226 [262] Fishing is a major occupation of the Bahreinis and an important source of income. Cooked with dates, onions, and a small quantity of rice and barley, fish, fresh or salt, constitutes the national diet of Bahrein. Indeed, fish which have been dried in the sun form the staple food of the majority of the inhabitants of the Persian Gulf, not only of human beings but of dogs, horses, and camels. Besides the local use of fish, there is also a flourishing trade between the Gulf regions and Mauritius, India, and elsewhere in salt and dried fish, shark fins, fish scales, and fish oil.

The most important fish found in this region are:

Cuttlefish, or sepia octopus (*Tankah* or *Khatak*). Eaten in large quantities by the Arabs, who consider it a great delicacy. It is also the most popular bait for hook and line fishing.

Muraena (*Metut*). Known in Oman as *Kasha*. A small fish-like eel which, dried in the sun, is used as human food, feed for horses and cattle, and as fertilizer.

Porpoise (*Dukhs* or *Dughs*). The oil is used for commercial purposes.

Rock Cod (*Hamam*). Found in shallow waters.

Sardine (*'Oom*). Caught in enormous quantities and used both for food and fertilizer.

Scad, or horse mackerel. (*Sewah*). Salted in large quantities for both home consumption and export.

Seer fish (*Kan'ad*). The *Shirmahee*, or Indian Salmon.

1. See below, p. 45.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Salted for export to Mauritius, India and elsewhere. Very abundant.

Shark (*Jurjur* or *Yuryur*). The dried flesh is known as Awal. Sharks are caught in large numbers and are very profitable. The dried fins and tails are exported to Bombay for reexport to China, and the flesh is used as fertilizer. It is eaten by the Arabs, who believe it to have aphrodisiacal properties; the Shiites do not eat it.

Shrimp (*Rubian*). Caught usually in March, April, and May. They are eaten either salted and dried in the sun, or steam-boiled.

Skate and Ray (*Tabak*). Very plentiful. Both fish are eaten by the Sunnites, who believe them to be aphrodisiacs; the Shiites do not eat either of them.

Turtle (*Hamas Gheylam*). The most common species is the Hawksbill. Another, the Carapra, is exported as tortoise shell. The flesh and the eggs are eaten by the Sunnites.

White Pomfret (*Zobeydre*). A plentiful fish, which makes excellent eating.

Barracuda (*Kut*), tunny (*Ghobart*) and ground shark (*Sus*) are also abundant.

The most important fishing seasons are from February to June, and from the end of August to November; during the great pearl diving and date producing seasons, fishing occupies a less important place. Nets, stakes, baskets, hook and line, and spears or harpoons are all used by the Bahreini fishermen, and instead of live bait, a peculiar kind of weed is used. A brief description of each technique follows.

The *net*. Various types and sizes are used. Some are stationary and are gathered in when the tide is out; others are taken out in boats and dragged along, scooping up whatever fish come along. One of the most popular type is the *saliyah*, a circular net weighted with lead, which is cast from the fisherman's shoulders in shallow water, then drawn up by means of a string attached to the center.

The *stake*, or *hadrah*, is a trap constructed usually of palm

226 branches tied together with a string. It is fixed upright by means of ropes and stones and is set out near the shore or on banks which are dry at low tide, with the opening facing landward. At low tide the fish left stranded in the trap are collected.

The *basket,* or *gargur,* is usually constructed of palm branches, split bamboos, or twigs, with funnel shaped holes opening inward in such a way that the fish, once in, cannot get out again. The basket is weighted with stones, and five or six are placed near together in deep water, connected by a stout rope, the last basket with a rope and buoy attached. They are left for two or three days before they are pulled up and the fish removed.

## TRANSIT SHIPMENTS

439 Bahrein is an important center of distribution for the commerce of Nejd and Qatif, and a trading place for merchandise from Persia and India. In fact, the islands re-export a third of all imported merchandise, including rice, cotton, sugar, coffee, cattle for slaughter, and pearls from other parts of the Gulf. Trade is carried on principally with India, the Arabian coast, Persia, and Iraq. In 1928 the total value of transit shipments exceeded £3,000,000.

651 439 The customs is an important source of income, and the customs office is controlled by a British Director of Customs. General merchandise, in accordance with the provisions of the Convention of 1861, is subject to a 5% ad valorem tariff and luxury items are taxed 10%. Included in the category of luxuries are: carpets, bicycles, clocks, watches, electrical appliances, motor cars, tires and tubes, typewriters, and perfumes. Alcohol, tobacco, and cigarettes are taxed 15%.

There is no general tariff on exports with the exception of hides and dates, on which the duty is ten rupees per bundle of hides and two rupees per basket of dates. A duty of 2% is charged on all goods re-exported to Saudi Arabia, and 1¾% on those re-exported to other countries on the mainland.

439 Principal imports besides agricultural products are: broadcloth, cotton, woolen and silk goods, and wood, which is used

[For information pertaining to the Bahrain pearl fishing industry, and its regulation by the government, see 1: Bowen, MK2 Maritime Arabs, category 116.]

131 length and a mile wide. "Howar" means "Young Camel" and the island was so called because it is similar in shape though smaller than Bahrain, and so was described as its offspring.

There are many other little islands in the Bahrain archipelago ; some contain small villages or fishermen's huts while others are deserted except during the occasional visits of migratory birds or pearl divers who come to the islands during the diving season to draw water from the freshwater springs.

311 Along the northern coast of Bahrain there is a narrow strip of land
137 some three miles wide which is under cultivation. The fertile gardens containing date and loz (Indian almond or Terminalia) pomegranate, banana and fig trees are irrigated from many natural springs and artesian wells. But in the waterless areas south of the cultivation, in the centre of the island, only sparse and hardy desert flora exists. Although this desert may seem bare to the eyes of a visitor accustomed to the lush greenness of Europe or the States, it is in fact covered with a great variety of desert plants which were found, in a recent survey, to include some 200 species.

133 Beyond the cultivated area the land is barren and the landscape consists of low rolling hills with numerous rocky cliffs and dry wadis. Most of the Islands of Bahrain are surfaced with hard limestone rock, covered in many places with sand dunes, and, in the case of the main island, with pre-historic tumuli. From the shore line the topography rises gradually towards the centre where it again drops off into a basin surrounded by steep cliffs. Towards the centre of the basin there is a very pronounced rocky promontory known as "Jebal ad-Dukhan," the "Mountain of Smoke," a name given to it because of the vague and hazy appearance it often presents, particularly during the hot summer months. The Jebal is only 450 feet above sea level and 250 feet above the surrounding plain but often, when mist surrounds its base, it gives the impression of being a considerable mountain.

Although Bahrain is a small country yet it displays a very varied
226 landscape and many surprising contrasts between old and new. It
228 is primarily a sea faring state. The brilliant blue and green waters, studded with white sails, which surround the islands provide the people of Bahrain with fish, which they catch from boats and in traps, fresh water, from the submarine springs, coral stone for building and pearls which made Bahrain such an important trading centre in the past.
361 The coastal towns have an attractive appearance. Manama's water front is lined with high white houses and beyond the town date gardens extend in an unbroken line down to the water's edge. Roads in the northern part of Bahrain pass through avenues of tall and stately date palms, bearing great bunches of golden, red and yellow fruit during
133 the summer months. The south of the island is a miniature desert and in the foothills around the Jebal there are many little wadis which
ooo after the rainy season are bright with desert flowers and shrubs. Even

501

A small diving boat. *Photo : Sir Charles Belgrave.*

228

A fully equipped diver. On the ground are the ropes and the weight, on his fingers are leather guards, a bag is round his neck and a clip on his nose.
*Photo : Sir Charles Belgrave.*

A diver's bag and the hauler. *Photo : Sir Charles Belgrave.*

464 Europeans. For the latter the company provides many amenities. 382 In the town of Awali there is a cinema, a club and other recreational facilities. There is a Commissary for the supply of foods and goods 511 unobtainable elsewhere in Bahrain; a school for American and Euro- 466 pean children with qualified teachers and hospitals for the various nationalities employed by BAPCO. A cinema, swimming bath and mosque are also being constructed in the Arab Camp, and a swimming bath and cinema in the Indian and Pakistani camp at Rifaa. The company also maintains dispensaries in some of the villages and has built three schools for the Bahrain Government. There is cordial co-operation between the Bahrain Government and BAPCO in all fields of social service and although it may seem strange that an oil company should be encouraged to occupy itself with so many activities not directly connected with the production of oil, yet it is now recognised in the Middle East that it is an obligation of oil companies not only to work for their shareholders but also for the benefit of the people of the country from which they derive their profits.

471 In 1940 a Supplementary Agreement was signed between the Ruler 382 and the Bahrain Petroleum Company in which the latter received an extension to its concession including all lands, shoals, reefs, waters and submerged lands of "the present and future domains" of the Ruler of Bahrain.

315 It is a comparatively rare thing for people visiting Bahrain to see the actual oil which has made the Islands famous, gone are the days when to "strike oil" meant that a huge gusher of oil would leap skywards covering everything about it with what is termed, in the hackneyed phrase of the journalist, "black gold." Today the drilling of a well is normally a tidy process ; when oil is struck the drillers have complete control over its flow and quickly cap the well with a "Christmas Tree," the nickname for the mass of taps and valves which are placed over the well head. From the well the oil is piped to the Refinery and then to the storage tanks at Sitra. But in every part of its processing little is seen of the oil except by the workers in the laboratories.

433 The oil industry today is the most important factor in Bahrain's economy and is recognised as such by the Government and the people of the country.

## CHAPTER VI

## JEWELS OF THE DEEP

●228 Pearl diving is probably the oldest industry in Bahrain and has been the reason why an otherwise small and comparatively unproductive group of islands has been the scene of so many bitter wars and has been over-run by so many invading armies. From earliest times Bahrain has been famous for its pearls ; in an Assyrian inscription of some 2000 B.C. a parcel of "fish eyes" from Dilmun is believed to be

the first reference to the pearls of Bahrain. Tylos, the classical name for Bahrain, was stated by Pliny to be "famous for the vast number of its pearls." In more recent years the merchant Suliman, an Arab traveller of the 9th century, mentions the pearl fisheries of Bahrain, while in the 10th century we have the first description of the actual methods of diving left by a certain Abu Zaid Hassan. From an examination of his description it can be seen how little the methods of diving have changed during the past 1000 years.

228 ● 113

Many later travellers and geographers have been interested by the pearl fisheries ; the famous geographer Idrisi, after mentioning the political state of affairs describes the method of diving ; Bakri in 1273, Abu'l Fida in the early 14th century and Ibn Batuta all mention the pearl fisheries. In 1485 Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese explorer, says of Barem (Bahrain) "Around it grows much seed pearl, also large pearls of good quality. The merchants of the island itself fish for these pearls, and have therefrom great profits."

At the turn of the 16th century the Portuguese had firmly established themselves in India and were expanding into the Persian Gulf. In 1514 Don Albuquerque, Governor of India, visited Bahrain and noted with envy its pearl fisheries, which he said were superior to those elsewhere in the Gulf, and on his return to Hormuz, in the following year, he ordered from Bahrain many pearls which were required by the King of Portugal for the "pontifical of Our Lady." It is probable that the subsequent seizure of Bahrain by the Portuguse in 1522 was due to the wealth of the pearl traders, for the Portuguese were firm believers in monopolies and wanted to ensure their complete control over the pearl industry. This is confirmed by a Dutch traveller who said, in 1598, that "The King of Portugal hath also his factor in Bahrain, that stayeth there only for the fishing of pearls."

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In the 17th and 18th centuries the pearl fisheries became better known to Europeans, and also to Arabs, for it was the presence of the pearl fisheries of Bahrain that attracted the al-Khalifah from Kuwait, first to Zubara and then, after their victory over the Persians, to Bahrain. Although in the 19th century the British became politically supreme in the Persian Gulf, they did not interfere in the pearl industry, but on the contrary they helped to preserve the rule that only the inhabitants of those countries bordering on the Gulf could fish on the pearl banks. Recent laws passed in Bahrain and Saudi Arabia forbidding the use of diving suits have also been aimed at giving all an equal chance to fish without the richer merchants gaining an unfair advantage by the use of mechanical equipment.

The origin of the pearl has fascinated many peoples, but it is surely the Arabs who have the most colourful stories about its origin. Shaikh Nabhani in his *Tarikh al-Jazirat al-Arabiya* quotes the following as being a local tradition, although he rejects it as baseless. "In the spring the pearl shells rise to the surface of the sea and when it rains or when there is a heavy dew the oyster swallows one or more drops of water which then turn into pearls." Nabhani does, however, believe the

228 story that Bahrain pearls are superior in colour to all others because of the presence in the seas around Bahrain of numerous fresh-water springs. In fact the real origin of the pearl inspires no romance, it is the process by which the pearl shell rids itself of an unwelcome intruder. The oyster, when opening to obtain food, often admits small particles of sand or some other substance which irritate its soft flesh, the shell therefore covers the intruder with a secretion that forms a smooth coat of nacre. Once this process has started it continues, more and more layers are built up until the process is stopped by the pearl being removed from its shell or when some accident happens to it. If a pearl is cut in half and examined under the microscope the layers of the nacre can clearly be seen.

221 228 The "Gaus al-Kabir" or main diving season takes place from June to early in October, but before and after the season there is the "Gaus al-Bard" or cold diving season, the duration of which is determined by weather conditions, but which is not recognised as the diving season *par excellence*. In former days the departure of the Bahrain fleet for the pearl banks was the occasion of great excitement, and with drums playing and small boys cheering the boats would sail away from Muharraq. After being joined by boats from other coastal towns and villages the fleet would proceed to the pearl banks, where each boat would choose its own anchorage and prepare for diving.

501 228 Formerly the boat built especially for pearl diving was the sambuq (see Chapter VII), but today the most usual boat is the jalibut, while many very small boats with crews of a dozen men go out to the banks. All pearlers are equipped with special oars with square blades, and on arriving at the banks these are tied so that they project over the water.

228 At each oar two ropes are thrown overboard, one attached to a stone or metal weight and the other to a net bag, although the bag is sometimes hung round the diver's neck. The divers then strip to the buff, or content themselves with a narrow loin cloth, they put on nose clips of bone or tortoise-shell and protect their fingers with leather guards. Putting their feet in a loop in the weighted rope, the divers are swiftly let down, each by his Saib or puller, who remains on deck holding the ropes with the careful hand of a fisherman, but more is at stake than a trout or a salmon, for if the Saib fails to hoist the diver to the surface directly he feels his pull on the rope, the diver's life is in danger. When the diver reaches the sea-bed the weighted rope is pulled up while the diver keeps hold on the second rope. While on the sea-bed the diver hacks off with a small knife as many pearl shells as he can, usually collecting about ten shells in the minute and a half he spends below the surface. When exhausted he tugs sharply at the rope and is hauled to the surface. Twelve fathoms is about the maximum depth to which he dives, and it is easy to picture the frantic rush at this depth to collect the necessary shells. On coming to the surface the diver hangs, resting on the weighted rope, while the Saib tips the bag of shells on to the deck. The rest periods vary with the weather. When it is cold the divers spend two thirds of the time resting on the deck of the

boat, sucking cigarettes or sipping bitter Arab coffee, but when the water is warmer a longer period is spent in the sea. Food is not eaten during the diving hours as it is considered bad for the diver's health. 228

The splash and swirl of the blue waters of the Gulf, often as smooth and clear as glass, the glistening bodies of the sun-burnt divers, the deep-throated chanting of the Saibs and the mounting piles of dark encrusted shells, are sights and sounds never to be forgotten. From time to time the cabin boy, who is found on each boat, collects the shells in sacks and piles them along the sides of the boat. As the sun sets the crew eat their light meal of dates, fish, bread and coffee and then sink down with pleasure into deep sleep along the decks. Then all that there is to disturb the silence of the night is the crackling of the fire burning on the portable mud hearth, the creaking of ropes and the splash caused by the line of the midnight fishermen catching to-morrow's meal.

Next morning the members of the crew are up early and gather around the heaps of shells which are more easily opened after having been left in the night-air, and with deft flicks of little curved knives they examine the oyster's meat so that not even the smallest seed pearl is missed. The despoiled shells are tossed aside, to be collected later and thrown back into the sea. As the pearls are found, their finders stick them between their toes until they have collected a number, which are then handed to the nakhuda or captain. The latter stores them in a great wooden chest, studded with brass nails after tying them in small squares of red cloth, that being the colour which is believed to show pearls to their best advantage. When all the shells have been opened the remains are thrown overboard, the decks swabbed down and the day's diving commences.

From time to time boats return to Bahrain to collect fresh provisions and for the medical treatment of the crew. Fresh water, surprisingly enough, is less of a problem, for near many of the pearl banks there are submarine fresh water springs, some of which have been controlled by pipes affixed by the Bahrain Government. The monotony of the diver's day is also broken by the visits of "Tawawish," pearl buyers, who come out in launches to the banks to offer ready cash for their purchases, and by visits of hospital and police launches from Bahrain. The end of the diving season, as well as the date of its commencement, is laid down by the annual proclamation of the Bahrain Government. [312] [437] [656]

Despite the tales of travellers, sharks and saw-fish are not a very great menace to divers, they are in fact a rarity and for many years no diver has been attacked by either fish. The blue jelly-fish is more feared than either, for with its long tentacles it can give a most unpleasant sting, and it is to combat it that in the jelly-fish season many divers wear a form of cotton combinations covering all parts of the body except hands and eyes. The detrimental effect of diving on the men's health is often exaggerated, and with the better diet and medical treatment the divers of today are a healthy set of men and compare favourably with workers in other industries. [136]

471 228 The financing of a pearl boat is a complicated affair. Formerly most boats were owned by their captains, but today the majority of the larger boats belong to land merchants. In cases where boats belong to captains but are financed by land merchants, the latter make a profit of about 10%, but in cases where the merchants both own and provision the boats they receive 20% of the profits. After deducting costs, the remainder of the profit is shared in fixed proportions, the nakhuda receiving five parts, the diver two and the Saib one.

437 228 When the nakhuda sells the catch he must always be accompanied by two members of the crew, to see fair play. Sales are carried out in an unusual way. If the nakhuda and the purchaser or broker do not want the audience to know the amounts offered for the pearls, and as the sales take place in the quarter of the pearl brokers there are always interested bystanders, they spread a cloth over their hands and bargain by a sort of deaf and dumb language. Once they have agreed on the price the nakhuda must obtain the consent of the two witnesses before the sale is considered valid. The value of the pearls is established in 804 a special way. In the case of ordinary pearls, they are collected in 435 great numbers, sorted for size by a set of graded sieves, and each group 228 is weighed and counted and their value in "chows," a form of measurement derived from the weight of the pearls, is discovered from a book printed for the purpose. Once a pearl or pearls have been assessed at so many chows, the question of the value per chow is settled by bargaining, the price per chow depending on the average shape, texture and colour in the case of bunches of pearls or in single pearls. In the case of pairs of pearls their value depends greatly on how well they are matched. Seed pearls, the smallest form of pearls, are sold entirely by weight, while a single pearl has been known to sell for as much as £15,000, as in the case of the Bahrain pearl which was eventually bought by a well known American lady.

228 433 It is very difficult to estimate the value of the Bahrain catch in past years, the figure for 1833 was estimated at £240,000, £400,000 in 1835 and £303,941 in 1896. In more recent years the Bahrain Government has given official figures which outline the history of the industry during the past quarter of a century. In 1833 it was also said that there were 1,500 boats leaving Bahrain annually for the pearl banks, and in 1896, 900. The largest number of Bahrain pearling boats has been given as 2,000 but this figure is probably an exaggeration. That the industry has declined is proved by the figures, in 1930, 509 boats manned by 19,300 men found pearls worth Rs. 2,125,000, while in 1948 there were only 83 boats with a crew of 2,000 and finding a catch worth Rs. 855,000. Although the numbers of boats and divers decreased by about 6 times and 9 times respectively it is noticeable that the catch only decreased in value by 2½ times and in 1950 the catch was worth Rs. 1,650,000, more than half of the 1930 figure.

228 178 433 The reason for the decline in the industry, which started in 1930, was the severe trade depression which began in that year and which reduced the wealth of those in Europe who were in the habit of buying

pearls, and also the large scale manufacture of cultured pearls in Japan. It was indeed lucky for Bahrain that oil was found in 1932, or else she would have seen her principal industry slowly decline with nothing with which to replace it. Once the oil industry was established, however, it in its turn served to precipitate the decay of the older industry by providing employment with better conditions and higher pay than were to be found on the pearl banks. The decline had also been unwittingly aided by the reforms of the late Ruler, Shaikh Hamed, who, on becoming Deputy Ruler in 1923, found the working conditions of the industry in a shocking state. The pearl banks were productive and much money was being made but little of it went to the divers, many of whom had involved themselves in a form of financial slavery to the nakhudas. Divers were given advances by the captains before the season, to provide for their families while they were away at sea, and at the end of the season, while the sales of the pearls, were being carried out. The eventual result was that the captains gave advances far in excess of the money due to the divers at the end of the season and to repay these loans the divers were forced to work for the same captain in the following season. But each year the advances were again in excess of the divers' earnings and so they got deeper and deeper into debt to the captains. At the same time the latter were indebted to shore merchants for supplies, for which they were charged high rates of interest, although this was contrary to the Sheria Law. The captains passed this interest on to the divers, who thus paid a minimum of 50% of their original debt each year. Diving debts were bequeathed, sons of divers whose fathers died owing money to captains were forced to work for them, and a diver, if he became too old to work, was only released from diving if he was replaced by his son or some other relation. In addition to this, indebted divers were often made to work on land for their creditors, or were handed over as workers to merchants to whom the nakhuda owed money.

Shaikh Hamed was determined to abolish all these practices and was supported by some of the more progressive Arabs and the Shiite and Sunni judges, who disapproved of the whole system. Amongst the bitterest opponents of the reforms were the divers themselves who were persuaded by the nakhudas and merchants into believing that they were going to lose by them. The reforms were, however, introduced and resulted in fixed advances, the amounts of which were announced annually by proclamation, the restriction of interest on advances, and all advances in excess of the legal amounts to be unreclaimable in court. The divers were also entitled to seek other work on the condition that they repaid a certain proportion of their diving debt each year. Many thousands of debts were reduced and the special diving court, which had favoured the captains and merchants, was abolished and all diving cases were heard by the ordinary courts. Finally, the debts of a diver died with him and could not be inherited by his heirs. The result of these reforms was that the industry, although reduced in size was put on a much sounder footing and its workers were not forced to dive but did so because they wanted to.

228 656 178 The Bahrain Government has tried hard to encourage the diving industry, by the remittance of the registration fees on diving boats, by customs concessions and by other means, but it is certain that the industry will never return to its palmy days when so many of the people of Bahrain were connected with it or depended on it.

228 431 609 Visitors to the pearl banks are advised to set out at about midnight from Bahrain. Launches can be hired in Manama or Muharraq and if they leave at twelve midnight, the banks will be reached at two or three in the morning. The remainder of the night can be spent lying at anchor and in the early morning the opening of the shells can be watched, followed by the preparations for the day's work and the actual diving. The divers have no objection to being photographed at their work and welcome foreigners on board their boats, they do, however, appreciate a present from visitors and it is a good plan to take out some fresh dates or other fruit, for the boats, particularly at the end of the season, are usually low in fresh provisions and such a gift is very welcome.

## CHAPTER VII

## LOCAL INDUSTRIES

### THE POTTERIES

323 [428] PEARLING is not the only ancient industry in Bahrain, for the presence in many parts of the islands of pottery sherds indicates that pottery has been made here for many centuries. Today this industry is restricted to the village of Aali whose inhabitants work in the same way as did their forefathers, scorning modern innovations.

[472] From the hills around Rifaa the clay is brought to Aali; brown and red clay for the coarser objects and white clay for finer work. The raw clay is beaten and then mixed with water until it is ready for throwing by the younger members of the potter's family, for each pottery is a separate family concern. All the processes which go into the making of pottery take place in small sheds, in each one a potter can be seen at work, his feet in a pit working the wheel which is on a level with his waist. Rapidly he flings lumps of clay on to the spinning wheel and with deft fingers works the shapeless mud into graceful jars, bowls and other utensils. When each piece is completed it is set in the sun to dry before being taken to the oven. Most of the ovens [172] are built in the prehistoric tumuli south of the village, which have been excavated. A hole is made in the roof of the tomb and another at the side; in the former the objects to be baked are placed and the latter is filled with firewood. When the fires are lit the tombs become miniature volcanoes with thick smoke belching from their peaks, slowly the fires die down, the smoke clears and the baked pottery is removed and the ovens are prepared for the next baking.

1; Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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The North Wall of the Portuguese Fort. *Photo : Sir Charles Belgrave.*

228

Divers at work. To the right a diver can be seen wearing a cotton garment as a protection against jelly-fish. *Photo : Sir Charles Belgrave.*

there is a deep depression surrounded by large blocks of stone which was once a great spring said to have irrigated much of north-western Bahrain. This spring, known as Ain Sejour, is traditionally associated with the name of the Caliph Abd al-Malik (685-705) who is reputed to have come to Bahrain with an army to chastise the people who had given refuge to politico-religious refugees from Iraq. According to local histories the Bahrainis worsted the invaders in a war by a clever use of the underground water channels and a truce was signed. Later the Caliph is said to have murdered the Bahraini leaders and to have filled in this well "to reduce the pride of the people of Bahrain," since then it has been dry and the land around it has reverted to desert. It seems unlikely that the Caliph himself came to Bahrain, he probably sent one of his generals and later tradition ascribed the leadership to the Caliph himself.

Several well-to-do families own houses in Diraz, and when pearling flourished its people were important nakhudas (captains) and pearl merchants. Many of the villagers are still divers and keep their boats on the shore near the little mosque north of Budaiya Garden. For use in these boats the villagers weave their own sail-cloth on local looms.

### JESRA

On the edge of the open plain about 4 miles south of Budaiya is Jesra, the point where the pipeline from Arabia crosses to Bahrain, here also is a village whose Arab inhabitants are mainly retainers of the Ruling Family. Several Shaikhs have also built substantial houses in the village, as well as gardens irrigated from artesian wells. Another road leads from Jesra to Rifaa al-Gharbi, following the route of the pipeline across the desert.

### MALAKIYA

Four miles south of Jesra the road, after passing through the villages of Karzakan and Dumistan, enters the little village of Malakiya, set in the centre of thriving date gardens, some of which belong to merchants in Manama. The only claim to interest in this village is a large tomb which is held in great veneration by the Shia community of Bahrain and is visited by pilgrims from all parts of the Islands. The tomb is of a certain Amir Zaid, but there is some difference of opinion about his identity. Some contend that he was Zaid bin Sohan, one of the Companions of the Prophet, but according to other local authorities he was a certain Amir Zaid bin Umaira al-Abdi who witnessed a covenant of truce made between the people of the Islands and al-Mua'lla bin al-Hadrami, the Moslem conqueror of Bahrain. A third version is that the worthy Amir was the leader of the people of Bahrain in a war that took place between them and the Caliph Abd al-Malik (See paragraph on Diraz). It has not yet been decided which of these versions is in fact the true one, but this does not deter Shia pilgrims from visiting Malakiya.

162 and deaths in Bahrain. In the distribution of sexes males predominated, the census figure showed 58,601 males and 51,049 females. If the number of Bahrain men who are working abroad were included in this figure the proportion [167] of men would be very high. A reason for the heavy preponderance of males is that most of the people who have come to Bahrain to work during recent years did not bring their wives and families with them, this fact is particularly noticeable in the case of Indians, Hassawis, Persians and Omanis. If Indians and Europeans are deducted from the total number of males and 30% of the males are reckoned as being under 15 or over 65 years of age the total local man power available in Bahrain would be about 38,000.

## OCCUPATION

162 464 Details of occupation were difficult to obtain; in most cases the replies to questions were vague, men described themselves as "labourers" which included cultivators oil field workers and labourers employed by contractors and by the Government. [208] A significant point was that nobody described himself as a diver though a few years ago half of the able bodied men in Bahrain would have given their occupation as divers. Now-a-days men dive during the season, in the summer, and have regular employment during the rest of the year. Generally it can be said that the cultivators who work in the gardens are always Shia Baharna and Hassawis, Arabs never work on the land in Bahrain, the village Baharna are also employed as fishermen, weavers, coral cutters and labourers in the oil fields. Few of them willingly take on work which keeps them away from their villages at night. The men of the Arab villages work in the oil fields and at sea. The townsfolk of Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd, who are of mixed nationalities, include merchants, shopkeepers, Government servants, mechanics and oil field workers and labourers.

## DIVING INDUSTRY

There is little to report on this subject. Under present conditions it seems probable that in a few years the diving Nakhudas will find that it is impossible to obtain any recruits for diving in Bahrain. During the season only 12 boats went out to the banks from Bahrain and most of the divers who were engaged were from Persia and the Trucial Coast. So much money can be earned on shore that few men are willing to leave their shore jobs in order to dive during the summer months.

The tax on imported pearls imposed by the Government of India was in force throughout and after the diving season and this contributed to a large extent to the slackness in the pearl trade. Taking into consideration the small number of boats employed in diving the catch was moderately good and pearl prices were not much lower than in the previous season.

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## MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

### 1372

(Report by Dr. R. H. B. Snow, M.B.E., Senior Medical Officer)

**Summary of the Year**

A change is gradually infiltrating and making itself evident in the scope and policy of medical work which is increasing in every department and subconsciously affecting the life of the Island. Traditions are now being established which the new generation are growing up with, and health ideas which once were revolutionary are now accepted as the normal course of reasonable upbringing.

The medical department which started in a small way, and expanded slowly is seeing results which are very satisfying but which are taken for granted, although they took years of striving to achieve. From its small beginnings and tiny nucleus of key staff it has now spread out from something rather personal to more of a departmental outlook. This in the course of things is bound to be, but its danger is that lack of co-ordination may develop or that the department may absorb the individual expression. At present there seems to be no signs of this because the various heads of departments meet together continually to exchange ideas and align themselves in a common policy, and also they are readily accessible to the public.

Lines of expansion have shown themselves everywhere. The surgical work has been given great impetus by the advent of an F.R.C.S. specialist, Mr. R. D. Wilkins.

The operation theatre now runs a staff rota for every 24 hours of the day, made possible by recruiting Sister Ford and Sister Johnson from England. Sister Edwards was appointed to the Nursing Home to replace Sister Millson. The X-Ray department has an English Radiographer in charge—Mr. Havey. The Laboratory has a staff of six technicians. Four new Indian doctors arrived, one lady doctor for the Women's Hospital, and the others, male, were appointed to the Boys' Schools, The Port, and the Hospital. Mr. Burgin replaced Mr. Hanvey as Public Health Inspector, and Mr. Nambiar became the new Anti-Malaria Supervisor. Both hospitals recruited many more Indian trained nurses. The lack of sufficient staff has now been made good and at present meets all needs which recently have been very pressing. It meant also that more specialised apparatus could be installed being safely handled by expert hands. Such things include a more powerful X-Ray plant, a modern anaesthetic apparatus to administer all gases and curare, an electro-cautery unit and an electro-cardiograph.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



MUHARRAQ MUNICIPALITY (*cont.*)

| | Revenue. Rs | | Expenditure. Rs |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1349 ... | 52,000/- | ... | 46,300/- |
| 1350 ... | 36,700/- | ... | 28,900 - |
| 1351 ... | 33,900/- | ... | 27,700/- |
| 1352 ... | 33,700/- | ... | 30,400 - |
| 1353 ... | 32,800/- | ... | 26,200/- |
| 1354 ... | 32,600/- | ... | 23,300 - |

The Manamah municipality, after the Customs Department, is the longest-established public department in Bahrain. In the beginning its authority extended in various directions beyond the normal functions of a municipality: it controlled the police and it had some influence over customs matters. Owing to this reason, the municipality in the past has at times assumed rights over matters which do not concern it, such as objecting to the import of vegetable ghee on the grounds that the public could be cheated by its adulteration with real ghee; but during recent years the council has confined its work to legitimate municipal affairs.

The municipalities are encouraged as much as possible to manage their own affairs; they are not dominated by the Government, but they are given advice when they require it. The municipal officers and past and present members of councils have a certain civic pride, and they and the public, especially in Manamah, are proud of the work which the municipalities have done.

The community in Bahrain, especially the people in the capital, is passing through a period of transition. Manamah is no longer just a prosperous diving town depending almost entirely upon pearls; it is rapidly becoming the commercial centre of the Gulf and, in addition to this, Bahrain is now one of the important oil-producing countries of the world. These changes, which have been very rapid, produce many new problems, some of which have to be dealt with by the local municipalities, and so far, on the whole, they are dealing with them successfully. Among the possible developments for the future which have been considered at municipal meetings, apart from water supply and drainage system, which I have mentioned, are public libraries, public baths, hot and cold, and a workhouse for aged paupers.

## THE PEARL-DIVING INDUSTRY

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**General.** For many centuries pearl diving has been the sole industry in Bahrain, on which the prosperity and the existence of the people has depended. Ten years ago it was still a flourishing concern, although big profits were not so easily made as they were some years before. Then came the collapse of the pearl market in Europe, and within a few seasons the diving industry in Bahrain shrunk to a fraction of its former importance. The revenue of the Bahrain State depended, indirectly, on the pearl trade. It consisted chiefly of customs duties on imports, and when the pearl diving flourished, divers, merchants and boat-owners had money to spend in the bazaars and shop-keepers imported large quantities of goods to sell to the public. The slump in the pearl trade was reflected in the decline of the revenue. If oil had not been discovered in Bahrain the country would now be on the verge of bankruptcy.

**The Diving System.** Both the method of diving and the system of the industry are very ancient, as is shown by descriptions of Bahrain in books written by travellers many hundreds of years ago. Theoretically, the system is a fair one, the total profits of each boat, after deducting all expenses, are divided proportionately among the pullers, divers, and the nakuda, a puller receiving one share, a diver two shares, and the nakhuda the share of five divers. There are various modifications of this system applicable in special circumstances, all of them well known and recognised in the diving community. In course of time, however, changes and abuses crept into the system. Originally the boat-owners were rich enough to finance their own boats for the season; then came a time when many of them were unable to find the large sum of money which was necessary to buy the provisions and to pay the advances which were made to the divers.

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The dealers on shore made greater profits in selling and trading in pearls than the owners of the boats who brought the pearls from the banks. The nakhudas took to borrowing money from the shore merchants at the beginning of each season, and the shore merchants demanded interest on their loans. Because interest is forbidden by the Quran, it became the practice of the merchants to make their advances in kind, by handing over bags of rice, but if a receipt was given for one hundred bags, the recipient only removed eighty bags, the remaining twenty bags representing the interest. This state of things existed over a hundred years ago and probably before then. The amount of interest varied; it was never less than 20%, and in most cases it was very much higher. All the divers, most of the nakhudas, and a great many of the merchants were illiterate, and no proper accounts were kept. Inevitably the divers suffered. The system of giving advances or loans to divers, which is also a comparatively modern innovation, was another arrangement by which the divers ultimately suffered. The diving season lasts for four months and ten days, while the sea is hot. When the industry flourished, divers, especially good men, were in great demand, and the nakhudas gave them loans, on which very high interest was charged, to enable the divers to provide for themselves during the off-season. It became the definite policy of the nakhudas to bind their divers to themselves by keeping them in debt. The first loan to a diver was a genuine payment, though frequently in kind, but it was usually the heavy rate of accumulating interest on the original debt which made it impossible for the diver ever to repay his nakhuda, and as long as a diver was in debt he was bound to dive for the man to whom he owed money. Occasionally a diver would have a stroke of luck and would earn enough to pay off his debt, but this did not suit his master, so the diver would be given a few bags of rice, which he always accepted, charged against him at fabulous price, and the interest on the alleged cost of the rice would keep the diver tied again to his nakhuda. When a diver died his sons became liable for their father's debt, on which the interest accumulated until, when boys were old enough to start diving, they found themselves already saddled with a large debt. The divers were, and still are, utterly improvident, possessed with a gambling spirit, and intensely ignorant. They always hoped that one day they would be in a boat which found a really big pearl. There was practically no other occupation except diving, and while the men were young they were glad to dive; it was when they became old that they began to complain. These old conditions, for many years now a thing of the past, gave rise to the frequent and, in my opinion, previously justified criticisms in books and in newspapers which described the conditions of the Bahrain pearl divers as almost that of slavery. Unfortunately for Bahrain, journalistic descriptions of the dreadful conditions among the pearl divers are of better news value, although previously exaggerated and now quite untrue, than descriptions of the real reforms which have been carried out in the industry during recent times. These criticisms, appearing from time to time in reputable papers, which only a few people who are, or have been, upon the spot recognise as being untrue, are most offensive to the Government of Bahrain.

**The Reforms.**

In 1923 His Excellency Shaikh Hamad, who had only recently been appointed Deputy Ruler on the suggestion of and with the support of Major Daly, who was then Political Agent in Bahrain, carried out in the face of almost universal opposition sweeping reforms in the diving system. The divers themselves, the nakhudas and the pearl merchants, were strongly opposed to any change. The divers had been persuaded that the reforms were against their own interest, and the merchants and nakhudas realised that the result of the reforms would loosen their hold over the divers and would reduce some of their profits which they obtained by cheating the divers. The movement, however, was supported by a few important and progressive pearl merchants, and by the Sunni and Shia Qadis, Shaikh Jasim Al Mehza and Shaikh Khalaf, who disapproved, on religious grounds, of a system in which interest played such a part. After a bitter struggle the reforms were carried through.

A regular system of accounts was introduced and stiff penalties were decreed against persons who did not keep them properly. Every nakhuda was made to keep a ledger showing his profit and loss, expenses, and weight and value of pearls, and every diver was given a little account book in which his debt and his earnings were entered each season. A staff of clerks were employed by the Government to check and to make up the accounts between merchants and nakhudas and divers. The rates of interest on money lent by merchants and on advances to divers were limited to a certain percentage; the amount of the bi-annual advances, Selaf and Tesqaam, which were

5: Bahrain G-5 (1925-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



paid to the divers at the beginning and at the end of the season, were decided each season by the Government and announced by proclamation, and advances in kind were forbidden. The Salafieh Court, which consisted of certain notorious merchants and nakhudas, who were supposed to judge diving cases but who were invariably prejudiced in favour of their own class, was abolished, and diving cases were tried in the ordinary courts. It became illegal for nakhudas or merchants to make their divers work without wages in gardens or houses during the off-season, and when a diver died his debt died with him and did not pass on to his children.

The ultimate success of the reforms has been proved by the fact that now, more than thirteen years after they were started, the diving rules are still in force, and many of the men who opposed them most bitterly now admit that the reforms have been beneficial. Ten years ago, however, most of the big men in the industry were still actively antagonistic to the new laws, and for several years incessant attempts were made by divers, as well as merchants and nakhudas, to evade and to upset the regulations.

**Demonstrations by Divers.** The time usually chosen for causing trouble was the occasion of the Selaf, the advance which is made to divers before the season begins, which they are supposed to use for buying food for their families while the men are at sea, and for purchasing anything which they themselves require while out at the banks. After the reforms, the amount of this advance, as well as the advance at the end of the season, was decided by the Government and announced by proclamation. It was the policy of the Government to reduce the amount of the advances every year with the intention of reducing the divers' debts. For several years the issue of the proclamation was a signal for disturbances and demonstrations which were made by the divers but suggested and organised by a certain section of pearl merchants and nakhudas, who hoped to force the Government's hand and to overthrow the new regulations and revert to the old condition. Besides the disgruntled pearl magnates, there were at that time plenty of other people who were dissatisfied with the Government and who welcomed any opportunity of stirring up trouble. Unfortunately, on two occasions when violent disturbances were made by the divers, the Ruler cancelled the proclamation and increased the advances. The divers, having got their own way by adopting violent measures, became each year more aggressive. On various occasions mobs of divers entered the bazaars and looted shops; usually they attacked the premises of an unpopular merchant or nakhuda. One of these demonstrations was made at the time of the Tesqaam advance, which happened to be on New Year's Day. When all the leading merchants were assembled at the Agency, listening to speeches eulogising the happy conditions in Bahrain, a messenger arrived, saying that a mob of divers from Muharraq was looting the bazaar. Another year the divers went on strike and refused to take the boats out; finally, in 1932, a crisis was reached. Without any warning a mob of several thousand divers from Muharraq and Hedd, armed with clubs, iron bars, etc., landed on the shore at Ras Romaan, proceeded to the police station, which they attacked, released the prisoners, and started towards the bazaar. Some of the present police force, who were then new, local naturs and a few Punjabi police, were rushed to the scene. The situation was serious; there was a free fight all along the sea road from the customs to the Political Agency, and during the fighting the naturs, without orders, used their rifles. Four of the divers were shot and several were wounded. The mob dispersed, and this was the last time that the divers caused any trouble. Since then the amount of the advances has been decided at a meeting which is held every year between the leading men of the pearl trade and representatives of the Government; the responsibility for the decision is shared between the Government and the merchants.

**The Slump.** The continued decline in the pearl trade can be seen from the following figures. The estimate of the value of the catch is only approximate, and has been obtained partly by calculations based on averages from the actual figures supplied by the diving clerks. The diving clerks do not record all the accounts of all the boats, as now many of the nakhudas employ their own clerks. The figures represent the amount paid to the nakhudas by the first purchaser, but before the pearls leave Bahrain they probably change hands many times, and each time at a considerably higher price. Ten years ago, important Indian and Continental pearl merchants used to visit Bahrain every year towards the end of the

●228 diving season to buy pearls, but as the state of the pearl market deteriorated, these buyers ceased coming, and lately most of the Bahrain pearls have been sent to Bombay, to be sold to buyers for the European markets.

| *Year.* | *Number of Boats Diving.* | *Number of Divers.* | *Value of Catch. Rs* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1345 | 515 | 19,250 | Not recorded. |
| 1346 | 507 | 18,500 | " |
| 1347 | 531 | 19,650 | " |
| 1348 | 538 | 20,150 | " |
| 1349 | 509 | 19,300 | 21,25,000/- |
| 1350 | 504 | 17,600 | 18,32,000/- |
| 1351 | 456 | 16,650 | 12,14,000/- |
| 1352 | 436 | 16,000 | 13,40,000/- |
| 1353 | 340 | 12,700 | 10,00,000/- |
| 1354 | 316 | 11,550 | 8,33,000/- |
| 1355 | 264 | 9,800 | 6,07,000/- |

NOTE.—Value of catch and number of divers is only approximate.

Value of catch is calculated from actual figures of diving clerks, to which is added an average of those boats whose catches are not recorded by diving clerks.

Number of divers is obtained from the diving-boat licences, which specify that not more than a certain number of men may be carried in boats of the various classes. The number of divers may possibly be less than the figures given above, but not more.

Various causes have contributed to the slump in the pearl trade, the chief reasons being the recent years of financial depression in Europe and the success of Japanese cultured pearls. Other matters which have affected the market are changes in women's fashions, which tend to reduce the amount of jewellery which is worn, and the popularity and cheapness of motor cars and wireless sets. Nowadays men give women cars and wireless sets instead of pearl necklaces. There has been a very great increase in the sale of cultured pearls during the last five years, and their price has fallen correspondingly. When they first appeared on the market they were sold at about one-third the price of real pearls; now they cost less than one thirtieth the price of real pearls. This, in some ways, is an advantage. The cultured pearls are rapidly taking the place of the artificial pearls such as are made by Ciro and Tekla. Both these firms are now selling quantities of cheap cultured necklaces, and a cultured pearl necklace can be bought at a price only a little higher than that of a good artificial pearl necklace. The artificial pearl trade, according to a trade statement, has been affected to the extent of six million pounds since the introduction of cultured pearls.

**Diving Mortgages.** The depression has affected the diving industry in various ways. In times of prosperity merchants willingly advanced large sums of money to nakhudas with no security except the knowledge that they had first claim on the boats' catch, and that if the nakhuda became bankrupt the merchant could take over the boats and divers. Now, and for some years back, owing to uncertain conditions, no merchant will advance money for diving without taking a security for his loan, either title deeds of property or gold ornaments. Nakhudas, as a class, rarely owned land or immovable property except the house in which they lived, and in order to get money to equip their boats and pay the advances to their divers many of them mortgaged their houses. After several cases in which merchants foreclosed on mortgages and turned the nakhudas out of their houses, it was decided by the Government that the actual living house of a nakhuda should not be liable in case of a diving debt. The changed conditions brought to the front a few nakhudas who, because they happened to own gardens or other immovable property, were able to obtain loans more easily than many bigger men whose wealth was entirely in boats and divers.

**Divers' Debts.** One of the chief objects of the reforms was to reduce the debts of the divers to their nakhudas. Ten years ago, both merchants and nakhudas were opposed to any reduction in the advances because they knew that it would eventually result in divers being free to dive for whoever they chose; the divers themselves

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A Small Pearling Dhow

[Facing p. 50]

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have, naturally, at all times wanted as much as they can get. As conditions changed, the position became reversed. The Government has always realised that a small, genuine advance at the beginning of the season and during the off-season is necessary, but since money has become scarce in the diving community the Government has had to argue with the nakhudas and merchants to persuade them to make any advance at all. The following figures show the decrease in the bi-annual advances.

| Year. | Tesgaam | | Stla. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Diver. Rs | Puller. Rs | Diver. Rs | Puller. Rs |
| 1344 | 100/- | 80/- | 60/- | 60/- |
| 1345 | 80/- | 60/- | 100/- | 80/- |
| 1346 | 100/- | 80/- | 100/- | 80/- |
| 1347 | 100/- | 80/- | 130/- | 105/- |
| 1348 | 100/- | 80/- | 80/- | 60/- |
| 1349 | 55/- | 45/- | — | — |
| 1350 | 55/- | 45/- | 55/- | 45/- |
| 1351 | 30/- | 25/- | 30/- | 25/- |
| 1352 | 30/- | 25/- | 30/- | 25/- |
| 1353 | 30/- | 25/- | 30/- | 25/- |
| 1354 | 20/- | 15/- | 20/- | 15/- |
| 1355 | 20/- | 15/- | 20/- | 15/- |

The result of reducing the advances is that men who have begun diving during the last five years either pay off their debts altogether or owe only small sums to their nakhudas. Unfortunately, old divers who started before the reforms still owe large sums which they will never be able to pay off. Last year a record was made by the court of the debts of over 500 divers, all of them men owing money, of whom perhaps 50% had started diving before the reforms. According to these figures the average diver owed Rs 507/-, but out of the five hundred men, eight owed between Rs 2,000/- and Rs 3,000/- each and nine men owed over Rs 1,000/- each. As the diving industry has shrunk in importance, the value of a diver has declined. An example of this is the practice of nakhudas, who gladly cancel from half to one-third of a diver's debt if he is enlisted as a policeman, provided that he repays the rest of his debt at the rate of Rs 5/- per month. The old divers will never repay their debts, but the new generation of divers will never become heavily in debt unless Bahrain reverts to the state which existed before the reforms. Although nowadays nakhudas cannot afford to make large advances, they constantly complain that the new generation of debtless divers do not work as well as the old men who owed big sums. They complain that divers resent the discipline of the nakhuda while out at the banks, and they attribute, quite wrongly, part of the recent depression in the industry to the deterioration in the divers themselves. Men who have become divers since the reforms know that if they are ill-treated by their nakhuda they can resort to the courts. A few years ago, complaints about ill-treatment were frequent, but after several examples had been made, such complaints have almost ceased; there has been a similar decrease in complaints by divers about their accounts.

**Transfer of Divers.**

Certain local practices in the diving industry, which are not clearly understood outside Bahrain, are likely to be misinterpreted and to create an impression that divers are liable to be bought and sold. This is not the case.

If a nakhuda cannot find money to equip his boat and to pay advances, he lets his boat to another nakhuda, if he is lucky enough to find a tenant, and releases his divers on 'baruas.' The 'barua' is a document issued by the nakhuda, allowing a diver to seek employment with another nakhuda for the season, within Bahrain, on the condition that the new nakhuda who takes on the diver pays to the original nakhuda one-third of the diver's earnings in part satisfaction of the diver's debt. If the diver finds work on shore, he pays a definite sum for the season to his nakhuda.

If a nakhuda becomes bankrupt because the merchant who finances him demands a settlement, the merchant has the right to take over the diving craft, at a valuation, and to take over the divers

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



for the amount which they owe to their nakhuda. The divers then work for the merchant; if he owns boats he can order them to dive in his boats, but if he does not own boats he cannot employ them directly himself: he is compelled to give them 'baruas' to dive with any nakhuda who will employ them. If any diver has an objection to diving in the boat of a nakhuda who has taken him on from his original nakhuda, he is entitled to apply to the court, which issues him with a 'barua.' In the past it was the custom of the merchant who took over divers in this manner to employ them during the off-season on any sort of labour, but this was stopped when the diving reforms were made. The transfer of a diver from one owner to another without the diver having any right to protest used, certainly, to resemble a condition of slavery. If the merchant who takes over the divers is an ordinary shop-keeper, as is sometimes the case, he now has no right to place the divers out in other people's boats. His means of recovering his claim is from the one-third earnings of the divers if they happen to find nakhudas.

**The Catch.** During recent years the catch has deteriorated, and fewer large pearls have been found. It is said that there is a greater proportion of barren shells, but it is almost impossible to check this statement. There is a definite feeling that it would be advisable to close certain banks for a season or two, but this could only be done in conjunction with other Gulf pearling States. It has also been suggested locally that all diving should be altogether stopped for one season to give the banks a rest and to give an impetus to the pearl market. There would be an opportunity for those merchants who still hold big stocks of old pearls to dispose of them. I believe that if the banks were closed for a season there would be a recovery in the industry, but the employment of many thousands of divers for four months of the year would be a difficult and expensive problem, and no such scheme would be possible without the co-operation of other Gulf States. The market is now clogged by a number of big merchants, such as Shaikh Mohomed Ali Zainal who hold vast stocks of pearls which they bought when prices were high. These pearls have not yet been fully paid for, and many Bahrain merchants, the original sellers, are still waiting for payment. It is the practice for buyers of pearls to pay for them when they re-sell, and this system has become a vicious circle: until the big merchants sell they cannot pay the medium merchants, and until the medium merchants are paid they cannot pay the small men.

**Recent Changes.** The actual method of diving is still what it was centuries ago, but there have been some slight changes in recent years. In 1925, a motor launch was used by a pearl merchant, who went out to the banks and bought a number of pearls at a cheap price because none of the rival merchants were there to compete. This action roused a storm of protest, and a proclamation was issued by the Government forbidding the use of launches at the pearl banks during the season. It was announced that the following year there would be no such restriction. Next year several launches were used, and since then launches are always used by buyers, who go to the banks to buy from the fleet, and frequently for sending supplies out to the boats.

For some years the Government sent a large sailing boat, equipped as a hospital-boat, to the banks during the diving season. This arrangement was expensive and not very satisfactory. The boom has now been sold, and every year the Government sends out an Indian doctor in a motor launch, who makes several trips to the pearling fleet and, when necessary, brings back sick men to the shore.

At the time of writing, the Government, in order to assist the diving community in Bahrain, has reduced the licences for diving-boats by 50%, and has also postponed the date of payment of licences from one month before the commencement of the season to two months after the season begins. This action will result in a loss of revenue to the Government of about Rs 15,000/-, but it is expected that it will cause an increase in the number of boats which go diving in the summer of 1937.

It is difficult to prophesy the future of the diving industry. The demand for real pearls may possibly increase; there are many people in the pearl trade who are confident that the markets will improve, but not even the most optimistic think that the pearl business will ever again become what it was in the past, when both Arabs and Europeans made huge fortunes out of Bahrain pearls.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# INTRODUCTION

101 131 About midway of the Persian Gulf and some fifteen miles off the coast of Arabia, lie the Bahrein Islands at the mouth of the Gulf of Bahrein, of which the Qatar Peninsula forms the western side. There are five principal islands, only two of which are of real consequence. The largest and by far the most important is variously called Awal, Al Manāmah after the principal city, or more commonly just Bahrein. The last is the modern designation.

103 In ancient times, the name "Bahrein" was applied to a larger area which included the Arabian mainland of Qatar and Hajar and the land situated between Mesopotamia and the Gulf of Oman (the Indian Ocean); this area took in the entire southern coast of the Persian Gulf. This has caused widespread misinterpretation of much of the writings of pre-Islamic and Medieval historians. Throughout this book we shall use the term "Bahrein" in its modern sense to refer to the archipelago of Bahrein proper or to the central island, except where the mainland province is clearly indicated.

132 511 Bahrein today has few attractions. There is not much to recommend it as a place of residence, as it is intensely hot for about seven months of the year, and for many of the native inhabitants lacking in comfortable living conditions. For tourists it is rather off the beaten track. Nevertheless, through the centuries these bits of land have been considered well worth fighting for by both European and Asiatic empires.

228 648 312 The reason for Bahrein's unusual and enduring importance can be summed up in two words—pearls and strategy. The pearl fisheries of Bahrein have been known all over the world since the dawn of history and, thanks to an abundance of fresh water springs, the island was a frequent stopping place for ships on the trade routes to India and the Far East.

648 175 The Portuguese, the first European power to have an Asiatic colonial empire, fought hard for possession of the islands.

Bahrein produces dates of very good quality, though inferior to the Iraqi and especially to the Persian variety known in the United States as the Bassorah date. The entire date production of Bahrein is consumed locally, either fresh or dried, or in a powder which is used like wheat flour for the making of bread, the common food of the rich.

The economic value of the date palm does not stop with the fruit. All other parts of the palm yield products of practical value to Bahreinis; their life would be impossible without it. The trunk furnishes timber for houses and boats; the midribs of the leaves go into crates and furniture; the leaf bases are used for fuel; the small leaves are used in basketry, the fiber for cordage and packing, and the fruit stalks for rope and fuel.

Under the shade of their palm trees and around their springs, the Bahreinis live their relatively simple life, producing some vegetables, weaving a few shawls, making sailcloth or reed mats, and breeding their donkeys. The Bahrein donkeys, or "Bandari," were bought by donkey lovers for their endurance, their height, and other celebrated qualities.

The main occupations of the townspeople are commercial and maritime, mostly fishing and handling the transit shipments which are one of Bahrein's largest sources of revenue. The greatest economic asset of the islands, however, despite the value of the recently discovered oil, is still the pearl fisheries.

## PEARL FISHING

The chief source of income of the islands before the discovery and exploitation of oil reserves in the nineteen thirties was pearl fishing. Before the rise of competition from the Japanese *pearl fisheries and worldwide economic crisis of 1930, the indus*try employed more than 20,000 persons annually, and revenue from the pearls, which were exported principally to Paris and London, amounted to about £2,000,000[1] annually. Single pearls often bring enormous prices; for example, the most beautiful

1. Except where otherwise specified, pounds referred to throughout are English pounds sterling.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

pearl found in the 1929 season was sold to one of the four leading dealers for 1,500,000 francs, or about $75,000.[1] The industry at times has produced as much as $8,000,000 worth of pearls, to which should be added about $100,000 in revenue from mother-of-pearl shell which is highly valued in the Western world, though of less interest to Orientals. The real profits, however, begin with the Arab and Hindu dealers in Bombay, whence the pearls are shipped to the jewel markets east and west, at each exchange acquiring a greater value and thus ministering to human ostentation.

The Big Four among the pearl dealers were formerly the Houses of Rosenthal, Pack, Mohammad Ali and Bienenfeld, all of Paris,[2] but after the beginning of World War II the market moved to Bombay.

The banks that are fished most often are the shallow waters of the Arabian coast and those that lie between the twenty-fourth and twenty-seventh parallels north, and the fiftieth and fifty-fifth east. The most famous are situated between the islands of Sir Beni Yas and Shiltaye.

The pearl may be described as the result of a kind of "occupational disease" of the oyster, which in opening its shell to obtain food often takes in gritty particles which cause irritation. Nature provides a remedy in the form of a secretion that covers the offending particle with a smooth coat of nacre. Once started, the process continues indefinitely, each year adding to the size of the pearl which results. Many kinds of molluscs of both fresh and salt water varieties produce pearls of some kind, varying greatly in shape, size, color, and commercial value. The most prolific of the pearl producing oysters in the Gulf, the *Mahharahs*, grow to about two inches in diameter, and are collected when three years old. Large pearls are called "Unions"[3]

1. We are not far from the time of Pliny, when the price of Indian and Arabian pearls was second only to that paid for the *adamas*, or diamond.
2. It is reported that some Gulf pearls sold to Cartier were purchased by the Duchess of Windsor for $20,000, and a single pearl of the same origin was finally sold to Barbara Hutton for $15,000.
3. Cf.: If all the world were but one ring
Ormuz should the union bring.

worn by a woman in public is as good as a lictor walking before her."[1] With or without lictors, however, no woman neglected to display her jewelry. Lollia Paulina, the wife of the Emperor Caligula, is said to have been wearing at an informal "betrothal" party emeralds and pearls valued at forty million sesterces. Pliny adds maliciously: indeed she was prepared at once to prove the fact, by showing the receipts and acquittances.

Later centuries saw the pearl trade expand, and at Bahrein as many as three thousand boats were used annually in pearl fishing, employing nearly half the population of the islands. Little by little the pearl lost its glamor, and with less demand has declined in value. At the end of the last century a very fine quality pearl the size of a pea could be purchased for around a pound sterling. Vanitas vanitatis.

If the market has fluctuated in London or Paris, nothing has changed in this "Sea of the Changeable Winds" since the time of the Assyrians, and the diver of the Persian Gulf today dives from the same kind of boat and in the same way his ancestors did many generations ago. The pearl fishing boats (*Mahaila*), product of local labor, have long been standardized. They range in size from one to fifty tons and carry a single sail and mast, though a few are equipped with a small motor which turns a toy-like propeller. The small boats keep near home but the larger ones sail about freely in the Gulf, often for weeks at a time, as long as their supply of water holds out. The crews vary from fifteen to twenty men.

The diver's traditional equipment consists of a basket to hold the oysters, a rope with a stone attached to carry him down and another to pull him up, a leather clothespin-like contrivance or a forked bone to close his nostrils, ear stoppers of beeswax, and leather sheaths to protect his fingers and big toes. The Persian merchants tried a few years ago to persuade the divers to adopt modern diving equipment, including helmets, but the protest was so great that the Sheik outlawed its use.

1. The honor of being preceded by a lictor was reserved to members of the imperial family.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

The diver puts his foot in a loop in his rope and goes down with the weight of the attached stone. When he has gathered as many oysters as he can, he gives a signal and the basket is pulled up. The stone follows, and last of all the diver, who by this time is not infrequently dead. 228

The average dive is about eight fathoms, and fifty seconds is the usual time under water, though it may be as long as three minutes. There are numerous accounts of much longer submersions, but it is impossible to fix the point where truth ends and romance begins in these tall tales. In any case, though the diver may come up more dead than alive, he is expected to make trips at five or six minute intervals, that is, diving fifty to sixty times in a single working day. Ten to twelve oysters is a good average for one dive.

It is little wonder that the divers are plagued by a multitude of occupational diseases. At the outset, suffocation is a constant danger. To protect their skin against rotting, the divers take the precaution of rubbing in an astringent called *Zift* (pine resin) every night before retiring. Every diver suffers from earache, and water pressure ruptures the eardrums of many of the men so that deafness is common. Water pressure also may break the blood vessels of the lungs, and the diver often comes from the water bleeding from the nose and ears. Sooner or later because of the pressure and salinity of the water many divers go blind. Bad teeth, rheumatism, and neuralgia are common, as well as the more serious acute bronchitis and heart trouble, to say nothing of the risk of being killed or maimed when attacked by dangerous fish. However, even divers who have lost an arm or a leg, or have been blinded, often continue to work. 228 164

It may not be out of place to recall here the beautiful verses of Matthew Arnold and to add "if the diver has a hut":

> *"And dear as the wet diver to the eyes*
> *Of his pale wife, who waits and weeps on shore,*
> *By sands of Bahrein, in the Persian Gulf;*
> *Plunging all day in the blue waves, at night,*
> *Having made up his tale of precious pearls,*
> *Rejoins her in their hut upon the shore."*

The economic status of the divers is as desperate as their physical hardships. Their houses are huts which they build for themselves of woven palm leaves. Wages are paid in advance through the ship owners and financed by merchants who take profits in advance of ten or twenty per cent, according to the season. In the best diving season—from June to September—the divers have little more than enough for the barest necessities; but in the winter months when cold weather and high winds seriously impede and eventually halt their work; in order to keep alive the men have to resort to borrowing at high rates of interest, and so never get out of debt. As a consequence, condemned to a difficult, unhealthy and probably short life, the pearl diver is an inveterate gambler.

Since the abolition of the ancient Tribunal of Salifah in 1926, the captain of the boats has been required by law to keep an account of expenses and of the advances made to the divers, the taxes on which are fixed. The divers do not receive set wages, but after expenses have been deducted and the captain has taken his share of twenty per cent, the remainder is divided among the crew. The diver (*gawās*) receives twice as much as the hauler (*sib*) since his work is more dangerous. The second in command of the boat receives three parts of the profits (i.e. an amount equal to that of one diver and one hauler). He is called the Thursday, from a Persian word, probably because he is in charge of the boat on Thursdays, the captain's day off.

A comparatively recent traveler in the Near East has stated that there are occasional strikes for higher pay, though not the kind to which we are accustomed. It is the Sheik who declares the strike—and pockets the proceeds.

The diving season starts the middle of April and ends the middle of October. It is divided into five periods, the first of which, the *Ghaws al Bard*, begins the middle of April and lasts about a month. Deep sea fishing is not attempted and the divers relieve each other every half hour or so on account of the cold. The workers' share of the profits for this period is divided equally among the divers and the haulers because the latter have to

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

work harder than in the summer. Between the *Ghaws al Bard* and the great season, or *Ghaws al Kabir*, is the period called *Kanchi-yah*, which lasts about two weeks. Then the fishing season *par excellence*, the great *Khaws al Kabir*, begins at the end of June, after the season of the northwestern wind, and lasts until the middle of October. This period is inaugurated by a proclamation of the Sheik setting the dates of the opening and closing of the season. The two week period of *Raaba* follows and finally, with the coming of cold weather, the *Mujannah*, a period of indefinite length, when fishing is carried on mainly in the shallow coastal waters.

There are two methods commonly used to finance the diving. The best known is for the captain of the boat to borrow money from a merchant on shore in order to advance the men's wages and equip and provision the boat for the season. At the end of the season, after the pearls have been sold, the loan is repaid; the captain takes one-fifth of the profits, and the remainder is divided among the divers and haulers. Since the captain charges interest to the men on the money he has advanced, their pay is quite small and they are constantly in debt.

Another and more efficient system has little by little begun to replace the one just described. The shore merchant, as before, finances the expedition but charges no interest. In return, he has the right to purchase the pearls at 20% below the prevailing market rate and also to collect a share of the profits equal to that of five divers.

Bahrein has long had to compete with the pearl fisheries of Ceylon, but much more serious, at least until the outbreak of World War II, was the invasion of the market by the Japanese growers of cultured pearls. The cultured pearls can be told from "natural" ones only by means of delicate X-ray and specific gravity tests and differ essentially only in the way they are produced. The oysters are grown in beds and irritating objects are inserted in the shells to force the formation of the pearls. The contrast in method is essentially that between agriculture and random hunting for food in the forest.

228 Because of the vastly more economical methods involved in the production of cultured pearls, the Japanese industry threatened to flood the market, and not only brought down the cost of the pearls but also dissipated some of the glamour which has been for so long associated with them. As a result of this competition the fisheries of Bahrein began to suffer and the income of the Sheik to decline. In turn, however, royalties from oil concessions in some measure supplemented his income.[1]

## FISHING

226 [262] Fishing is a major occupation of the Bahreinis and an important source of income. Cooked with dates, onions, and a small quantity of rice and barley, fish, fresh or salt, constitutes the national diet of Bahrein. Indeed, fish which have been dried in the sun form the staple food of the majority of the inhabitants of the Persian Gulf, not only of human beings but of dogs, horses, and camels. Besides the local use of fish, there is also a flourishing trade between the Gulf regions and Mauritius, India, and elsewhere in salt and dried fish, shark fins, fish scales, and fish oil.

The most important fish found in this region are:

Cuttlefish, or sepia octopus (*Tankah* or *Khatak*). Eaten in large quantities by the Arabs, who consider it a great delicacy. It is also the most popular bait for hook and line fishing.

Muraena (*Metut*). Known in Oman as *Kasha*. A small fish-like eel which, dried in the sun, is used as human food, feed for horses and cattle, and as fertilizer.

Porpoise (*Dukhs* or *Dughs*). The oil is used for commercial purposes.

Rock Cod (*Hamam*). Found in shallow waters.

Sardine (*'Oom*). Caught in enormous quantities and used both for food and fertilizer.

Scad, or horse mackerel. (*Sewah*). Salted in large quantities for both home consumption and export.

Seer fish (*Kan'ad*). The *Shirmahee*, or Indian Salmon.

1. See below, p. 45.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

175 mitted to his murderers, crossed over to Qatar, where they joined Ali at Qarya. They subsequently attacked and plundered a Bahrein boat, carrying off pearls and monies amounting to over 1,000 rupees. Sheik Isa accepted the accomplished fact, and consented to the departure of the disaffected elements, later on authorizing the families of the men to join them on the mainland.

To prevent the local Sheik from disturbing the peace of the Gulf, the Persian and British Governments had recently signed the International Convention on traffic of arms. The two Governments in their partnership of policing the Gulf, had instructed their Navy to cooperate by tracking down the smuggling of arms between their respective territories. Consequently, the following proclamation was published by the Sheik of Bahrein:

"Be it known to all who see this that British and Persian vessels of war have permission to search vessels carrying their and our flags in Bahrein territorial waters, and to confiscate all arms and ammunition (weapons of war) in them, if those arms and ammunitions are intended for Indian or Persian ports or the Island of Bahrein. . . ."

## 20th CENTURY

648 At the end of the 19th century and the opening of the 20th, the Persian Gulf became the main center of international intrigue. The Russians opened a series of consulates, and organized and subsidized steamer services.

In 1901, the German firm of Prins und Sturken, of Hamburg, opened a branch in Bahrein. In February 1902, two Frenchmen, Dumas and Castelin, arrived in Bahrein to open a business, and a German assistant to Woenkhaus and Company, of Hamburg, arrived later in the same year.

Three years later, Woenkhaus who was already dealing in [22?] mother-of-pearl, transferred their main center of business from Lingah to Bahrein, where they asked a concession from the Sheik for the exploitation of pearl fisheries.

Prevented by the British, they then applied to Constantinople

648 *London Times* of March 6, 1942. In July of the same year, the personal salute of the ruler of Bahrein was fixed at eleven guns.

On the occasion of his succession, Salman issued the following manifesto:

"We, Salman, have succeeded to the throne according to the promise which our father made to us, with the unanimous consent of our paternal uncles and our brothers and all of our tribe. We declare solemnly as our father ordered us, with the help of God to remain firmly attached to our religion, to be vigilant, to ameliorate the conditions of our tribe and our country, to act according to justice and equity, and, acting to reinforce the old ties of friendship which bound our country to England, to remain faithful forever to her friendship. We pray God, the All-Merciful and All-Powerful, to protect, guide, and help us."

722 The realities of war were brought home to Bahrein by price control and rationing system. The Government bought and imported all food supplies for the population, shops were opened in towns and in villages for rationed goods, and the queue system introduced.

There occurred a shortage of rice, staff food of the population, due to the drastic reduction of shipping facilities and the loss to the Japanese of Burma, Indo China and other producing centers. Rice was replaced by wheat, and as a result there was vast discontent among the population.

The black market flourished, and smuggling was rampant, Goods whose export was forbidden, were smuggled out of the country. At one time a bag of sugar could be bought in Bahrein for about 80 rupees; opposite on the Persian Coast, the same bag would be sold for 800 rupees. Motor tires were sold at fabulous prices in Persia and Iraq, and tea was a profitable commodity for smugglers.

722 228 The pearl industry flourished, although the fleets of diving boats were smaller because many divers preferred to earn money on the shore, and high prices were obtained for pearls in India, where people invested money in precious stones. No European

buyers visited the Gulf, and few, if any pearls were sent to Europe. 722 228

Owing to important developments in the Bahrein oil industry and war time public works, there was a great demand for labour. Not only manual labourers and skilled men, but any young Arabs with slight education could obtain well paid posts. 722

Many Bahreini invested their money in gardens and house property which resulted in a land boom. Axis broadcasts were forbidden in public places but most people listened to them in their houses.

To prevent any disturbances, very strong security measures were taken, and the police force numbered some 700 people.

The population sympathized with the Arabs of Palestine in their resistance to Jewish immigration, and in Bahrein, serious rioting broke out in answer to American stands concerning the partition of the Holy Land. Manama synagogue and scores of Jewish shops were wrecked and the Jews were beaten. At the same time, posters appeared on the streets at night denouncing Americans as the "foreigners who steal our oil." 648 722

To forestall any trouble, a Military Government was declared in Bahrein, and extraordinary precautions taken. These measures were resented by the Bahreini who complained to Persia.

The old quarrel over the ownership of Bahrein was revived, and the Cabinet decided on April 18, 1946, to charge taxes and royalties on oil entering Iran from Bahrein. The tax was fixed at $.80 a barrel, plus 20% of the annual net revenue of the Company, that is, the equivalent of the tax collected on the production of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Iran. 648 [651]

At the end of 1947, a delegation from Bahrein arrived in Teheran. The delegation was headed by a very prominent Sheik who was to represent Bahrein at the Iranian Parliament. He was received in a secret session of the Parliament, but as he was not duly elected, according to Persian election laws, it was decided that Majlis could not take any step in regard to its admission. In the session of April 15, 1948, the Parliament

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M12



adequate motor-bus communications with most of the villages.

Manama is the shipping centre of the Gulf pearl industry,[1] and steamers connect regularly with India, Persia, and Iraq. Bahrain harbour is also the centre of a considerable coastal and pearling trade by dhows, as well as the local headquarters of its fishing industry. Other local industries are dhow-building and the manufacture of sailcloth and reed matting. Much of the import and export trade from al-Hasa and its hinterland passes through Bahrain, and this created an important source of revenue during the years in which Aramco was developing its oilfields on the Saudi coast. Lately, however, the Saudis have perceived the advantage of conducting this trade for themselves. By establishing a high-cost re-entry permit, they have discouraged the foreign staff of the oil company from doing its week-end shopping in Bahrain, and their policy is to increase the port and market facilities of the two Saudi coastal towns opposite the island—Damman and Al Khobar. In Bahrain there is a duty of 5 per cent ad valorem on essential imports such as food and clothing; non-essential imports are subject to higher duties, ranging between 15 per cent on tobacco and liquor, and 10 per cent on luxuries.

*History and Foreign Relations*

The presence in the northern part of Bahrain Island of numerous burial tumuli indicates very early human inhabitants, but their identity, which was at one time thought to be Phoenician, remains unknown. Bahrain's situation and natural harbour facilities suggest that from the earliest days of sea navigation in the Gulf the port was important. Its recorded history, however, dates only from 1507, when the Portuguese occupied the island. They built a fort of which the ruins survive, but were driven out in 1602 by an Arab invasion from Persia. Bahrain was held by Persia intermittently until 1783, when it was conquered by Arabs from the mainland. Since 1816 it has been ruled by the Khalifa family of the Utubi tribe, which in 1820 first entered into treaty relations with the East India Company. But the Persian Government has never ceased to claim sovereignty over the island and at intervals has protested against British treaties with the Shaikh. The Persian claim is based on a British Note of 27 April 1869 in which (the Persians allege)[2] Lord Clarendon recognized their title to sovereignty over the

[1] This has long been important, and in the 1830's the fisheries were estimated to bring in some £300,000 to £400,000 a year.

[2] The Persian claim was disposed of by Sir Austen Chamberlain in a Note of 18 January 1928. See League of Nations, *Official Journal*, May 1928, pp. 606–7.

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN M22

nama, Muharraq and Hedd and the 3 villages of East and West Rafaa and Sakhir was less than 1 per cent.

## Social Economy

Prior to the opening of the Bahrain oil fields, the economy of the islands was based upon pearl fishing and the transshipment of goods between Iran, India and other countries and the neighboring Arabian ports. The waters of the Persian Gulf contain famous pearl fishing banks, and, since ancient times, Bahrain has been recognized as the traditional center of the industry. It constituted the principal source of wealth for centuries, but it reached a low level in the 1920s, due in part to the competition of Japanese cultured pearls in the world markets. Early records are nonexistent, but the former Bahrain pearl fleets probably consisted of 600 to 1,000 vessels. The number has declined progressively: only 83 departed for the banks in 1950. In that year, about 2,000 Bahrainis were engaged in pearl fishing during the season from mid-April to October, undoubtedly a fraction of the total employed when the demand for pearls was at its height.

In previous decades, dhow building also was one of the major industries of Bahrain, but its decline has paralleled that of the pearl fisheries. Nine boats were constructed in 1949, as against 100 reported in 1928-29.

Today, oil is the foundation of Bahrain's prosperity. The royalties derived from the industry not only have bolstered the declining resources of the government, but have made possible the expansion of public works and social services. Operations are conducted by the Bahrain Petroleum Company, Ltd., which holds long-term concessions from the Sheikh of Bahrain for the development of the petroleum resources of the islands. Oil was discovered in the Jabal ad Dukhan region, near the center of Bahrain Island, in 1932, and production started in 1934. The proven reserves of this field are estimated in the neighborhood of 200 million barrels. The company also operates a

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THE COMPANY R...

refinery on the eastern side of the island, opposite Sitra. It was expanded in 1945, and 80 to 85 per cent of the crude oil processed is now obtained by pipeline from Saudi Arabia. The refined petroleum products are pumped to storage tanks on Sitra Island, and subsequently to a deep-water loading terminal 3 miles offshore. Over 6,000 Bahrainis, as well as some 1,600 British and Americans, are employed in different branches of the industry. Two thirds of the royalties accrue to the Bahrain government, half of which are utilized for capital expenditures designed to raise the standards of living of the people. Reports for 1951 indicate that 68 per cent of the government income was derived from oil revenues, as against 26 per cent from customs receipts.

The renewed prosperity of the islands and the concurrent growth in population have stimulated private enterprise and the growth of small factories to supply current needs, particularly as regards building materials. Fishing is an important seasonal occupation of many villagers, and preserved fish, fish oils and other fish products are items of export. Agriculture plays a minor role. Barely 5 to 10 per cent of the total land area is under cultivation, and further expansion is restricted by the nature of the terrain, the concentration of water supply in limited areas and a feudalistic system of land tenure. Date gardens flourish in oases on Bahrain, Muharraq and Sitra Islands, but the supply equals less than one quarter of the local requirements. The government is endeavoring to promote the introduction of other crops, and maintains an experiment station at Budaiya.

The sea approaches to the archipelago are shallow, making it necessary for ocean vessels and oil tankers to anchor 2 to 4 miles from the shore. Bahrain and Muharraq, however, have good harbors which accommodate dhows and other shallow-draft vessels. Manama is an active trading center: coastal traffic is more or less continuous, while frequent steamer services are available to the northern Gulf ports and to India AND PAKISTAN.

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p. 257 (B)

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



comes the north wind, and in violence the south-wester (*Qaus*), which is fiercely hot in August and blows irregularly between December and April. See further, vol. ii. p. 346 f.

## Population

Though no census has been taken, the population of the 4 towns and 104 villages in the principality has been estimated as over 100,000, of whom 60,000, chiefly townsmen, are Sunni, and 40,000, chiefly villagers, Shiah. The latter are for the most part *Bahārinah* (see p. 299), but this class, which is mainly agricultural, is here hardly above the servile state. The most numerous Sunni community is that of the *Hūwalah*, who are townsmen of Manāmah, Muharraq, Budeyya', Hadd, and Hālah Bin Anas, living by trade and without solidarity among themselves or influence on others. The 'Utūb, Sādah, and Dawāsir are the most influential tribesmen, the first on account of their connexion with the ruling family, the second by virtue of their supposed sacred origin, the Dawāsir because they are well disciplined by their chief and comparatively wealthy; there are also a few Beni Khālid (see below, p. 608). The remainder of the Sunni population live mostly on the coast, and depend for their subsistence rather on the sea than on cultivation. There are at least 5,000 free negroes and 6,000 negro slaves; a few Persians, Hindus, Basra Arabs and Jews complete the population. Life in Bahrein is more various and many-coloured than on the mainland of Arabia; the exclusiveness of a people cut off from intercourse with other races is absent, and the opportunity to indulge a taste for luxury has not been disdained. Direct relations with Persia and India have influenced costume, domestic appliances, and the architecture of the larger houses, in which the pointed arch is a conspicuous feature.

## Industries and Trade

The most important occupation in Bahrein is pearl-fishing, and the fisheries are the most valuable in the Gulf next to those of Trucial Oman. Were the fisheries to cease, most of the urban population would have to leave the country. They employ more than 900 boats, each with a crew of about 20, the total crews amounting to nearly 20,000 men. The pearling season opens in May, and some boats continue operations until about October. Special measures had to be taken in 1915 by the Sheikh, in conjunction with the British Resident, to enable the pearl-fishing population to tide over the crisis caused by the stoppage of the

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN M22



228 pearl-trade during the war. Sea fisheries are also extensive, the fish being taken in nets and in tidal weirs or enclosures (*hadhrahs*) made of reeds, some of which surround large areas in the shallow waters round the coasts; 500 lb. of fish a day were supplied without
241 difficulty to the Indian Expeditionary Force in 1914. Agriculture is carried on by irrigation, the chief products being fruit (dates, citrons, limes, melons, figs, &c., but few of the first quality), lucerne, and a few vegetables; a great belt of date-groves on Bahrein Island runs S. from Manāmah to the village of Būri, a distance of about
231 7 miles. Domestic animals include about 2,000 donkeys, less than 100 horses owned by the Sheikh and his family, about 100 camels, chiefly used in carrying water to Manāmah for sale, and a small but fine local breed of cattle, in high repute for their milking qualities. Of the donkeys, some 200 are of the famous breed imported from Hasa, from 12 to 13 hands, and white in colour.

433 The chief handicrafts are sail-making, weaving of abbas, lungis, and checked sheeting, and the manufacture of mats from Hasa reeds. Palgrave described the *Bahārinah* as excelling in the crafts of the weaver, the tailor, the dyer, and the worker in metal, wood, or leather. Boat-building, with timber imported from India, employs about 200 carpenters: Bahrein builders can turn out an excellent forty-ton boat in less than a month. Many boats are sold to purchasers in El-Qatar and Oman.

504 Trade at the port of Manāmah was for years hindered by the unsatisfactory arrangements for handling cargo, distribution being
439 delayed, and goods left to deteriorate without any proper protection. In 1910 the control was given to a European, but in the following year native sentiment demanded native control, and two Arabs were appointed, with lamentable results. Since then matters have improved; a Hindu has been placed in charge, and the construction of a jetty and storage-shed has modified the worst of the
[651] former defects. The Sheikh is entitled by treaty to an *ad valorem* duty of 5 per cent. on merchandise. Bahrein is the principal market for the pearl-industry, the export of pearls in a good year attaining about £2,000,000. But it is also an important emporium for the east coast of Arabia, distributing merchandise from India and from countries bordering on the Persian Gulf, to El-Qatar, Qatīf, and 'Oqair, from which last two ports goods are carried into the oases of Hasa and Qatīf, and beyond into southern Nejd. This local trade is carried in native boats without manifests, so that exact statistics cannot be obtained.

439 The total average imports of Manāmah for the three years 1911–14 amounted to £2,061,038, and exports £2,106,766. During the

526 about 6-in. to 9-in. long which trolls well because of its streamlined
226 shape. The fish most commonly caught by trolling are listed hereunder;
[136] those marked with an asterisk have also been reported, but on rare occasions :—

Sea bass.
King Mackerel ("Chanad" or Indian seer).
Leer Fish.
Rock Cod.
Barracuda.
*"Sikkan" (English name unknown but weighs up to 60 lbs.).
*Sailfish.
*Shark (usually sand sharks up to 150 lbs.).
*Bonito.

Bottom fishing in the deeper water a mile or so off the coast, using crab, cuttlefish or large prawn as bait, yields Queen-fish, "Hamriyah" (English name unknown but similar to red snapper) and several kinds of rays, in addition to three or four of the above-listed species caught trolling. Many of these fish weigh 30 to 60 lbs. and give very good sport on a light sea-rod with a reel carrying about 250 yards of cutty hunk or nylon line with 18 or 24 lb. breaking strain. The American type 5-star drag reel is popular for trolling because by insulating the shock of the initial fierce strike, it enables lighter tackle to be used. Sailfish weighing about 55 lb. have been caught near the Black Buoy, the northern entrance marker to the Sitra channel, on at least two authenticated occasions. A game-fishing maxim says that "where there are sailfish, there are marlin" and, although not yet reported in local Bahrain waters, marlin have been seen as near as Umm Said on the east coast of the Qatar peninsular.

Bass (Ar. "Zbaiti"), "Shari" (12-in. long, drab colour), "Saafi" (about 24-in. long, white colour) and a colourful variety of small fish up to 5-6 lb. are caught fishing from the shore at many places around the coast. A trout rod or other light bait-casting rod with a 2½-oz. tip gives excellent sport and can be most exciting when, for instance, a 10 lb. sea bass is hooked and landed, as was done with such tackle in the 1952 season.

The spring and autumn are the best fishing seasons, although fish are sought and caught by the enthusiasts throughout the winter, except during the very cold spells. The hot summer months of July, August and September are the worst or fishing in Bahrain, the Bahrainis say that the fish go out to the deeper water to keep cool, in which they are both missed and envied by the local "Isaac Waltons," left ashore to prepare their tackle for the coming autumn season.

526 *Riding and Racing.* Bahrain offers excellent opportunities for
● 231 riding, but it is only recently that these have been recognised by European and American residents in the Islands. The BAPCO Club has a stable of twelve horses at Awali and riding classes are held for children and adults. In Manama a number of Arab merchants keep horses for

hacking as well as for racing and they are often willing to lend them to those interested in riding. With the exception of a few horses owned by Europeans, the remainder in Bahrain are the property of H.H. The Ruler, of the State Police and of other members of the Ruling Family. The keeping of horses in Bahrain is an expensive matter as the cost of fodder is high.

There are at the time of writing only two race meetings a year, these are held at the Manama Racecourse on Jufair Road. The race meetings take place in the spring and autumn, but it is hoped shortly to increase their number. The Races are run by a committee which receives the full support and patronage of the Ruler and there is a Totalisator under Government control. The races are very popular in Bahrain and not only is the Enclosure always packed with many hundreds of Arabs and Europeans but the whole length of the track is lined with onlookers who during the morning of the races come in buses, taxis and on foot to the Racecourse. The races vary in distance from four furlongs to one mile, some are handicaps and others are open. The Race Meetings of Bahrain are one of the social events of the year and people come from Dhahran and Qatar for the occasion. The brightly coloured dresses of the ladies, the equally colourful clothes of the Arabs and the more sombre get-up of the Englishmen are worthy of this Gulf Ascot !

*Bathing.* Around the shores of Bahrain are a number of excellent beaches, particularly to the south of the island, away from the villages. Unfortunately the coast of Bahrain is so shallow that it is often necessary to walk for a long way into the sea before deep water is reached. Swimming and picnicing is particularly pleasant at Ras al-Barr and along the west coast of Bahrain below Zellaq. There is no real danger from swimming in the sea, sharks are very rarely seen and it is only the occasional ray that should be treated with respect. Swimming shoes are, however, very necessary as the sharp coral stone in many places along the coast causes bad cuts which are liable to go septic. At Zellaq there is the BAPCO Plage which, in the summer, sees an attendance of over 50 a day and as many as 200-300 bathers at week-ends.

There are a number of places for fresh water bathing, the Pool at Adari is very pleasant but in the summer is inclined to be crowded. There are also pools at Ain Hakim, Sitra and elsewhere. At Awali there are two swimming baths and the Gymkhana Club also possesses a large bath situated in very attractive surroundings. In all the natural springs and in the baths which receive their water direct from artesian wells, the water has a temperature of about 83 degrees ; this remains the same in winter and in summer so that in the former the water seems warm, in the latter, cool.

*Other Sports.* In addition to these activities it is possible to play many other games in Bahrain, including tennis, golf, hockey, cricket, volley-ball, football, etc.

There are a number of public and private tennis courts in Bahrain, in Awali the courts of the BAPCO Club, and in Manama the Bahrain

175 of Hormuz. The Governor of Muscat refused to submit, so the town was pounded by the Portuguese guns until it surrendered. The Portuguese landed and captured many of the chief inhabitants, whose ears and noses they chopped off; the city was plundered and then wantonly destroyed by fire, and the victorious fleet sailed off along the Oman coast and captured several other ports, which were treated in the same way. After this Alboquerque turned his attention to Hormuz, the key of the Iranian Gulf.

361 To-day Hormuz is a tiny fishing village on a barren salty island
175 which is visible from ships as they enter the port of Bander Abbas, but when Alboquerque first sailed the waters of the Gulf, Hormuz had the reputation of being a city of fabulous wealth and incomparable luxury and magnificence. The city was originally on the mainland, but when the Tartar hordes swept over Persia it was destroyed and then rebuilt on the island. So famous were the wonders of Hormuz that the sixteenth-century poets in Europe frequently referred to it in their works. To this "jewelled signet of a golden ring" came merchants from all
231 parts of the Orient trading in precious Eastern wares. In the richly
175 stocked markets of Hormuz they sold silks and jewels, ivory and pearls, cloths of silver and of gold, as well as Arab horses and "the finest asses in the world," which may well have been the forbears of the famous Bahrain strain of white donkeys. Even to-day these donkeys have a great reputation and are found as far off as the centre of the Tanganyika Territory in East Africa, where they were taken by Baluchis from
175 Muscat via Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam. The King of Hormuz, who had accumulated great wealth from the Indian trade and the pearl fisheries, possessed large territories both in Iran and on the Arab coast. The islands of Bahrain were subject to Hormuz, which was the distributing centre for the pearls of the Gulf, but Hormuz itself paid tribute to the Sultan of Kerman. The rapid success of the Portuguese navy, both on the Indian coast and in Oman, established for it a reputation of invincibility, and the coming of the foreign conquerors with their strange ships and weapons spread fear and terror along the coasts and the islands of the Gulf.

When Alboquerque and his fleet of tall ships arrived at Hormuz he found that the King was aware of his intention and the Hormuzians were prepared to defend their island. The harbour was filled with ships, the battlements were lined with armed men, and foreign mercenaries had been called in to assist the defenders. Bahrain had sent a fleet with "relief of men and provisions," but the Portuguese met the

Bahrein produces dates of very good quality, though inferior to the Iraqi and especially to the Persian variety known in the United States as the Bassorah date. The entire date production of Bahrein is consumed locally, either fresh or dried, or in a powder which is used like wheat flour for the making of bread, the common food of the rich.

The economic value of the date palm does not stop with the fruit. All other parts of the palm yield products of practical value to Bahreinis; their life would be impossible without it. The trunk furnishes timber for houses and boats; the midribs of the leaves go into crates and furniture; the leaf bases are used for fuel; the small leaves are used in basketry, the fiber for cordage and packing, and the fruit stalks for rope and fuel.

Under the shade of their palm trees and around their springs, the Bahreinis live their relatively simple life, producing some vegetables, weaving a few shawls, making sailcloth or reed mats, and breeding their donkeys. The Bahrein donkeys, or "Bandari," were bought by donkey lovers for their endurance, their height, and other celebrated qualities.

The main occupations of the townspeople are commercial and maritime, mostly fishing and handling the transit shipments which are one of Bahrein's largest sources of revenue. The greatest economic asset of the islands, however, despite the value of the recently discovered oil, is still the pearl fisheries.

## PEARL FISHING

The chief source of income of the islands before the discovery and exploitation of oil reserves in the nineteen thirties was pearl fishing. Before the rise of competition from the Japanese pearl fisheries and worldwide economic crisis of 1930, the industry employed more than 20,000 persons annually, and revenue from the pearls, which were exported principally to Paris and London, amounted to about £2,000,000[1] annually. Single pearls often bring enormous prices; for example, the most beautiful

1. Except where otherwise specified, pounds referred to throughout are English pounds sterling.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN M22



228 pearl-trade during the war. Sea fisheries are also extensive, the fish being taken in nets and in tidal weirs or enclosures (*hadhrahs*) made of reeds, some of which surround large areas in the shallow waters round the coasts; 500 lb. of fish a day were supplied without
241 difficulty to the Indian Expeditionary Force in 1914. Agriculture is carried on by irrigation, the chief products being fruit (dates, citrons, limes, melons, figs, &c., but few of the first quality), lucerne, and a few vegetables; a great belt of date-groves on Bahrein Island runs S. from Manāmah to the village of Būri, a distance of about
• 231 7 miles. Domestic animals include about 2,000 donkeys, less than 100 horses owned by the Sheikh and his family, about 100 camels, chiefly used in carrying water to Manāmah for sale, and a small but fine local breed of cattle, in high repute for their milking qualities. Of the donkeys, some 200 are of the famous breed imported from Hasa, from 12 to 13 hands, and white in colour.

433 The chief handicrafts are sail-making, weaving of abbas, lungis, and checked sheeting, and the manufacture of mats from Hasa reeds. Palgrave described the *Bahārinah* as excelling in the crafts of the weaver, the tailor, the dyer, and the worker in metal, wood, or leather. Boat-building, with timber imported from India, employs about 200 carpenters: Bahrein builders can turn out an excellent forty-ton boat in less than a month. Many boats are sold to purchasers in El-Qatar and Oman.

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[651] struction of a jetty and storage-shed has modified the worst of the former defects. The Sheikh is entitled by treaty to an *ad valorem* duty of 5 per cent. on merchandise. Bahrein is the principal market for the pearl-industry, the export of pearls in a good year attaining about £2,000,000. But it is also an important emporium for the east coast of Arabia, distributing merchandise from India and from countries bordering on the Persian Gulf, to El-Qatar, Qatif, and 'Oqair, from which last two ports goods are carried into the oases of Hasa and Qatif, and beyond into southern Nejd. This local trade is carried in native boats without manifests, so that exact statistics cannot be obtained.

439 The total average imports of Manāmah for the three years 1911–14 amounted to £2,061,038, and exports £2,106,766. During the

63:Simmons et al G-6 (1941-1951) 1954
MI Middle East
BAHREIN M22

spraying campaign. The existing species have not been determined: several are probably implicated in the spread of intestinal and eye infections. All forms of human lice are present. Numerous species of fleas occur, including presumably *Xenopsylla cheopis*, the usual vector of plague, which was frequently epidemic in the past.

### Food Sanitation

The sanitary supervision of the markets, coffee shops, bakeries and other premises where foods are prepared or sold is the responsibility of the municipal authorities in Manama and Muharraq. Little governmental control has been attempted, but the new public health division plans to develop inspection services. Most of the meat used is imported, and is not subject to inspection in Bahrain. There are slaughterhouses, however, in Manama and Muharraq which are operated under the supervision of the municipal officers. No regulations exist governing the sale of milk. It is obtained from small herds of goats, and is often contaminated.

## HEALTH SERVICES AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

### Health Organizations

The Public Health Department of the Bahrain government is responsible for the protection of the health of the inhabitants and the enforcement of international quarantine regulations. It is administered by the Chief Medical Officer, whose headquarters are located at Manama. The department came into being in 1936, when the government hospital was erected, but, with the exception of malaria control measures, its functions were concerned primarily with the operation of medical care facilities until its reorganization in 1952. In that year, public health services were developed within the department, which now incorporates separate curative and preventive divisions. The port health authority, formerly under the Indian Medical Services, was taken over by

p. 260(A)

The products of Aali are simple in the extreme, pots, bowls, water jars and dishes, utensils which have always been used by the people of Bahrain and which still find a ready market though the increased prosperity of the people enables them to buy cheap imported goods. It is not necessary to go to Aali itself to see the products of the potteries for at the Suq al-Araba in Manama on Wednesday mornings and at the Suq al-Khamis market on Thursday mornings the people of Aali bring their goods for sale. 323 [443]

At Aali the photographer will find many subjects for his camera. The potters in their workshops with the sun shining on the damp yellow clay, the symmetrical stacks of jars drying in the sun, the small boys in bright clothes running up and down the steep sides of the tumuli with objects to be baked and finally the removal of the finished articles, all these scenes provide fascinating pictures.

## NURA (LIME)

Aali, as well as being the centre of the Bahrain pottery industry, is the principal place where lime is produced. Stone for the purpose is hewn from the ground in many parts of Bahrain, especially near Rifaa, and is taken in lorries or in donkey carts to Aali. Here the blocks of limestone are arranged on layers of wood, usually date palm trunks, and the wood is then fired. Men with large wooden flails stand round the piles of lime-stone and beat it into powder, chanting as they work and timing the singing to the down strokes of the threshers. When the lime becomes fine powder it is sieved and then placed in sacks. The produce of Aali commands a ready sale, for all the white-wash used in Bahrain is made there or in the neighbourhood and with the present building activities the people of the country have their work cut out to supply the local demand. 317 438 [461] [339]

There is also in Bahrain a lime factory, owned by a member of the Ruling Family, where lime is produced by modern methods.

## FISHING

Fish and fish oil are used for many purposes in Bahrain. The former is one of the staple items of food among the poorer classes, it is used for manure in gardens and for feeding cows and donkeys. Fish oil is used for oiling wooden boats to make them seaworthy. The fact that Bahrain cows are fed on fish, together with dates, date stones, lucerne and bran, leads people to expect that the local milk will taste unusual. This is not true despite the reports of journalists, who hear about the fishy diet without tasting the milk and describe its flavour as unpleasant. Milk from Bahrain cows, if they receive a balanced diet, is unusually good and has a higher average fat content than the milk of ordinary English cows. The use of fish oil on the boats along the shore has little to commend itself to visitors, the smell is extremely disagreeable and drives the people who live in houses near the sea to shut all their windows when the boats are being treated. 262 237 501

Some twenty years ago a Danish scientific expedition paid two visits to the Persian Gulf to report on the fish found in it. They discovered that there were over 400 species. 114 136

## AGRICULTURE

Parts of Bahrain have always been fertile and very probably in ancient times more land was under cultivation than is being used today. The gardens of Bahrain are mentioned by many ancient visitors to the islands. The captains of Alexander's ships described Tylos, the ancient name of Bahrain, as "well-wooded and productive" while Idrisi, writing in the 12th century, says that the "capital of Awal (Bahrain Island) is Bahrain; this is a town well populated whose environs are fertile and produce corn and dates in abundance." It could be that the capital of Bahrain mentioned by Idrisi was Bilad al-Qadim, the description would seem to imply this. 311 361

Formerly the Bahrain gardens were irrigated from natural springs and surface wells, the water either flowing from the springs into the gardens or being lifted from wells to the level of the land by various forms of water scoops. The most commonly used is the Shaduf. A man stands near the edge of the well and draws up the water in a sheep skin bag attached by ropes to a counter-balanced pole. In larger wells donkeys or oxen are used, walking endlessly up and down a ramp pulling the water to the surface from where it runs down into irrigation channels. As the rainfall in Bahrain is almost negligible all agriculture depends upon irrigation. 312

In the 20's and 30's Major Frank Holmes drilled many artesian wells in Bahrain which completely changed Bahrain's system of irrigation. By introducing these wells into the island Major Holmes did much to increase the area of land which could be cultivated, but artesian wells turned out to be a mixed blessing, for in the following years so many wells were drilled that the water head went down and some of the gardens in the south of Bahrain dried up. Today this problem is being met by a government Water Committee which decides whether and under what conditions new wells may be drilled, it tries to ensure that the water resources of the islands are maintained at their present level or even increased by the utilisation of the many large springs of fresh water which lie under the sea around the shores of Bahrain. 312 647 653

The two commonest crops in Bahrain are dates and lucerne (alfalfa), the latter is often grown in the shade of the date palms where its vivid greenness provides a contrast to the brown and grey-green of the date palms. There is little good fruit in Bahrain although a certain number of fruit trees are cultivated, these include citrus, tamarind, pomegranate, fig, guava, terminalia (indian almond) mango, bananas, grapes and kanard (a small apple-like fruit). European vegetables are grown in the cold weather and other ground crops include sweet potatoes, melons, tomatoes, ladies fingers, egg plants, onions, garlic and pumpkins. 241

241 565 461 Almost all the cultivators are Baharna or Hassawis, who are of the Shiite sect, descendants of Baharna who emigrated to Arabia. The Sunni Arabs do not work in the gardens. The people living in the villages which are scattered among the date gardens originally earned their livelihood entirely by working in the gardens; now many of them are employed by the oil company or in Manama. During the date [221] picking season, which in many ways resembles the hop picking season in England, temporary villages of palm branch huts spring up among the date gardens when people from other parts of Bahrain come to p..k the crop.

565 The village people are the aboriginal inhabitants of the country and in the past they suffered much during the many invasions of Bahrain when their homes, gardens and water channels were destroyed and even in times of peace they were regarded as milch cows, whose wealth was extracted by their rulers. But in recent times their position has changed, they are more prosperous than they used to be and are on terms of equality with their neighbours.

## BOAT BUILDING

174 It is claimed by some authorities on Middle Eastern history that the Phoenicians originated in Bahrain and sailed their craft up the Gulf, which then extended much farther northwards than it does today. and following the Euphrates to the point where the river is nearest to the Syrian coast, they landed and settled there. This may or may not be true but there is no doubt that the people of Bahrain have been sailors for at least as many centuries as the pearl industry has been in existence and their stitched boats not only sailed the Persian Gulf but entered the Indian Ocean.

501 396 Most of Bahrain's boats were in former days employed as pearlers, and although the Kuwait shipyards built the largest craft it was natural that Bahrain, nearer the Indian source of timber and itself the centre of the pearling industry, should have its own yards. It should also be remembered that Kuwait is a comparatively modern town, having been founded early in the 18th century, before which date it did not attain importance as a harbour for north-east Arabia.

Today most of the boat building is carried on in Muharraq, although there are some yards at the western end of Manama. In former days, before iron nails were obtainable, Arab boats were not nailed but stitched together, with a giant needle and cord as thread, yet these boats of such fragile construction were able to weather the heaviest gales that swept the Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

In recent years launches have been made in greater numbers than sailing boats, so builders have inclined to specialise in the construction of those boats to which engines can best be fitted. For this reason many "jalibuts" have been built, they can be identified by their vertical bow and the straightness of the keel. The origin of this name is doubtful and many suggestions have been made to explain it. Possibly

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Ruler's house at Sakhir with the exchange by means of a line from Manamah through the Bahrain Petroleum Company's exchange. Telephonic communication now exists over a great part of the islands; from the aerodrome in Muharraq it is possible to talk to steamers lying off Sitra, as a submarine cable was laid by the Bahrain Petroleum Company to the Sitra anchorage, or to distant points on the oil field far down at the south end of the island. 206

At the end of 1355 (1936-37) there were 40 telephone subscribers, and it is expected that during the next year this number will increase to 60. The trunk line to the Bahrain Petroleum Company's Camp was duplicated in order to deal with the increased traffic. The possibility of installing an automatic switchboard (100 lines) is now under consideration. The advantages would be the elimination of operators and the language difficulties and the prevention of listening-in.

SUMMARY OF SEVEN YEARS' WORKING

| Year. | Units Generated. | Units Sold. | Revenue Rs | Connected Load in Kw. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1349 (1930-31) ... | 88,080 ... | 47,340 ... | 20,750/- ... | 102 |
| 1350 (1931-32) ... | 111,367 ... | 65,813 ... | 22,486/- ... | 46 |
| 1351 (1932-33) ... | 120,629 ... | 79,550 ... | 27,463/- ... | 23 |
| 1352 (1933-34) ... | 134,744 ... | 83,241 ... | 30,987/- ... | 9 |
| 1353 (1934-35) ... | 147,050 ... | 100,449 ... | 36,797/- ... | 16 |
| 1354 (1935-36) ... | 163,751 ... | 116,440 ... | 43,828/- ... | 27 |
| 1355 (1936-37) ... | 232,320 ... | 151,255 ... | 60,108/- ... | 58 |

The revenue figures are shown to the nearest rupee.

## AGRICULTURE

Until a few years ago agriculture in Bahrain consisted of cultivating dates and lucerne fairly extensively and growing citrus fruit and a few poor vegetables such as onions, tomatoes, radishes, and melons. In 1930 the Government attempted to encourage agriculture by employing an agricultural expert from Iraq, but owing to lack of funds his services were dispensed with before he could make much progress. 241

The encouragement of agriculture presents many difficulties. Bahrain Arabs regard all agricultural work as derogatory; I have never met one who worked in a garden or a date grove. All the cultivators are Shia aboriginals or Hasawis imported from the mainland as labourers. This feeling against working on the land, and also the question of land tenure have, I believe, restricted the increase of agriculture during the last century. There is ample evidence to show that in the past a great deal more land was cultivated than is to-day. The people who do work on the land are intensely conservative and view all methods except their own with dislike and suspicion. 461

**Land Tenure.** Most of the open cultivatable land, which is along the coast, is claimed by the Ruling Family, who make no use of it themselves, but prevent the Baharna from extending their existing gardens. In the past, Shaikh Sir Isa was in the habit of issuing papers to various of his relations, gifting to them whole districts of Bahrain. These 'hiba' documents, which were often written on scraps of paper, included large areas described as 'sehat,' containing roads, villages, springs, privately owned property as well as open land. The Shaikhs who acquired 'hibas' enjoyed feudal rights over the territories which were mentioned in their documents, and in the past they were allowed to make what they could out of them by independent taxation of the people living in the villages, by employing forced labour and by using open land as grazing grounds for the animals which they used to own before the days of motor cars. When the 'hiba' system began, long before the introduction of artesian wells, the possibility of increased cultivation was not visualised, but now the holders of 'hibas' 471 643 423

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M22
Kuwait M11
Saudi Arabia M31



K SA 471 648 companies may need to be defined now that one concessionaire seems likely to create revenue; problems may also arise if, as a result of oil developments, it is planted with a population that will need to be endowed with public services and, no doubt, with a system of taxation.

## BAHRAIN

B 131 The Bahrain Archipelago is a group of islands in the Gulf of Bahrain, which is bounded on the east by the Qatar Peninsula and on the west by the mainland coast of al-Hasa. Its total area is 213 square miles. The principal island—Bahrain itself—is B about thirty miles long and ten miles wide. It is low-lying and its 312 northern end is well watered by fresh water springs and pro- 341 duces good date crops. Citrus fruit and lucerne are also grown. 135 The oilfields lie round the rocky cluster of hills known as Jebel Dukhan (Hill of Smoke), which is in the barren centre of the B island.

491 To the north-east of Bahrain Island, and joined to it by a 504 causeway and motor road, is the low, sandy island of Muharraq, and between the two islands is a good deep-water harbour 712 (Khor Kaliya). It is used as a small British naval base; an American admiral also flies his flag there. Nearby there is a B second, but shallow harbour (Bahrain harbour), which faces 508 north and is usefully equipped. The natural aerodrome on 509 Muharraq Island has been developed into the largest commercial airfield in the Persian Gulf and now serves the airliners B of all nations. It is also used by the RAF, and the whine of jet 133 aircraft is a commonplace. The south end of the island of 132 Bahrain is low-lying and sandy. The climate, though oppressive in summer owing to the prevalent heat and damp of the western B shores of the Persian Gulf, is more humid and less windy than 161 that of Kuwait. The population of the Archipelago was 109,650 when a census was taken in 1950.[1]

B 361 The capital and the seat of government is the port of Mana- 161 ma.[2] It is generally referred to as Bahrain, and is situated between the two harbours. It has a population of 39,648, which 162 includes many rich Arab, Persian, and Indian merchants, as well as some 300 Europeans and Americans. The second town, Muharraq, on Muharraq Island, has a population of 24,566 which is purely Arab.

B 361 The British Political Agency is in Manama town, which also boasts an electricity station, a wireless station, post offices, hospitals, clubs, public gardens, and up-to-date schools. The town is well supplied with good motor roads, and there are

[1] 1952 estimate, 115,000. [2] Population: 1950, 39,648; 1952 (estimate), 45,000.

THE COMPANY'S

refinery on the eastern side of the island, opposite Sitra. It was expanded in 1945, and 80 to 85 per cent of the crude oil processed is now obtained by pipeline from Saudi Arabia. The refined petroleum products are pumped to storage tanks on Sitra Island, and subsequently to a deep-water loading terminal 3 miles offshore. Over 6,000 Bahrainis, as well as some 1,600 British and Americans, are employed in different branches of the industry. Two thirds of the royalties accrue to the Bahrain government, half of which are utilized for capital expenditures designed to raise the standards of living of the people. Reports for 1951 indicate that 68 per cent of the government income was derived from oil revenues, as against 26 per cent from customs receipts.

The renewed prosperity of the islands and the concurrent growth in population have stimulated private enterprise and the growth of small factories to supply current needs, particularly as regards building materials. Fishing is an important seasonal occupation of many villagers, and preserved fish, fish oils and other fish products are items of export. Agriculture plays a minor role. Barely 5 to 10 per cent of the total land area is under cultivation, and further expansion is restricted by the nature of the terrain, the concentration of water supply in limited areas and a feudalistic system of land tenure. Date gardens flourish in oases on Bahrain, Muharraq and Sitra Islands, but the supply equals less than one quarter of the local requirements. The government is endeavoring to promote the introduction of other crops, and maintains an experiment station at Budaiya.

The sea approaches to the archipelago are shallow, making it necessary for ocean vessels and oil tankers to anchor 2 to 4 miles from the shore. Bahrain and Muharraq, however, have good harbors which accommodate dhows and other shallow-draft vessels. Manama is an active trading center: coastal traffic is more or less continuous, while frequent steamer services are available to the northern Gulf ports and to India AND PAKISTAN.

p. 257 (e)

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN M22



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### *Muharraq Island*

This is the second largest island of the group and in all probability the "Aradus" of the classical writers. It is located northeast of Bahrein and is about five and a half square miles in area, horseshoe shaped and only a mile wide. It is separated from Bahrein by a channel spanned by a causeway a mile and a half long with a motor road and by a swinging bridge which was completed in 1941.

The chief city is MUHURRAQ, on the western side, the second largest city in the islands and the summer residence of the Sheik. Its population is about 26,000. Muhurraq and Manama, on Bahrein Island, are each administered by a Municipal Committee which in addition to civic duties are jointly responsible for the upkeep of thirty per cent of the roads in the archipelago.

Other towns among the sixteen or more on Muhurraq which should be mentioned are:

ARAD. This is an important date producing center with some sixteen thousand palm trees, on the southern shore of the Gulf of Arad. It is inhabited by the Baharinah.

HADD. Second in importance only to Muhurraq, Hadd is the leading pearl fishing center of the islands. It has a population of almost 10,000, consisting of Sādāt and Beni Yās. Since the English began to take a direct hand in the administration of the island it has become possibly the most modern of the cities, with many up-to-date homes and an agricultural experiment station as well as a modern penitentiary and the cottage of the British Financial Adviser.

The villages of Basatin, Qalali, Samahij and Dair, on the north and northeast coasts, are also important. Their population follows the Sunnite faith exclusively and those in Qalali belong to the Manani'a tribe.

Muhurraq Island has a military and civil airfield used by the British Overseas Air Service. The field has limited fueling and repair facilities for normal traffic as well as minimum lighting, runway lights, and lighted wind indicators. There are hard surface, all weather runways with an elevation of two feet; the

have interpreted them as giving actual and exclusive ownership of all land which is not privately owned which is really State land. As a result of this condition, nearly all the land from Manamah to beyond Zellaq, along the coast, is claimed by various members of the Ruling Family.

**Date Cultivation.**

Dates are the most important crop in Bahrain; though not as good as the Hasa dates, they are said to be more lasting. Most gardens contain a large proportion of inferior species which are used only for feeding animals. Few gardens are well kept. More than half of the gardens belong to the Khalifah, who for years have spent no money on improving them, but in spite of this they complain incessantly that the rents have fallen off, which is owing to the decrease in the market price of dates by over 60%, and the deterioration of the gardens from lack of care and expenditure on improvements. Dates form part of the staple diet in Bahrain and are much used for provisioning the pearl fleet, but the home-grown crop is not enough to meet the local demand, and every year about six lacs' worth of dates are imported from Hasa and Iraq. There is no land tax and no tax on date trees in Bahrain, so it is impossible to give an estimate of the number of date palms, but the whole area under cultivation is very small, perhaps one-fiftieth of the total area of the islands. Recently the number of date gardens has been slightly increased, as a few people, notably the Ruler himself, have sunk artesian wells and planted land with trees. The date crop could undoubtedly be improved if more care was taken over the cultivation. In Bahrain, date cultivation is a casual affair, trees are never manured, and there is no regular system of planting. In one of the Ruler's gardens the experiment was made some years ago of manuring the roots of the trees, and the result of this was that the trees produced better crops than those which had not been manured. The use of any form of fertiliser, either decayed leaves and camel thorn or animal manure, was unknown a few years ago, but it is now being used in gardens, but not for date trees.

**Lucerne.**

Lucerne is used extensively as fodder for cows and donkeys. It grows rapidly and is easily cultivated on poor soil. Both Hasa and Bahrain seeds are used, the latter being more expensive, and when once established it will grow for as long as ten years and will give a crop every month. It is very hardy in growth, but is liable to attacks by a kind of small caterpillar which appears once or twice every year and destroys all the lucerne in whole districts of the country. Experiments have been made by the camel section of the police in drying lucerne and using it as dry fodder when out on patrol; this has been found very successful.

**Cereals.**

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A little maize or Indian corn is grown in some gardens, and finds a ready sale in the bazaar; the quality is poor, probably because no care is taken to procure good seed.

**Cotton.**

In the time of the Caliphs, cotton from Bahrain used to be sent to Baghdad, but it is not certain that this cotton was grown in the islands, as at that time much of the mainland was also known as Bahrain. In 1930 an experiment was made in growing

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Several types of local grass, if cultivated, can be used for lawns. The best method of planting a lawn is by "dubbing in" small clumps of grass about six inches apart from each other. In two or three months the grass will cover the ground. It requires liberal watering especially during the summer, in the winter time it lies dormant. After three or four years lawns are apt to become thin and patchy, the grass should then be dug up and a new lawn laid down. The best kind of grass for lawns is "Nejma" which means a star, so called owing to the star shaped seed pod which it produces and "Murani," both can be obtained easily from any cultivated ground.

Most European vegetables can be grown in Bahrain and if planted in October quite a small garden should provide vegetables for a household from December until the beginning of June. Gardeners, if left to their own devices, are apt to use old seed which they have collected from previous crops; this almost always results in failure. The following are the most easily grown vegetables, Beetroot, Cabbage, family Carrot, Celery, Leek, Lettuce, Onion, Parsley, Radish, Spinach, Turnip. Peas and Beans do not seem to thrive in Bahrain. Tomatoes are grown extensively in the country and can be bought cheaply in the bazaar, so unless one has plenty of space it is hardly worth cultivating them. They ripen in Bahrain before they ripen in Iraq and at the beginning of the season they are exported from Bahrain to Basra.

Asparagus, Artichoke (Jerusalem) and Brussel sprouts have been grown from seed with rather uncertain results. Sweet Basil (Mashmoom) and Dill are herbs which are found in almost every garden, Mint grows well and retains its perennial habit but most of the other English herbs are not successful.

In the summer only local and somewhat uninspiring vegetables are obtainable, the best of these are Aubergine, Cucumber, Ladies Fingers, Pumpkin, Marrow and Sweet Potatoes.

One of the problems in Bahrain is how to obtain sufficient fertiliser. Before so many people took an interest in gardening cow manure could be obtained by anyone who sent a cart to remove it from the owner's shed. Today it is a marketable commodity and has to be paid for.

In spite of all difficulties gardening in Bahrain is a popular hobby, not only among the Europeans but also among the Arabs.

## CHAPTER III

## MISCELLANEOUS

### AIR FARES

The following air lines make scheduled stops at Bahrain :—

| | |
|---|---|
| British Overseas Airways Ltd. | Cyprus Airways, |
| Gulf Aviation Ltd., | Iraki Airways, |
| Djibouti Airways, | Middle East Airways, |
| | T.A.I. |

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

cotton under the supervision of the agricultural expert. It was sown in three or four different gardens and on a three-acre patch of new land close to the town, which was lent for the purpose by Khan Bahadur Abdul Aziz Gosaibi. In two of the gardens, though 95% of the seeds germinated, all the plants died before reaching full growth. In the three-acre plot, which was sown in April, the experiment was successful. The seed germinated well and produced a crop of good quantity and quality, which was well reported on by the Cotton-Growing Association in Baghdad. Unfortunately, the price of cotton at that time was so low as to discourage any private individuals from spending money on cultivating it again. The success of the crop proved, however, that it is possible to grow cotton in Bahrain. 248

**Tobacco.** During the last two years tobacco has been grown as a commercial proposition by Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa AlKhalifah and by Mr. Hussein Yateem. Locally grown tobacco was sold in the bazaar, and it is understood that a slight profit was made. 249

**Fruit Trees.** A variety of fruit trees grow in Bahrain, but most of the fruit is of poor quality, as the trees are neglected and never pruned. The only fruit which is grown in any quantity is the citrus and the loz, the other fruit trees are negligible in number and are only found in a few gardens. 245

Fruit trees grown in Bahrain:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Citrus | Peach | Pomegranate |
| Lime | Fig | Guava |
| Orange | Grape | Custard apple |
| Mango | Apricot | Loz |
| Pawpaw | Loquat | Mulberry |

The Government planted about 250 orange trees some years ago; the trees bore fruit of very large size and good quality, but in five years a great number of the trees died. Those that remain produce good crops of oranges every year. Each year during the rainy season a number of trees died, apparently, because the salty earth was splashed up over the lower branches by the rain. In Bahrain, trees frequently die in this way after heavy rain.

**Vegetables.** Ten years ago, no European vegetables were grown in Bahrain; to-day, a number of the Arabs are growing vegetables in their garden and selling them, very profitably, in the bazaar. Owing to the increase in the European and Indian population, there is a great demand for fresh vegetables. The following species can be grown easily and successfully in Bahrain: 244

| | | |
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| Cabbage | Radishes | Onions |
| Cauliflower | Spinach | Swedes |
| Carrots | Lettuces | Celery |
| Turnips | Beetroot | Potatoes |
| Artichokes | Sugar beet | Tomatoes |

There is a steadily increasing demand in Bahrain for agricultural produce, there is land which could be irrigated and which would produce crops, and the results of the few experiments which have been made show that it is possible to grow a number of trees, crops, and vegetables which have never been cultivated on a large scale. All wood for fuel and for building is imported into Bahrain, with the exception of palm trunks, which are of small use. It has now been proved that a number of fast-growing trees will flourish in Bahrain, and their timber provides good fuel.

During the present year several thousand men, who are now working as coolies on the Refinery construction of the Bahrain Petroleum Company, will be discharged and will find themselves unemployed. Owing to the state of the pearling industry, they will not be taken on as divers, and their employment will present a problem to the Government. They now think that they will obtain employment with the Hasa oil company, but this is unlikely. Both land and labour are available, and the Government can now afford to continue the work, which had to be dropped some years ago owing to lack of funds, of increasing and exploiting the agricultural possibilities of Bahrain.

al-Khamis Mosque and half a mile south of the village there is an inlet of the sea which can be crossed at low tide by a ford which leads to the village of Tubli. 361

Bilad al-Qadim is a Shiite village and was the capital of Bahrain before the Arab conquest of the Islands. It is frequently referred to in local Shiite histories and is described but not named in a number of early Moslem writings. A large area of the town is now in ruins, but its walls and mounds show that it was once a place of considerable size and importance. According to local reports the sandy mound near the School opposite Suq al-Khamis Mosque is all that remains of the fort that protected the town, while the mosque itself was its Friday Mosque. The Thursday Market (Suq al-Khamis), after which the district takes its name, is probably a relic of the time when this was the capital of Bahrain and when goods were brought here from the country for sale, just as today the Wednesday Market serves the same purpose in Manama.

There are several well-known springs in the vicinity including Qasari, which has already been mentioned, the Dhobi Pool and Abu Zaidan. A relic of the old town still stands in the shape of Masjid ar-Rafia, a mosque built over a spring, which is on the west side of the town and contains an ancient Kufic inscription. Date groves and gardens surround the town but many of the inhabitants work in Manama, where some of them own shops. The white buildings in the clearing opposite the Suq al-Khamis Mosque are a Government Boys School and a dispensary. [312]

ADARI

"The Lido of Bahrain" is a description which is often used for Ain Adari (The Virgin's Pool). It is especially applicable in the summer when every evening buses, cars, lorries and bicycles convey people from Manama to the deep, cool blue waters of the pool where they swim or sit about in the public garden or coffee-shop. Adari is the largest natural spring in Bahrain and the stream which flows from it irrigates many acres of gardens. 312 529

Adari was once a very messy pool where camels and donkeys were watered, but it has been developed by the government into a bathing place. The sides of the pool have been lined with cement and provided with steps, there is a mosque, a coffee shop, bathing huts and diving boards, and around the pool a flower garden where oleandar, bougainvillea and ponciana flourish. The road to Adari, which branches off Awal Road, is indicated by a sign-post about half a mile south of Suq al-Khamis. [491]

UPPER AND LOWER SEHLAH

These are two villages on opposite sides of Awal Road. Upper Sehlah is a small village of stone and barasti houses built on a hill overlooking the surrounding gardens; in summer the village expands when the date pickers descend on the village and put up their barastis. 361 245 221

when the date pickers descend on the village and put up their barastis. Lower Sehlah is reached by a bridge across the water channel that borders the Manama-Awali Road. This village is surrounded by date gardens and can also be reached by a footpath from Adari. The gardens in the neighbourhood of the two villages are among the best and most thriving in Bahrain, and the date groves are locally described as the hump of Bahrain, not because they rise above the surrounding lands but on account of their being the richest and most fertile in the islands.

### AALI

After leaving the palm belt and entering the plain north of Rifaa, thick smoke can usually be seen rising from among some date gardens to the west, this is the village of Aali, one of the largest in Bahrain. It lies on the western edge of the plain which extends from the end of the date gardens at the bridge of Radhm al-Qawari to the Rifaa hills, and is close to a group of the largest tumuli in Bahrain which are a conspicuous feature of the landscape of Bahrain island. The largest mounds in the Aali group are over 80 feet high and 100 feet in diameter. The best road to Aali is the one indicated by the sign-post on Awal Road, a short distance from Radhm al-Qawari. The houses of this village are better than in most of the Bahrain villages; they are large and airy and some of them have blocks of stone from the tombs in their walls. As in the case of so many Bahrain villages, Aali stands on a slight elevation surrounded by date gardens.

### RIFAA AL-GHARBI

Straddling Awal Road on the edge of the rim-rock is the town of West Rifaa, the winter residence of H.H. The Ruler of Bahrain as well as of many of his family and retainers. This settlement is comparatively modern, having been built by the present Ruler before he succeeded in 1942. Constructed in the traditional Arab pattern, the Palace is in the centre of the town and the other houses are widely scattered about it. The Ruler's love of gardens has caused the road to be lined with trees, and it is a pleasant surprise on coming across the desert surrounding the town to pass through a shady green avenue. During the three months of the Summer the Ruler lives in Manama, but as soon as the cool weather returns a long procession of cars and lorries moves slowly out of Rifaa, the lights go on, and overnight the appearance of West Rifaa is changed from a deserted town to a scene of much activity.

### RIFAA ASH-SHARQI

This is the fourth largest town in Bahrain and has a population of about 3,000. East Rifaa is without doubt the most picturesque of Bahrain's towns and villages. When approached from the west, from the plain near Awali, the fortress, which dominates the valley, presents a most romantic appearance and carries one's thoughts back

two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya. It was the home of the Dawasir tribe who came to Bahrain shortly after it was conquered by the al-Khalifah and established themselves here. The tribe acquired great wealth and prestige, owning many pearling dhows, and by degrees they became so powerful that they were able to raid with impunity the neighbouring Bahrana villages. They even challenged the authority of the al-Khalifah, but Shaikh Hamed, on becoming Deputy Ruler in 1924, threatened to punish them if they did not behave. This they considered as an infringement of their liberties and they therefore announced to the Ruler that if he prevented them behaving as they were accustomed, they would leave Bahrain and settle in Saudi Arabia. Shaikh Hamed refused to give way and the Dawasir left Bahrain. This, however, was not the last of them, for during many years it was believed that they were preparing to invade Bahrain. To prevent this a force was maintained in the Islands. However, the scare eventually died down and Budaiya after lying deserted, was later partly re-occupied by other Bahrainis, while some of the Dawasir gradually returned, many of them settling in Manama and Muharraq.

The ruins of great houses and mosques still remain, while scattered between them are the houses of the new inhabitants, who do much fishing in the prolific waters near the town, and also work in Manama and Awali. Before reaching the Police Post that marks the entrance to Budaiya the road passes through the Government Experimental Garden where new agricultural methods are tried and where cows and sheep, kept under scientific conditions, are studied for their productivity. From the Budaiya Pier launches go to Jidda, the prison island, many of whose inmates come over daily to work in the Budaiya Garden. The Pier is also used by the Ruler when he visits his island of Umm an-Nassan.

The small Government school at Budaiya just south of the Government gardens, in addition to teaching the usual Primary School subjects gives lessons in agriculture for many of the boys' fathers own or work in gardens in the neighbourhood.

DIRAZ

Diraz is a village about half a mile north of the Budaiya Road and about ½ miles from Budaiya itself. It consists mainly of stone houses, many of which are two-storied. The village stands on high ground among the sand dunes and is very similar to Beni Jumra which faces it a little way off on the opposite side of the road. It is so surrounded by clumps of date palms that its size is not appreciated from the road. A feature noticeable here, as well as in many other parts of Bahrain, is that date palms grow in groups at the bottom of depressions in the sand and are not irrigated by water channels but obtain moisture from below the surface of the ground.

North-west of the village there are mounds which indicate the existence of a much larger settlement in the past and an extensive area of ground is covered with glass and pottery sherds. Among the ruins



1/4 [the town of Budaiya .. Analysis]

4/11
6/13
423
245

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**Date Cultivation.**

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6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Manama, is the capital of the State, and is the official residence of the Sheik. The Sheik holds court and administers justice once a week on the balcony of the municipal building and petty criminals are publicly flogged by red-turbaned policemen in the market place immediately below.

Manama is also the seat of the higher court composed of two members of the family of the Sheik and presided over by the British Adviser. The British Political Agent, who is under the authority of the Persian Gulf Political Agent at Bushir (in Persia), also has his residence in Manama.

BADAIYA'A is located at the northwestern end of the island, a mile from the coast. The majority of its eight thousand inhabitants belong to the Dawāsīr tribes, famous for their ability as divers. Following the political upheaval of 1923,[1] the Dawāsīr evacuated the town and fled to Damān on the mainland, but the majority later returned.

Near Badaiya'a are the two important centers of *Diraz* and *Jamra*.

ZALLĀQ. Situated on the west coast, this is another important center inhabited by the Dawāsīr fishermen and divers.

BALAD AL-KADIM. Really a cluster of several villages, this is, after Manama, the most active native center, with many palm groves and artesian wells. Its small but important population consists mostly of Baharinah farmers and fishermen. A short distance from the village is the small Sūq al Kaamīs where the Thursday market is held. Half a mile farther on is the famed water source of Abu Zidān with a religious school near by and a noted minaret in the Persian style, reminder of Iranian supremacy.

BURI, another village inhabited entirely by the Baharinah, is located about seven miles south of Manama. It is a date producing center with ten to twelve thousand palm trees.

JIDD HAFS is located about three miles west of Manama on the highway joining that town to Badaiy'a. Populated by the Baharinah, it is one of the most prosperous agricultural centers,

1. See below, p. 99.

organize the secondary school system. The teachers received from £25 to £30 a month and "bed and board" paid by the Bahrein government. Interestingly enough, the first director of the first school opened at Muharraq was the present Saudi Arabian Minister to London, Sheik Hafiz Wahba.

At present, there is no newspaper in Bahrein. A weekly newspaper, Al Bahrein, was founded in 1939, but ceased its publication after the death of its publisher, Abdallah Za-id. In 1940 a broadcasting station was built, and the Al-Bahrein Radio started short-wave broadcasts on a 23-m, 50 band on November 4. During the war, Radio Bahrein was most useful to the Allied cause, since its four daily news broadcasts in Arabic and Persian were heard more easily throughout the Near East than those of Egypt.

Besides the schools, two "circles" for the discussion of political and literary matters were established in 1935 under the patronage of the brother of the Sheik. There was already a Cercle Israelite in the island.

## ECONOMY

The geographical features and the geological formation of the islands greatly reduce the economic value of Bahrein. The scarcity of water and the sandy nature of the soil exclude agricultural development. The application of modern methods of agriculture and the utilization of artesian wells and gasoline operated pumps are too recent and too inadequate to make Bahrein even partially independent of imported food. For many years to come, and probably forever, the islands will be dependent on food, meat, vegetables, and fruits brought chiefly from the Persian or Arabian mainland.

Fortunately, in most of the islands of the Persian Gulf and the surrounding regions, wherever water is found naturally or captured artificially, date palms grow with astonishing ease. The northern part of Bahrein Island, thanks to natural springs and more recently to artesian wells, is practically a string of oases with palm groves numbering several hundred thousands.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain M2

Bahrein produces dates of very good quality, though inferior to the Iraqi and especially to the Persian variety known in the United States as the Bassorah date. The entire date production of Bahrein is consumed locally, either fresh or dried, or in a powder which is used like wheat flour for the making of bread, the common food of the rich.

The economic value of the date palm does not stop with the fruit. All other parts of the palm yield products of practical value to Bahreinis; their life would be impossible without it. The trunk furnishes timber for houses and boats; the midribs of the leaves go into crates and furniture; the leaf bases are used for fuel; the small leaves are used in basketry, the fiber for cordage and packing, and the fruit stalks for rope and fuel.

Under the shade of their palm trees and around their springs, the Bahreinis live their relatively simple life, producing some vegetables, weaving a few shawls, making sailcloth or reed mats, and breeding their donkeys. The Bahrein donkeys, or "Bandari," were bought by donkey lovers for their endurance, their height, and other celebrated qualities.

The main occupations of the townspeople are commercial and maritime, mostly fishing and handling the transit shipments which are one of Bahrein's largest sources of revenue. The greatest economic asset of the islands, however, despite the value of the recently discovered oil, is still the pearl fisheries.

## PEARL FISHING

The chief source of income of the islands before the discovery and exploitation of oil reserves in the nineteen thirties was pearl fishing. Before the rise of competition from the Japanese pearl fisheries and worldwide economic crisis of 1930, the industry employed more than 20,000 persons annually, and revenue from the pearls, which were exported principally to Paris and London, amounted to about £2,000,000[1] annually. Single pearls often bring enormous prices; for example, the most beautiful

1. Except where otherwise specified, pounds referred to throughout are English pounds sterling.

have interpreted them as giving actual and exclusive ownership of all land which is not privately owned which is really State land. As a result of this condition, nearly all the land from Manamah to beyond Zellaq, along the coast, is claimed by various members of the Ruling Family.

**Date Cultivation.** Dates are the most important crop in Bahrain; though not as good as the Hassa dates, they are said to be more lasting. Most gardens contain a large proportion of inferior species which are used only for feeding animals. Few gardens are well kept. More than half of the gardens belong to the Khalifah, who for years have spent no money on improving them, but in spite of this they complain incessantly that the rents have fallen off, which is owing to the decrease in the market price of dates by over 60%, and the deterioration of the gardens from lack of care and expenditure on improvements. Dates form part of the staple diet in Bahrain and are much used for provisioning the pearl fleet, but the home-grown crop is not enough to meet the local demand, and every year about six lacs' worth of dates are imported from Hassa and Iraq. There is no land tax and no tax on date trees in Bahrain, so it is impossible to give an estimate of the number of date palms, but the whole area under cultivation is very small, perhaps one-fiftieth of the total area of the islands. Recently the number of date gardens has been slightly increased, as a few people, notably the Ruler himself, have sunk artesian wells and planted land with trees. The date crop could undoubtedly be improved if more care was taken over the cultivation. In Bahrain, date cultivation is a casual affair, trees are never manured, and there is no regular system of planting. In one of the Ruler's gardens the experiment was made some years ago of manuring the roots of the trees, and the result of this was that the trees produced better crops than those which had not been manured. The use of any form of fertiliser, either decayed leaves and camel thorn or animal manure, was unknown a few years ago, but it is now being used in gardens, but not for date trees.

**Lucerne.** Lucerne is used extensively as fodder for cows and donkeys. It grows rapidly and is easily cultivated on poor soil. Both Hassa and Bahrain seeds are used, the latter being more expensive, and when once established it will grow for as long as ten years and will give a crop every month. It is very hardy in growth, but is liable to attacks by a kind of small caterpillar which appears once or twice every year and destroys all the lucerne in whole districts of the country. Experiments have been made by the camel section of the police in drying lucerne and using it as dry fodder when out on patrol; this has been found very successful.

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526 529 Sports Club, and the Gymkhana Club have courts and the Ahli Club is also building some. Tennis is often played at night, by the light of batteries of flood-lamps, and there are many tennis matches between Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Qatar. There are also cups and shields for Bahrain tournaments.

Bahrain has two golf courses, one in Manama, around the Race-course, the other near Awali. The latter belongs to the BAPCO Club and is situated in the desert between Awali and Sitra. As with other sports, golf teams from Bahrain play matches with teams from other parts of the Persian Gulf, but this is a sport that is confined to Europeans and Americans, the Arabs not yet having taken it up.

Football is one of the most popular sports in Bahrain, both with Arabs and Europeans, and has been played since the late 'twenties although there was no general organisation for its encouragement. In 1952, however, the Bahrain Football Association was formed and was supported by the Ahli Club's team, the Muharraq Sports team and the teams of the Gulistan Club, the Ferdousi Club, the R.A.F., the International Aeradio Company and the Bahrain Petroleum Company. It is the eventual aim of the Association to build a sports stadium in Bahrain, but till this object can be achieved, the Association does what it can to encourage sporting spirit in Bahrain and to organize matches and tournaments.

The other games mentioned above are also played, but on a smaller scale than the ones already described in detail. There is no doubt, however, that with the cinemas, with the clubs and with the opportunity of participation in the many sports played in Bahrain there are many ways of spending one's leisure hours and enjoying one's stay in Bahrain.

## CHAPTER II

## GARDENING IN BAHRAIN

247 GARDENING in Bahrain often seems to be a frustrating and disappointing hobby, but in time and with perseverance satisfactory results can be obtained and it is possible in the cold season to have a garden full of colour and flowers. The soil is thin and salty, the water is somewhat brackish and the strong north wind which blows in the winter is apt to play havoc with young seedlings. All gardens are irrigated as the rainfall is very small. Rain, when it does fall, often does more harm than good, it splashes the salty surface soil on to the stems of plants, shrubs and sometimes trees which causes small plants to die and often damages trees and shrubs. It is to prevent this damage that gardeners irrigate the ground immediately after rain, a labour which appears rather superfluous to people who do not appreciate the reason.

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137

Speaking generally most of the hardy annuals can be grown without much difficulty, some perennials succeed but as they invariably die in the summer only those which flower in the first year should be attempted. Seeds are apt to behave capriciously in Bahrain; one year a certain species will grow well, producing masses of flowers, next year the same seed, sown under identical conditions, will fail to germinate or will grow a few inches and then wither away. The following annuals are the most reliable and most easily grown from seed : Ageratum, Allysum, Annual Chrysanthemums, Balsam, Calendula, Coreopsis, Gillardia, Hollyhock, Linum, Marigold, Nasturtiums, Nicotiana, Sunflower, Stocks, Sweet Sultans, Virginia Stock, Wallflower (annual).

Bulbs do fairly well the first year but if left in the ground they perish and if lifted and stored they are apt to rot. The following have been grown with some success : Anemone, Dahlias, Cannas, Gladiolus, Iris, Jonquils, Ranunculus, Tuberous, various lilies including Spider Lilies, Amaryllis and Arum.

The following annuals can be grown, often successfully, but they require care and mature soil : Anchusa, Antirrhinum, Carnations (which sometimes survive the summer), Cornflower, Cosmos, Coleus, Candytuft, Cineraria, Dahlia, Dianthus, Gypsophila, Kochia, Larkspur, Mignonette, Petunia, Phlox, Pansy, Statice, Salvia, Verbena, Zinnia. Certain species, when once established, will seed themselves every year to such an extent that they become a nuisance, these include Larkspur, Petunia, Ageratum, Nicotiana, Coreopsis, Sunflowers and Hollyhocks. The method of planting seeds in pots or boxes is rarely successful in Bahrain, owing to the salt in the ground and in the water the insides of boxes and pots are liable to become coated with salt which eventually kills the seedlings; in the open ground better results are obtained. Seeds can be sown from the beginning of October until as late as January. Local gardeners take little interest in flowers and are not accustomed to deal with flower seeds, so to get good results it is almost essential to sow the seeds and transplant seedlings oneself. Seed beds should be watered from a can during the first few days, locally made watering cans can be obtained in the bazaar. The rush of water which gardeners release over newly sown seeds usually carries away most of the seeds the first time that the seed bed is irrigated.

There are few if any indigenous flowers in Bahrain. Flower gardens did not exist before the development of artesian wells and certain plants, shrubs and trees which now appear to be growing wild were introduced from India or from Iraq during the last 27 years ; under this heading come Gaillardias, Oleanders, the Mesquite bean tree and many others. Almost all the flowering shrubs, trees and creepers were originally brought from the Municipal gardens in Karachi; these include Hibiscus, Tecoma, Duranta, Bougainvillea, Buddleia, Jatroba, Frangipani, Antigonon, Cassia, Lantana, Crotons, Achania, Indian Lilac, Datura, Myrtle, Ponciana (several types), Asparagus, Anchania, Bauhinia, Millingtonia, Cordia.

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351 Several types of local grass, if cultivated, can be used for lawns. The best method of planting a lawn is by "dubbing in" small clumps of grass about six inches apart from each other. In two or three months the grass will cover the ground. It requires liberal watering especially during the summer, in the winter time it lies dormant. After three or four years lawns are apt to become thin and patchy, the grass should then be dug up and a new lawn laid down. The best kind of grass for lawns is "Nejma" which means a star, so called owing to the star shaped seed pod which it produces and "Murani," both can be obtained easily from any cultivated ground.

244 137 Most European vegetables can be grown in Bahrain and if planted in October quite a small garden should provide vegetables for a household from December until the beginning of June. Gardeners, if left to their own devices, are apt to use old seed which they have collected from previous crops; this almost always results in failure. The following are the most easily grown vegetables, Beetroot, Cabbage, family Carrot, Celery, Leek, Lettuce, Onion, Parsley, Radish, Spinach, Turnip. Peas and Beans do not seem to thrive in Bahrain. Tomatoes are grown extensively in the country and can be bought cheaply in the bazaar, so unless one has plenty of space it is hardly worth cultivating them. They ripen in Bahrain before they ripen in Iraq and at the beginning of the season they are exported from Bahrain to Basra.

Asparagus, Artichoke (Jerusalem) and Brussel sprouts have been grown from seed with rather uncertain results. Sweet Basil (Mashmoom) and Dill are herbs which are found in almost every garden, Mint grows well and retains its perennial habit but most of the other English herbs are not successful.

In the summer only local and somewhat uninspiring vegetables are obtainable, the best of these are Aubergine, Cucumber, Ladies Fingers, Pumpkin, Marrow and Sweet Potatoes.

One of the problems in Bahrain is how to obtain sufficient fertiliser. Before so many people took an interest in gardening cow manure could be obtained by anyone who sent a cart to remove it from the owner's shed. Today it is a marketable commodity and has to be paid for.

247 In spite of all difficulties gardening in Bahrain is a popular hobby, not only among the Europeans but also among the Arabs.

## CHAPTER III

## MISCELLANEOUS

### AIR FARES

509 **The following air lines make scheduled stops at Bahrain :—**

**British Overseas Airways Ltd.**
**Gulf Aviation Ltd.,**
**Djibouti Airways,**
**Cyprus Airways,**
**Iraki Airways,**
**Middle East Airways,**
**T.A.I.**

## MUNICIPALITIES

### MANAMA MUNICIPALITY

(From the report of Mr. Mohamed Saleh Shater, Secretary of the Manama Municipality)

633 195 At the beginning of the year, owing to sectarian differences between Sunni and Shia members in 1371 A.H. which caused the resignation of the Shia members, Municipal affairs were being dealt with by a committee of Sunnis. This was the situation until the middle of the year when the Government succeeded in persuading the Shia members to resume their duties on the Council. They returned on the understanding that they would serve for only one year after which an election should be held.

During the latter part of the year the Council functioned in a more or less normal manner; by shelving all matters which might cause controversy between the sects the Council succeeded in performing its duties without serious differences. The situation, however, was not satisfactory.

633 **Finance.** The Financial Committee which drew up the budget was formed from the temporary Sunni committee. Estimated revenue for 1372 was Rs. 7,04,000 and expenditure was assessed at the same figure. The actual revenue exceeded the estimate by Rs. 1,16,000, the expenditure was Rs. 61,000 more than was expected and at the end of the year a surplus of revenue over expenditure amounting to Rs. 61,000 was added to the Reserve which was then Rs. 2,83,000.

651 1127 The increase in revenue was due to a great extent to higher receipts from house and shop taxes. There were many new buildings in the town and higher rents were charged for existing buildings, both for houses and shops. House taxes and shop taxes on buildings which are leased are charged on a percentage basis of the rent. Taxation on houses which are occupied by their owners is extremely low in comparison with that of rented premises. A large proportion of the rented houses are occupied by foreigners and most of the houses in which the owners live are occupied by people of the country.

425 653 368 During the year the Municipality sold land to the public at the price of Rs. 35,200 and it purchased a new fire engine for Rs. 48,000. The Government presented to the Municipality a motor-driven trailer fire pump and jeep, a rubbish carrying vehicle and a gully emptying vehicle.

364 **Municipal activities.** Town cleaning was effected during the year by two trucks and 30 donkey carts, town rubbish was utilised to reclaim a large portion of sea on the shore at Hora, opposite Cable and Wireless premises. The method of employing donkey carts to carry town refuse is not a satisfactory one. An order was placed in England during the summer for small rubbish-carrying vehicles which can be used in narrow streets.

363 A number of roads in the town were metalled, the area dealt with was about 380,000 square feet on which was used 480,000 cubic feet of stone and 105,000 cubic feet of sand, the whole costing approximately Rs. 1,76,000.

363 247 Some progress was made in widening streets in the bazaar area, 112 new street lights were installed and more trees were planted on the roads, unfortunately each year a number of trees are destroyed, by wind or sometimes by rain which when it falls strongly seems to kill both plants and trees.

362 427 There was much building activity both in the town and on the outskirts of the town, numbers of small houses were built for occupation by their owners and more European style bungalows and flats were built for letting. House rents are excessively high, landlords expect to recover the cost of their property in less than ten years, so building houses for letting is at present a profitable investment. However, so many houses are now being built that it seems possible that in a short time there may be more houses than tenants.

633 342 During the year permits for new buildings were issued by the Municipality for 144 stone houses and 100 barasti huts and permits for repairs and additions to 186 shops and 717 houses were also granted.

1 [A.D. 1951-52 -- Analyst]

5. Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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A little maize or Indian corn is grown in some gardens, and finds a ready sale in the bazaar; the quality is poor, probably because no care is taken to procure good seed.

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5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

cotton under the supervision of the agricultural expert. It was sown in three or four different gardens and on a three-acre patch of new land close to the town, which was lent for the purpose by Khan Bahadur Abdul Aziz Gozaibi. In two of the gardens, though 95% of the seeds germinated, all the plants died before reaching full growth. In the three-acre plot, which was sown in April, the experiment was successful. The seed germinated well and produced a crop of good quantity and quality, which was well reported on by the Cotton-Growing Association in Baghdad. Unfortunately, the price of cotton at that time was so low as to discourage any private individuals from spending money on cultivating it again. The success of the crop proved, however, that it is possible to grow cotton in Bahrain.

**Tobacco.** During the last two years tobacco has been grown as a commercial proposition by Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa AlKhalifah and by Mr. Hussein Yateem. Locally grown tobacco was sold in the bazaar, and it is understood that a slight profit was made.

**Fruit Trees.** A variety of fruit trees grow in Bahrain, but most of the fruit is of poor quality, as the trees are neglected and never pruned. The only fruit which is grown in any quantity is the citrus and the loz; the other fruit trees are negligible in number and are only found in a few gardens.

Fruit trees grown in Bahrain:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Citrus | Peach | Pomegranate |
| Lime | Fig | Guava |
| Orange | Grape | Custard apple |
| Mango | Apricot | Loz |
| Pawpaw | Loquat | Mulberry |

The Government planted about 250 orange trees some years ago; the trees bore fruit of very large size and good quality, but in five years a great number of the trees died. Those that remain produce good crops of oranges every year. Each year during the rainy season a number of trees died, apparently, because the salty earth was splashed up over the lower branches by the rain. In Bahrain, trees frequently die in this way after heavy rain.

**Vegetables.** Ten years ago, no European vegetables were grown in Bahrain; to-day, a number of the Arabs are growing vegetables in their garden and selling them, very profitably, in the bazaar. Owing to the increase in the European and Indian population, there is a great demand for fresh vegetables. The following species can be grown easily and successfully in Bahrain:

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|---|---|---|
| Cabbage | Radishes | Onions |
| Cauliflower | Spinach | Swedes |
| Carrots | Lettuces | Celery |
| Turnips | Beetroot | Potatoes |
| Artichokes | Sugar beet | Tomatoes |

There is a steadily increasing demand in Bahrain for agricultural produce, there is land which could be irrigated and which would produce crops, and the results of the few experiments which have been made show that it is possible to grow a number of trees, crops, and vegetables which have never been cultivated on a large scale. All wood for fuel and for building is imported into Bahrain, with the exception of palm trunks, which are of small use. It has now been proved that a number of fast-growing trees will flourish in Bahrain, and their timber provides good fuel.

During the present year several thousand men, who are now working as coolies on the Refinery construction of the Bahrain Petroleum Company, will be discharged and will find themselves unemployed. Owing to the state of the pearling industry, they will not be taken on as divers, and their employment will present a problem to the Government. They now think that they will obtain employment with the Hassa oil company, but this is unlikely. Both land and labour are available, and the Government can now afford to continue the work, which had to be dropped some years ago owing to lack of funds, of increasing and exploiting the agricultural possibilities of Bahrain.

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6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain M2

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The products of Aali are simple in the extreme, pots, bowls, water jars and dishes, utensils which have always been used by the people of Bahrain and which still find a ready market though the increased prosperity of the people enables them to buy cheap imported goods. It is not necessary to go to Aali itself to see the products of the potteries for at the Suq al-Araba in Manama on Wednesday mornings and at the Suq al-Khamis market on Thursday mornings the people of Aali bring their goods for sale.

At Aali the photographer will find many subjects for his camera. The potters in their workshops with the sun shining on the damp yellow clay, the symmetrical stacks of jars drying in the sun, the small boys in bright clothes running up and down the steep sides of the tumuli with objects to be baked and finally the removal of the finished articles, all these scenes provide fascinating pictures.

## NURA (LIME)

Aali, as well as being the centre of the Bahrain pottery industry, is the principal place where lime is produced. Stone for the purpose is hewn from the ground in many parts of Bahrain, especially near Rifaa, and is taken in lorries or in donkey carts to Aali. Here the blocks of limestone are arranged on layers of wood, usually date palm trunks, and the wood is then fired. Men with large wooden flails stand round the piles of lime-stone and beat it into powder, chanting as they work and timing the singing to the down strokes of the threshers. When the lime becomes fine powder it is sieved and then placed in sacks. The produce of Aali commands a ready sale, for all the white-wash used in Bahrain is made there or in the neighbourhood and with the present building activities the people of the country have their work cut out to supply the local demand.

There is also in Bahrain a lime factory, owned by a member of the Ruling Family, where lime is produced by modern methods.

## FISHING

Fish and fish oil are used for many purposes in Bahrain. The former is one of the staple items of food among the poorer classes, it is used for manure in gardens and for feeding cows and donkeys. Fish oil is used for oiling wooden boats to make them seaworthy. The fact that Bahrain cows are fed on fish, together with dates, date stones, lucerne and bran, leads people to expect that the local milk will taste unusual. This is not true despite the reports of journalists, who hear about the fishy diet without tasting the milk and describe its flavour as unpleasant. Milk from Bahrain cows, if they receive a balanced diet, is unusually good and has a higher average fat content than the milk of ordinary English cows. The use of fish oil on the boats along the shore has little to commend itself to visitors, the smell is extremely disagreeable and drives the people who live in houses near the sea to shut all their windows when the boats are being treated.

### ZELLAQ

361 South again of Malakiya is Zellaq, the southernmost village on the
342 western Coast of Bahrain and approximately three miles west of Sakhir. A road runs from Zellaq to Awali and is much used by BAPCO employees coming to swim at the former place. The houses of Zellaq village, which are of stone, are built along the shore and many of them are large and spacious. As a result of the activities of BAPCO, Zellaq village has increased in size and prosperity and now contains a number of substantial white stone buildings which are conspicuous from a long distance across the flat and sandy plain that surrounds it.

162 The inhabitants of Zellaq are Sunni Arabs; some are from the Dawasir tribe, and many of them are dependents of the Ruling Family.
311 North of the village there are a number of large gardens, irrigated by innumerable artesian wells, which are owned by members of the Ruling Family and by their servants; these gardens form a green belt along the two miles of coast between Zellaq and Sedad.

312 The Bahrain Petroleum Company has a pump house at Zellaq which supplies Awali with much of its water and Zellaq was also once the discharging point for tankers bringing crude oil from Saudi
517 Arabia, before the submarine pipe-line was laid. Near the pumping station is the BAPCO Plage, the excellent bathing place which is much used by the employees of BAPCO, particularly in the Summer evenings.

### RAS AL-BARR

529 This, the southernmost point of the Bahrain islands, is a popular
484 place for summer picnics, but the approaches to it are difficult, and
491 although never dangerous they can easily cause trouble to visitors by the softness of the sand. It is best to travel in parties with not less than two cars, so that one can come to the help of the other if necessary, and care should be taken to keep to the tracks, however faintly indicated rather than to carve out new roads in the desert. The road to Ras al-Barr from Zellaq first passes through Mutalla, the Ruler's hunting lodge, while that from Awali past the Jebel passes another hunting lodge at Rumaitha before joining the Western road at Akala. From here the road goes south, past the swamps on the coast and along the narrow strip of sand which marks the end of the island.

136 In certain seasons of the year the shores along this part of Bahrain
262 are covered with the eggs of sea-birds, and many Arab dhows anchor off the coast while the crews remove the eggs for food. If one is lucky, while driving down the coast, hare and gazelle may be seen, as well as rose-tinted flamingoes on the shore.

## MUHARRAQ ISLAND

### MUHARRAQ

491 The visitor from Manama approaches Muharraq by crossing the
486 1½ mile long causeway and Shaikh Hamed Bridge, completed in 1942,

505

**Staff :**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Number of Clerks (Customs) | 106 | |
| Number of Clerks (Food Control) | 10 | |
| | | 116 |

**Menials :**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Customs, including Guards and Crane Crew | 83 | |
| Food Control | 4 | |
| | | 87 |

**Salaries Paid :**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Customs Department | Rs. 3,49,193/- | |
| Food Control | 28,998/- | |
| | | Rs. 3,78,191/- |

**Menials Wages Paid :**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Customs Department | Rs. 1,25,899/- | |
| Food Control | 7,897/- | |
| | | Rs. 1,33,796/- |

**Bills of Entry.** The total number of Bills of Entry dealt with was 34,728, an increase of 6,080 over 1371.

Particulars are :

| | |
|---|---|
| Steamers | 24 013 |
| Craft | 3,157 |
| Baggage and Aircraft | 7,558 |
| Total | 34,728 |

**Shipping Bills.** The total number of Shipping Bills dealt with during the year amounted to 54,441, an increase of 6,218 over 1371.

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## FOOD CONTROL DEPARTMENT

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Holding ample stocks of rice at the beginning of the year under review, and having in mind the possibility of being able to discontinue rationing, the Government made no large scale purchases of rice and sugar in 1372. In all, only Rs. 6 lakhs were spent in the purchase of a small quantity of Persian rice.

During the year it became more and more obvious that there was plenty of rice available for export from Burma and Siam, so the Government called a meeting of leading importers, and informed them that if they were prepared to import sufficient rice for internal needs (about 85,000 bags, each of 160 lbs. per annum), the Government would cease to purchase and ration this important commodity. The Government would, however, continue to exercise a price control for at least a year. The importers agreed to do this and it was possible to cease rationing by the end of Ramadhan 2. Since that date supplies have continued to arrive regularly to importers, who have retailed same to the public at prices below the controlled rate.

The Government issued to the public 8 lbs. of rice per adult for the first nine months of the year at prices ranging from Rs. 1.12.0 to Rs. 2.4.0 per ruba, since rationing ceased the price has not exceeded Rs. 2.6.0 per ruba, and is presently being retailed at Rs. 2.4.0 per ruba of 4 lbs.

Sugar was also de-rationed at the beginning of the year, plentiful supplies being available in the local market, and retailed to the public at prices ranging from Rs. 1.10.0 to Rs. 2/- per ruba of 4 lbs. The Government stock of sugar was reserved for *barter* for livestock from Iran and dates from Basrah.

262 439 656 Over the past three years the Government has subsidised the price of meat and dates to the extent of approximately £70,000/-, sugar costing from £6 to £7 10s. has been sold to importers of livestock and dates at £3 15s. per bag.

That this policy has been wise is shown in the figures of imports of livestock during Ramadhan and Shawal 1372, as under :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Ramadhan* 1372 : | Cattle .. .. | 1019 | head |
| | Sheep and Goats .. | 13327 | ,, |
| *Shawal*, 1372 | Cattle .. .. | 526 | ,, |
| | Sheep and Goats .. | 10914 | ,, |

The retail prices to the public of beef, mutton, and goat meat in Bahrain are very much cheaper, by half at least, than in the neighbouring countries of Saudi Arabia and Kuweit.

Fish supplies were more plentiful than in the previous year, with prices again well below neighbouring states :

Imports of consumer goods increased during the year, and there are signs of over-stocking of certain commodities, particularly piece goods, flour, tea and motor cars.

During the year it was noticed there was a downward trend in the price of certain commodities such as timber, iron bars, windows, joists and muraba wood.

Large supplies of fresh fruits arrived in Bahrain from Lebanon. Persia, Australia, America and India, during the year with prices considerably lower than in the previous year.

Although the Government ended rationing during the year, it still maintains a price control on such essential commodities as meat, fish, rice, sugar, flour, wheat, tea and coffee.

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## STATE ENGINEER'S DEPARTMENT

(Report by Mr. D. Brammer, Assoc.I.E.E., M.A.S.E.E., State Engineer)

### The Electricity Undertaking

377 655 471 **The Power Station.** A new 750 K.W. Generating Set was completed and put into commission on 10th Ramadhan, increasing the total installed capacity of the station to 3,750 K.W.

Units generated amounted to 10,58,560, an increase of 28 per cent. on the previous year and the electricity supply to the public was maintained without any major interruption.

A notable achievement was the reduction in transmission losses from 13.25 per cent. to 6.26 per cent., a saving of some 360,000 units.

**Mains Department.** The four skilled linesmen who were recruited in India last year were discharged in Dhul Haj, 1372. Their work had become most unsatisfactory. The work of renewal and maintenance proceeded satisfactorily but the rate of connection of new consumers is still far too low and further efforts are now being made to recruit skilled staff in order to speed up this work.

A new underground H.T. cable was laid from the Power Station to "C" Sub-station and the H.T. overhead line between Muharraq Town and the Royal Air Force Station was re-erected and its capacity doubled.

[365] The H.T. underground cable around Muharraq Town was completed giving an extra supply of 320 k.w. to districts which had never before had an electricity supply, and some two miles of L.T. distribution were erected in the town, together with street lights.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

228 Because of the vastly more economical methods involved in the production of cultured pearls, the Japanese industry threatened to flood the market, and not only brought down the cost of the pearls but also dissipated some of the glamour which has been for so long associated with them. As a result of this competition the fisheries of Bahrein began to suffer and the income of the Sheik to decline. In turn, however, royalties from oil concessions in some measure supplemented his income.[1]

## FISHING

226 [262] Fishing is a major occupation of the Bahreinis and an important source of income. Cooked with dates, onions, and a small quantity of rice and barley, fish, fresh or salt, constitutes the national diet of Bahrein. Indeed, fish which have been dried in the sun form the staple food of the majority of the inhabitants of the Persian Gulf, not only of human beings but of dogs, horses, and camels. Besides the local use of fish, there is also a flourishing trade between the Gulf regions and Mauritius, India, and elsewhere in salt and dried fish, shark fins, fish scales, and fish oil.

The most important fish found in this region are:

Cuttlefish or sepia octopus (*Tankah* or *Khatak*). Eaten in large quantities by the Arabs, who consider it a great delicacy. It is also the most popular bait for hook and line fishing.

Muraena (*Metut*). Known in Oman as *Kasha.* A small fish-like eel which, dried in the sun, is used as human food, feed for horses and cattle, and as fertilizer.

Porpoise (*Dukhs* or *Dughs*). The oil is used for commercial purposes.

Rock Cod (*Hamam*). Found in shallow waters.

Sardine (*'Oom*). Caught in enormous quantities and used both for food and fertilizer.

Scad, or horse mackerel. (*Sewah*). Salted in large quantities for both home consumption and export.

Seer fish (*Kan'ad*). The *Shirmahee,* or Indian Salmon.

1. See below, p. 45x

and Pakistan. Regular air communications are maintained to Iraq and Arabia, and the airport on Muharraq Island also serves international airlines with terminals in Europe, the Middle East and the Far East. Motor roads connect the towns and the villages on the different islands, and extend across causeways from Bahrain to Muharraq and Sitra. The local transport facilities are well developed, and motor bus routes link most of the population centers.

### Food and Nutrition

The food habits of the diverse racial groups are varied, but serious undernutrition is seldom encountered, except among the migratory laborers from the mainland and the Baharna and Arabs in the agricultural and the fishing villages. The islands are dependent upon imports for a large proportion of their food supply. The government controls certain essential foodstuffs, as wheat, rice and sugar, and regulates prices through a system of rationing.

The diet of the average Bahraini consists of dates, bread, rice and fish, supplemented by native vegetables in season and limited amounts of meat and milk. Goats are raised in many villages, though their milk is usually scanty and poor in quality. Most of the meat is imported from Iran, and is correspondingly expensive. An assortment of fruits and vegetables is generally obtainable in Manama markets by those who are able to purchase them.

### Housing

Manama is a cosmopolitan town, and the changes which have come about within the last two decades are reflected in the construction of increasing numbers of modern-type dwellings. Muharraq, in contrast, is a distinctly Arab community. Coral blocks, coral slabs and plaster are the usual building materials in the older houses, while cement is used extensively in the newer buildings. The typical Arab-style homes are built around inner courts and have utilitarian

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

are chairs, tables, window curtains, often framed pictures and photographs, and usually a gramophone; in the houses of the wealthier people there is often a wireless set. Coffee shops reflect the change in ways of living. They are important institutions in Bahrain and take the place of clubs or cafes in Europe. Each has its regular clientele, but the popularity of individual coffee shops varies according to fashion. Ten years ago, coffee shops were usually small shops inside the bazaar, furnished with a few rough benches, where little else than coffee could be obtained. To-day, most of the coffee shops are elaborately decorated and illuminated, provided with little tables and chairs, and a gramophone or a wireless set which plays loudly and incessantly, relaying Arabic programmes to the customers. Some of the coffee shops are divided into two parts: in one part only coffee and drinks are served, and in the other part regular meals can be obtained, including Indian and Persian dishes, bread, cakes, and ices in the summer. Most of the proprietors are foreigners—Indians, Persians, and Iraqi, who are more enterprising in these matters than the local people. The bigger coffee shops are now referred to by the public as 'otels.'

**Games.** The popularity of games is another recent development during the last ten years. Before this, nobody played games except the men of the Levy Corps, who were made to do so, which was regarded as a peculiarity of the Commanding Officer. To-day, there are half-a-dozen local football teams and several hockey teams, who play against each other or against teams of sailors or Europeans from the Bahrain Petroleum Company. They play well, and are very keen, and every match attracts a large and interested audience from the town. Many of the parents of the young men who play disapprove of hockey and football, which they consider dangerous and unnecessary, chiefly because they did not play themselves when they were young. There is an entire lack of class distinction in these games: the sons of shaikhs play side-by-side with policemen, clerks, and taxi drivers. Although games have improved the physique of those who play them, the use of motor cars instead of horses or donkeys has caused a great many people to become soft and flabby. Sons of wealthy fathers, especially the young members of the Ruling Family, have entirely left off taking any exercise. They use a car to go a few yards; they never walk, and the only occasion on which they ride a horse is during marriage celebration or on public holidays, such as the annual accession celebrations.

**Class Changes.** The depression in the pearl trade and the recent improvement in the bazaars has caused an upheaval in financial positions, and with it a certain change in the political importance of classes. This change is gradually, though unwillingly, being appreciated by the Ruling Family. In the days when the pearl trade was flourishing, pearl merchants and nakhudas were the monied classes, and their money gave them great power, which they did not scruple to use for their own benefit. To-day, the men who used to be worth lacs of rupees are, in many cases, almost bankrupt, and petty traders, shop-keepers, and men who happen to own property in Manamah, are becoming the monied class. The old powerful pearl merchants were, in many cases, self-made men who started life as divers, but their wealth made them important and, though most of them could neither read or write, they were the people who mattered in Bahrain. Many of these men have lost all their influence because their money has gone. The class which is now becoming prosperous is more progressive, more mixed, and better educated, but as a community it does not hang together because, unlike the case of the pearl industry, its prosperity does not depend upon one trade alone. One of the serious disadvantages of the change is that the pearl industry provided work, during part of the year, for many thousands of men, but the people who are now making money provide little employment for the people. At present, about five thousand divers are working in the oil field. They are making a great deal more money than they would normally make from diving and, besides earning money, they are paying back their debts to the nakhudas by regular monthly instalments, so both parties are satisfied; but this employment is not permanent and, when present construction work at the oil field is finished, there will be a sudden increase in unemployment which will have to be dealt with by the Government.

**The Ruling Family.** The life and outlook of the members of the Ruling Family, with a few notable exceptions, has changed less than that of any other community. Although there is a great difference between the outlook of the older men and those who have grown up during the last ten years, the attitude of the family as a whole is

## TRAFFIC

494 363 Traffic regulations in Bahrain are much the same as those in force in England and the United States; there is a left hand rule of the road and the speed limit in built up areas is 20 m.p.h. Special care should be taken when driving through towns and villages in Bahrain for in common with other parts of the Arab world pedestrians consider the roads as well as the pavements as their property and behave accordingly. Donkey and cycle riders should also be treated with caution for they are apt to be rather reckless. In case of accidents the Bahrain State Police must be notified immediately, failure to do so is likely to involve the drivers in unnecessary trouble.

To drive in Bahrain it is necessary to hold a valid Bahrain driving licence. These are obtainable at the Traffic Department, Bahrain Police Fort, Manama, at a cost of Rs. 5 p.a. Holders of valid licences of countries adhering to the International Traffic Convention, which include England, the U.S.A. and France and most other countries, will be granted a Bahrain licence on production of their own one. In other cases, drivers are required to take out provisional licences, and after a period of one month may apply at the Traffic Office for a driving test. The usual regulations concerning passengers apply to learner drivers.

494 All owners of cars and motor cycles in Bahrain are required to register them annually or semi-annually at the Traffic Office. The fee for a car is Rs. 50 per annum, for motor cycles Rs. 12—8 per annum, both fees can be paid in one or two instalments. Failure to register or re-register cars or motor cycles is liable to involve their owners in pecuniary loss.

For further information about Bahrain traffic laws, car owners are advised to contact the Traffic Office, Bahrain Police Fort, Manama, or phone Manama 334.

## BANKS

153 There are at present two banks in Bahrain :

The British Bank of the Middle East, Prior Road, Manama ;
The Eastern Bank, Government Road, Manama.

These banks provide the usual facilities and arrange for such matters as foreign currency and the transference of drafts. In addition, there are in Manama and Muharraq a number of money changers who deal in most of the commoner forms of currency and who are willing to change money. Most shops will also oblige in this matter, particularly if offered dollars, but care should be taken that a reasonable rate of exchange is given.

## LIQUOR

● 273 Bahrain is a Moslem country and is therefore "dry," but non-Moslem residents have been granted the privilege of b[illegible]g permitted

to buy liquor for their own use. In Awali liquor is sold through the medium of BAPCO, while residents in Manama must apply for a permit to buy liquor from H.B.M.'s Political Agent. 273

It is a serious offence in Bahrain for a Moslem to be found in possession of liquor, or "under the influence" and it is also illegal for non-Moslems in possession of liquor to give or sell it to Moslems.

## MEDICAL FACILITIES

There are in Bahrain a number of private and public hospitals, as well as dentists, doctors and chemists. 743

For the benefit of the people of Bahrain the State Department of Health maintains a number of medical institutions in various parts of Bahrain. At the western end of Manama is the Naim Hospital for men and women, containing both public and private wards and equipped to deal with all emergencies. This hospital is used by the foreign community, except those employed by BAPCO, as well as by the people of the country. Also in Manama there are isolation hospitals, a mental hospital, a T.B. Sanatorium and the Office of Public Health. There are also State Hospitals in Muharraq and Hedd and dispensaries in the three towns and various villages. 657

For the use of its employees, both Bahraini and foreign, BAPCO has two hospitals in Awali.

The oldest hospital in Bahrain is that run by the mission of the Dutch Reformed Church of America in Shaikh Isa Road, Manama. This hospital contains both public and private wards. There are also several dentists and doctors practising privately in Manama. [797]

## RATES OF POSTAGE 205

| | Rs. | As. |
|---|---|---|
| **LETTERS** | | |
| INLAND : Not exceeding 1 oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 1½ |
| For each additional oz. | 0 | 1 |
| FOREIGN : | | |
| *Seamail* : | | |
| Kuwait, Dubai and Muscat, not exceeding 1 oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 1½ |
| For each additional oz. | 0 | 1 |
| Great Britain and Eire, British Empire and territories under British Mandate, U.S.A. and Egypt, not exceeding 1 oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 2½ |
| For each additional oz. | 0 | 1 |
| All other countries, not exceeding 1 oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 4 |
| For each additional oz. | 0 | 2½ |
| *Airmail* : | | |
| Europe, per half oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 6 |
| Australia, New Zealand, per half oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 12 |
| Canada, U.S.A., per half oz. or fraction thereof | 1 | 0 |
| India, per half oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 6 |
| Saudi Arabia, Irak, Cyprus, Dubai, Egypt, Lebanon, Kuwait, Syria and Jordan, per half oz. or part thereof | 0 | 3½ |

674 The following were some of the more serious cases of theft ; clothing and money were stolen from people staying in a local hotel in the bazaar, money was stolen from a house in Rafaa and a radio and carpet was stolen from the house of a member of the American Mission. In all these cases the thieves were caught and the stolen property was recovered. In 11 other cases thefts of money, jewellery, wearing apparel, etc., were reported to the Police. In some instances persons were prosecuted for theft, but acquitted and in other cases no evidence was obtained.

Five Pakistanis were prosecuted for "bilking" shop keepers.

674 273 Fewer persons than in the previous year were convicted for contravention of liquor and drug regulations, this does not, however, indicate any decrease in the habit of drinking which among certain classes is becoming almost universal. Altogether 24 persons were prosecuted for distilling, selling and being in possession of liquor and for dealing in hashish and opium.

548 276 In one case a Palestinian was found to be in possession of 15 lbs. of opium. There is every reason to believe that an active trade in opium is carried on through Bahrain to the West. It is brought to Bahrain from Persia and India via the Trucial Coast and then conveyed on to ships in the harbour which carry it to Europe or the United States.

731 **Fires.** There were a number of serious fires during the year in which many people lost their barasti houses and their possessions. Most of the fires were caused by pressure stoves or lamps which ignited Saaf (palm branch) houses. There were no cases of arson.

The most serious fire was in the Telegraph area where 75 houses were completely destroyed together with their contents. A very strong wind fanned the fire which was only prevented from spreading over another area of barasti houses by wide roads on three sides of the site. This was one of the worst fires known in Bahrain. It appears to have been caused by an old blind man who knocked over a fire or a lamp in his house which lit the palm branch walls of the building. No lives were lost. In the village of Mahooz 55 houses were destroyed in one fire a few of these houses had mud and stone walls and matting roofs. In other fires, some of them in Manama and some in the villages, 17, 12, 15 and 14 houses were destroyed. In none of these fires was there any loss of life. In a fire in a launch, anchored off Manama, one man lost, [368] his life. More supplies of fire fighting equipment, hose pipe, etc., etc., which had been ordered in England were part of the cargo of a Strick Line ship which caught fire near Sitra and which burned for several days.

## AGENCY COURT

### RESULT OF PROSECUTIONS IN 1372

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| No. | Nature of Offences. | No. of Cases. | No. of persons accused. | No. of persons convicted. | No. of persons acquitted. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Causing Death by Rash or Negligent Act | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 2 | Theft | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 3 | Cheating | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 4 | Criminal breach of trust | 2 | 2 | 2 | — | |
| 5 6 | Use of criminal force and assault | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | |
| | Liquor drinking and possession of | 6 | 7 | 6 | 1 | |
| 7 | Charas and Opium | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | |
| 8 | Affray | 1 | 3 | 3 | — | |
| | | 14 | 18 | 15 | 3 | |

### NATIONALITIES :

| | |
|---|---|
| British | 1 person |
| Indian | 3 persons |
| Pakistan | 2 ,, |
| Palestine | 1 ,, |
| Transjordan | 1 person |
| Iran | 10 persons |
| | 18 |

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suit them, they spoke no Arabic, and were regarded by the people of Bahrain as expensive foreign mercenaries; they were useless at ordinary police work, and the Indian Officers and N.C.O.'s caused constant trouble by incessant quarrels and intrigues. The Indians were enlisted for four years, but before this period had expired I began to enlist a force of local men as police, a project which I always strongly advocated. It was from this time that the present force was started, but the final transition was not completed until the end of 1932.

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**Crime and Prostitution.** The number of serious crimes which are committed every year in Bahrain is small in comparison to the population, which is thought to be about 150,000. Usually about one or two cases of murder are dealt with by the police during the year, but it is possible that occasional murders take place which are not detected, especially murders of women and newly born children. Although in recent years Bahrain has progressed in many ways, there are still a number of Arabs living in Hedd and Muharraq who consider that they are justified in murdering their female relations if the women bring shame on the family. A few of the very old-fashioned Arabs even consider that because the Government does not ignore such murders it is encouraging immorality. The Kadis, however, although ultra conservative in their outlook, disapprove of men taking the law into their own hands and murdering women who misbehave. In some Arab countries the fear of punishment by death for immorality has a very salutary effect, but Bahrain, although described as an Arab state, has very little in common with real Arab countries. The Baharna, who form about three quarters of the population, are not true Arabs, and the rest of the population includes all the nationalities who live around the Gulf. The only real Arabs in Bahrain are the Khalifah and a few families who came over with them from the mainland and a small number of members of mainland tribes who live almost entirely in Hedd, Muharraq, Budeya, and two or three small villages on the south coast.

[162]
[548]
[164]
Immorality is undoubtedly increasing, but the increase in prostitution is not due to the Government but is a matter of supply and demand. During the last two years numbers of foreigners earning good pay have come to Bahrain, usually without their families, from Persia, Iraq, and India, and this has undoubtedly caused an increase in prostitution. Venereal disease is rampant, and the proportion of persons suffering from it, especially in ophthalmic forms, is very high. The medical supervision of prostitutes would undoubtedly result in an improvement in the public health. This suggestion was discussed and approved by the Manamah Municipal Council some years ago, but it has not yet been possible to arrange the medical organisation to cope with this matter.

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Most of the criminal cases which are dealt with by the police are cases of theft, assault, and immorality. Several important gangs of thieves have been rounded up during the last ten years. Some of these gangs were well provided with arms and had regular methods of disposing of stolen property in Bahrain or on the mainland. Foreigners, especially Hassawis, form the majority of the criminals. There are a number of inveterate thieves who spend the greater part of their lives in prison. Such persons, on the mainland, would be punished by cutting off of their hands and finally by decapitation. The punishments inflicted by the Bahrain courts are whippings, fines, and imprisonment, but imprisonment to many of these people is no hardship: the work is not hard, they are given better food than they would obtain themselves, and the only real punishment is being deprived of women.

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**Drugs and Liquor.** Liquor and drugs, such as opium, are forbidden in Bahrain, but in spite of the severe penalties which are enforced by the Bahrain courts against persons contravening the liquor regulations, the habit of drinking liquor and smoking opium is, in my opinion, steadily increasing. Ten years ago very few people drank liquor, and the smoking of opium was entirely confined to foreigners, Persians, Indians, and Baluchis. To-day many of the younger Arabs have acquired a liking for spirits, partly because they have had opportunities for drinking while travelling abroad, and frequent cases have occurred in which Arabs have been found to be taking opium.

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Opium is smuggled into Bahrain from Persia, usually in native crafts, but sometimes hidden in merchandise on the mail steamers. It varies in quality, most frequently it is in large lumps weighing four or five pounds, but sometimes it is in paper-covered sticks sealed up in bundles. It is very

5: Bahrain G-5 (1925-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

expensive in Bahrain, and successful opium smugglers and retailers make large profits. Opium is easy to hide and lacks the strong smell which frequently leads to the detection of locally made liquor. In opium cases the police depend mainly on informers, who are usually men who are themselves concerned in the opium business but who consider that they have not had a fair share of the profits and so give their friends away. Opium has been discovered hidden in gramophones, clocks, flour-bins, and in the ceilings of rooms.

Illicit liquor used to consist entirely of locally distilled arak made from dates. Ten years ago it was manufactured only by two or three Iraqis and Jews, who were gradually rounded up, but in about 1930 there was a great increase in arak, and a number of Bahrain subjects took to making it, probably because it was such a profitable trade. The illicit liquor traffickers displayed great ingenuity in hiding their stills and their cellars: arak was made in ruined houses, in out-of-the-way date gardens and in subterranean rooms which still exist in a few old houses which were used in the past as places for hiding valuables in times of war. Distributors kept bottled supplies of arak in wells, in false walls, under rubbish heaps, and sometimes under the seats of motor cars. In one case the police discovered that the municipal lunatic asylum was a distributing centre, and the keeper and his wife were members of a liquor gang.

About two years ago, after numerous prosecutions, there appeared to be a decrease in the use of arak, but cases began to occur in which people used methylated spirits as a drink. During the last year this practice has increased very much, and a concoction consisting of methylated spirits mixed with eau-de-Cologne is rapidly taking the place of arak. It is probably more injurious to the health than arak, but it is very popular with women of the town, and apparently a small quantity causes drunkenness in a short time. Methylated spirit is only sold to reliable dealers, and is mixed before being sold with a chemical to make it unpalatable; there are no restrictions, however, on the sale of scent.

The Ruler, the religious leaders, and the majority of the people in Bahrain disapprove very strongly of drink, but there is a small section of the community which would like the restrictions on liquor to be removed. The great influx of well-paid foreigners from countries where the sale of liquor is allowed is the chief reason for the increase of cases against the liquor laws. There is undoubtedly an occasional leakage of liquor from the Bahrain Petroleum Company, but this is not sufficiently frequent to have any effect on the liquor question in general. The most effective way of preventing the increase in drinking is to deal very drastically with any cases which are proved in the courts.

**The State Jail.** The jail is in the Fort and consists of a number of cells and a yard. Prisoners are well fed—they usually put on weight during their term of imprisonment—and are provided with clothes. Convicts wear leg-irons, which is a measure to prevent their escape, as they work outside the Fort most of the day. There are no regular warders, but each section of the police takes in turn jail duties; this was found more satisfactory than having a permanent jail staff. Usually there are between twenty and thirty convicts in the prison. Debtors receive the same food as prisoners, but wear their own clothes and are not obliged to do any work apart from cleaning the prison. As most of the convicts serve for short terms, it has not been possible to organise any prison industries. There is no women's prison, but there are two cells adjoining the house of the senior police N.C.O., whose wife acts as a wardress if any women are confined in the Fort. The question of a small building for women prisoners is under consideration, and the present jail is also to be repaired during the coming year.

**The Present Police Force.** Although the existing police force was enlisted locally, the men are not all Bahrain subjects. The present strength of the police is 204 N.C.O.'s and men, including Bahrain Arabs, Shia Baharna, local Persians, and one or two Persians who served in the South Persian Rifles, Kurds, Yemenis, Iraqis, mainland Arabs, Swahilis, Somalis, Sudanese, and a number of manumitted slaves; the last category make very good policemen. In the past, service in the police was regarded as somewhat derogatory, but in the last few years the public attitude towards the police has changed: there is now keen competition to enlist in the force, and when a few recruits are required, hundreds of men present themselves at the Fort for enlistment. It is now possible to take only picked men whose height, chest measure-

361 bazaar, a movie theatre, branches of the Eastern Bank and the Imperial Bank of Persia, a post office, a broadcasting station and a single gas station.

362 743 Little by little Manama is being modernized and the houses built by the Standard Oil Company for its American and British employees serve as models for the natives in the improvement of their own. There are three hospitals, one operated by the Bahrein Oil Company; a second, for men and women, with a British staff, by the government; and the third by the Arabia Mission of the Dutch Reformed Church in America. However, the facilities of these few establishments are quite limited and even under normal conditions 85% of the population suffers from one or more ailments.

164 548 The diseases endemic in Bahrein are malaria, the entire group of fevers, dysentery both amoebic and bacillary, bilharzia, trachoma and ankylostomiasis. At the head of the list should go the entire family of venereal diseases. Prostitution, forbidden in Saudi Arabia, has increased greatly under the complacent eyes of the authorities and Bahrein has become a kind of "pleasure island" where thousands of native and foreign employees of the oil companies from Arabia spend their [273] leaves and money buying cheap pleasure, drinking arak, a 100 proof, colorless distillation of dates, contributing to vice and the propagation of disease.

164 The island is liable to epidemics of plague and cholera. From 1905 to 1911 Bahrein was visited every second year by plague and during the epidemic of 1911, in Manama, Muharraq and adjacent villages alone, more than two thousand persons died. Since World War I international control of plague and more vigorous quarantine measures by the British administration have limited the recurrence of this disease. Since 1920 epidemics of plague have occurred only at five year intervals.

Cholera epidemics are less frequent, probably because the water supply is less open to contamination than formerly. However, last year's epidemic was as serious in Bahrein as in the other ports of the Persian Gulf.

8·Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



563 In the third place, clerical positions occupied by Indians and other
578 foreigners are highly coveted by the high-school graduates of Bahrain. This
554 must be understood within the context of traditional Arab respect for the scribe and the great power wielded until recent times by government employees: clerking represents a social position as well as a source of livelihood.

641 Finally, Indians are given privileges denied to Bahrainis. They are al-
273 lowed, for instance, a monthly allotment of alcoholic beverages and certain public places are open to them and to Westerners only. The problem of
563 alcohol is a delicate one in Bahrain. In accordance with Muslim law it is
578 prohibited to all Muslims. Foreigners and non-Muslims, however, can obtain a monthly allotment at specified prices through a permit from the British Residency. The only two groups that can benefit from such an arrangement are the Westerners and the Indians, since most other foreigners are Muslims.

563 An example of the resentment felt against the Indian clerks may be
578 seen in the following letter to the newspaper *al-Qafilah* from an indignant
191 Bahraini criticizing the Post Office Department:

> I came to the post office window with a large number of greeting cards which I wanted to send to friends outside Bahrain. I inquired from the clerk whether there were any special rates? Snatching the cards from my hands, he gave me an answer in a strange language, the only part of which I understood was "three annas and a half."
>
> It is strange that this department continues to employ clerks who do not understand the language of the country. In this connection, I remember that a short time ago I sent my manservant with a piece of paper on which I had written in Arabic the quantity of stamps I wanted of each denomination. Shortly afterwards he came back very angry. He told me that the clerk threw him out of the building and ordered him to "tell [your master] to write in Indian, Persian, or English. . . . We are not Arabs." [12]

609 A factor which also has considerable effect on the attitude of the native toward foreigners is the development of the oil industry in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. In Saudi Arabia the political climate has been such that the native is truly master of his house. The moment the foreigner, and particularly the Westerner, steps on Saudi Arabian soil, government officials and civilians alike do not hesitate to remind him in a thousand ways that he is in an independent country, that he is only a temporary guest, and that his sojourn in the country depends on good behavior. The Arabian American Oil Company, as part of its public relations policy, cooperates with the government fully in this respect and it is a well-known fact that a number of its American employees have been sent home for minor infractions of the local law or for being in some way rude to the native inhabitants.

Bahrain is only a few miles away from Saudi Arabia. Stories of how

[12] *al-Qafilah*, January 2, 1953.

## GENERAL

**Distinguished Visitors.** Among the many notable persons who visited Bahrain during the year were H.R.H. The Duchess of Kent and H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, who were on their way to the Far East. H.H. Shaikh Abdulla As Salim, Ruler of Kuwait paid his usual visit to the country ; H.E. Ghulam Mohammed, Governor General of Pakistan, stayed for a night on his way to Saudi Arabia. Other visitors were H.E. Dr. Mohammed Fadhel Al Jamali, Prime Minister of Iraq ; Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck ; His Eminence Jirgis Daoud Kandila, Metropolitan of the Syrian Catholic Church ; a group of British Members of Parliament ; numerous rulers of the Shaikhdoms of the Trucial Coast ; foreign diplomats ; journalists of many nationalities and senior British and American Army, Navy and Air Force Officers.

**Coronation of King Faisal.** H.E. Shaikh Isa, the eldestson of His Highness, represented his father at the coronation in Baghdad in June of H.M. King Faisal II. He was accompanied by several of his relations. The Bahrain delegation travelled to and from Baghdad by air.

**Postage Stamps.** A Bahrain 1¼ Anna stamp, for internal postage, bearing a portrait of His Highness Shaikh Sulman, was brought into circulation during the year. Some progress was made in the process of the Government gradually taking over the administration of the postal services.

**"Caltex Bahrain."** The new oil tanker, *Caltex Bahrain*, was launched in December, in England. The launching ceremony was performed by Lady Belgrave.

**Pepsi Cola Factory.** Mr. Husain Ahmedi, a local merchant, built a factory on the south-west of Manama for making Pepsi Cola. This is the first enterprise of this type which has been undertaken in Bahrain.

**Stamped Paper and Title Deeds.** The Government adopted a new design of stamped paper, which is used for agreements, receipts, powers of attorney, etc. New forms were also introduced for title deeds.

**Anglican Church.** The building of an Anglican Church was completed on a site east of the Fort which was presented to the Anglican Community by His Highness Shaikh Sulman.

**Agriculture.** No report on agriculture has been included this year as Mr. J. Edmond, the Agricultural Officer, completed his period of contract with the Government and proceeded on leave, pending retirement, on 15th September, 1952.

Mr. Van Ollenbach was appointed Agricultural Officer and began his duties on 5th January, 1953.

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## HIS HIGHNESS SHAIKH SULMAN'S VISIT TO ENGLAND

His Highness Shaikh Sulman left Bahrain, by air, on 13th May and arrived back in his country on June 26th. His party consisted of his youngest son, Shaikh Mohammed bin Sulman, Sir Charles and Lady Belgrave, Mr. Husain Yateem and two secretaries.

He travelled by air to Beirut where he stayed for one night ; by sea, in S.S. *Esperia*, to Venice where he stayed for three days ; by train to Montreux, on the Lake of Geneva, where he spent four days, and on by train to Paris where he stayed for two nights. He reached London on May 28th.

## CUSTOMS REGULATIONS

439 There is usually little difficulty in importing goods into Bahrain, except the following, which are not allowed :—

656 (a) Arms and Ammunition,

651 (b) Alcoholic and intoxicating liquors (except under licence).

(c) Cultured, bleached or tinted pearls and undrilled pearls produced outside the Persian Gulf,

(d) Obscene, indecent or seditious literature or pictures,

(e) Dogs, except with special permission of the Director of Customs which will only be granted in the case of dogs accompanied by a veterinary surgeon's certificate of innoculation against rabies.

(f) Counterfeit coins,

(g) Opium and its allied products and cocaine and its allied products.

Books and printed matter, gold and silver bullion and coinage, samples, undrilled Persian Gulf pearls, implements and tools of trade for the use of the traveller are exempt from customs duties. For those arriving for the first time in Bahrain to take up residence, household effects, new clothing, silver and plate are also exempt from duties.

[204] All travellers may bring into the country not more than 100 cigarettes, 50 cigars or ½ pound of tobacco, the containers of which must have been opened.

651 All other goods are liable to a customs duty. The duty on tobacco and liquor is 15%, luxuries pay 10% and necessities, 5%, but prospective travellers should not depend upon this as a hard and fast rule but are advised to ascertain the rates for each article. The Bahrain Government published a Customs Ordinance in 1950 in the form of a booklet, price Rs.2, which is obtainable from the Director of Customs, Manama, Bahrain.

## LANGUAGES

191 The official language of Bahrain is Arabic, but some English is spoken in most parts of the State; it is usually possible in cases of difficulty to find an English-speaking Arab

On the other hand the Arabs much appreciate foreigners who take the trouble to learn even the rudiments of their language, which, it must be admitted, is very difficult. For this purpose possibly the best book in print is Van Ess's *Spoken Arabic of Irak*. There are, of course, many other excellent books on Arabic, but for conversational purposes the one above approaches nearest to the particular brand of Arabic spoken in Bahrain.

## PASSPORTS AND VISAS

486 All intending visitors to Bahrain are required to have passports endorsed for Bahrain, and in addition they should apply for an entry

674 The following were some of the more serious cases of theft ; clothing and money were stolen from people staying in a local hotel in the bazaar, money was stolen from a house in Rafaa and a radio and carpet was stolen from the house of a member of the American Mission. In all these cases the thieves were caught and the stolen property was recovered. In 11 other cases thefts of money, jewellery, wearing apparel, etc., were reported to the Police. In some instances persons were prosecuted for theft, but acquitted and in other cases no evidence was obtained.

Five Pakistanis were prosecuted for "bilking" shop keepers.

674 273 Fewer persons than in the previous year were convicted for contravention of liquor and drug regulations, this does not, however, indicate any decrease in the habit of drinking which among certain classes is becoming almost universal. Altogether 24 persons were prosecuted for distilling, selling and being in possession of liquor and for dealing in hashish and opium.

548 276 In one case a Palestinian was found to be in possession of 15 lbs. of opium. There is every reason to believe that an active trade in opium is carried on through Bahrain to the West. It is brought to Bahrain from Persia and India via the Trucial Coast and then conveyed on to ships in the harbour which carry it to Europe or the United States.

731 **Fires.** There were a number of serious fires during the year in which many people lost their barasti houses and their possessions. Most of the fires were caused by pressure stoves or lamps which ignited Saaf (palm branch) houses. There were no cases of arson.

The most serious fire was in the Telegraph area where 75 houses were completely destroyed together with their contents. A very strong wind fanned the fire which was only prevented from spreading over another area of barasti houses by wide roads on three sides of the site. This was one of the worst fires known in Bahrain. It appears to have been caused by an old blind man who knocked over a fire or a lamp in his house which lit the palm branch walls of the building. No lives were lost. In the village of Mahooz 55 houses were destroyed in one fire a few of these houses had mud and stone walls and matting roofs. In other fires, some of them in Manama and some in the villages, 17, 12, 15 and 14 houses were destroyed. In none of these fires was there any loss of life. In a fire in a launch, anchored off Manama, one man lost his life. More supplies of fire fighting equipment, hose pipe, etc., etc., which had been ordered in England were part of the cargo of a Strick Line ship which caught fire near Sitra and which burned for several days.

[368]

**AGENCY COURT**

**RESULT OF PROSECUTIONS IN 1372**

674

| No. | Nature of Offences. | No. of Cases. | No. of persons accused. | No. of persons convicted. | No. of persons acquitted. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Causing Death by Rash or Negligent Act | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 2 | Theft | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 3 | Cheating | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 4 | Criminal breach of trust | 2 | 2 | 2 | — | |
| 5 | Use of criminal force and assault | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | |
| 6 | Liquor drinking and possession of | 6 | 7 | 6 | 1 | |
| 7 | Charas and Opium | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | |
| 8 | Affray | 1 | 3 | 3 | — | |
| | | 14 | 18 | 15 | 3 | |

**NATIONALITIES :**

| | |
|---|---|
| British | 1 person |
| Indian | 3 persons |
| Pakistan | 2 „ |
| Palestine | 1 „ |
| Transjordan | 1 person |
| Iran | 10 persons |
| | 18 |

suit them, they spoke no Arabic, and were regarded by the people of Bahrain as expensive foreign mercenaries; they were useless at ordinary police work, and the Indian Officers and N.C.O.'s caused constant trouble by incessant quarrels and intrigues. The Indians were enlisted for four years, but before this period had expired I began to enlist a force of local men as police, a project which I always strongly advocated. It was from this time that the present force was started, but the final transition was not completed until the end of 1932.

**Crime and Prostitution.**

The number of serious crimes which are committed every year in Bahrain is small in comparison to the population, which is thought to be about 150,000. Usually about one or two cases of murder are dealt with by the police during the year, but it is possible that occasional murders take place which are not detected, especially murders of women and newly born children. Although in recent years Bahrain has progressed in many ways, there are still a number of Arabs living in Hedd and Muharraq who consider that they are justified in murdering their female relations if the women bring shame on the family. A few of the very old-fashioned Arabs even consider that because the Government does not ignore such murders it is encouraging immorality. The Kadis, however, although ultra conservative in their outlook, disapprove of men taking the law into their own hands and murdering women who misbehave. In some Arab countries the fear of punishment by death for immorality has a very salutary effect, but Bahrain, although described as an Arab state, has very little in common with real Arab countries. The Baharna, who form about three quarters of the population, are not true Arabs, and the rest of the population includes all the nationalities who live around the Gulf. The only real Arabs in Bahrain are the Khalifah and a few families who came over with them from the mainland and a small number of members of mainland tribes who live almost entirely in Hedd, Muharraq, Budeya, and two or three small villages on the south coast.

Immorality is undoubtedly increasing, but the increase in prostitution is not due to the Government but is a matter of supply and demand. During the last two years numbers of foreigners earning good pay have come to Bahrain, usually without their families, from Persia, Iraq, and India, and this has undoubtedly caused an increase in prostitution. Venereal disease is rampant, and the proportion of persons suffering from it, especially in ophthalmic forms, is very high. The medical supervision of prostitutes would undoubtedly result in an improvement in the public health. This suggestion was discussed and approved by the Manamah Municipal Council some years ago, but it has not yet been possible to arrange the medical organisation to cope with this matter.

Most of the criminal cases which are dealt with by the police are cases of theft, assault, and immorality. Several important gangs of thieves have been rounded up during the last ten years. Some of these gangs were well provided with arms and had regular methods of disposing of stolen property in Bahrain or on the mainland. Foreigners, especially Hassawis, form the majority of the criminals. There are a number of inveterate thieves who spend the greater part of their lives in prison. Such persons, on the mainland, would be punished by cutting off of their hands and finally by decapitation. The punishments inflicted by the Bahrain courts are whippings, fines, and imprisonment, but imprisonment to many of these people is no hardship: the work is not hard, they are given better food than they would obtain themselves, and the only real punishment is being deprived of women.

**Drugs and Liquor.**

Liquor and drugs, such as opium, are forbidden in Bahrain, but in spite of the severe penalties which are enforced by the Bahrain courts against persons contravening the liquor regulations, the habit of drinking liquor and smoking opium is, in my opinion, steadily increasing. Ten years ago very few people drank liquor, and the smoking of opium was entirely confined to foreigners, Persians, Indians, and Baluchis. To-day many of the younger Arabs have acquired a liking for spirits, partly because they have had opportunities for drinking while travelling abroad, and frequent cases have occurred in which Arabs have been found to be taking opium.

Opium is smuggled into Bahrain from Persia, usually in native crafts, but sometimes hidden in merchandise on the mail steamers. It varies in quality, most frequently it is in large lumps weighing four or five pounds, but sometimes it is in paper-covered sticks sealed up in bundles. It is very

5: Bahrain G-5 (192-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

276 439 expensive in Bahrain, and successful opium smugglers and retailers make large profits. Opium is easy to hide and lacks the strong smell which frequently leads to the detection of locally made liquor. In opium cases the police depend mainly on informers, who are usually men who are themselves concerned in the opium business but who consider that they have not had a fair share of the profits and so give their friends away. Opium has been discovered hidden in gramophones, clocks, flour-bins, and in the ceilings of rooms.

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164 occurred intermittently in the past, chiefly in Manama and Muharraq. The islands are [744] exposed to the introduction of the disease from neighboring territories, but the enforcement of quarantine regulations has prevented its establishment for several decades.

**Other Infections.** Although a mild degree of louse infestation occurs among the inhabitants in some congested areas, louse-borne typhus is rarely, if ever, reported. Imported cases of cutaneous leishmaniasis, or Oriental sore, and filariasis are occasionally treated in the local medical institutions, but the insect vectors are not known to be present, and indigenous infections have not been recorded. Guinea worm infection is sometimes seen among persons from Iran, but it is not found in the resident population.

### Nutritional Diseases

146 The standards of nutrition have improved 361 materially in the last few years. Under- 511 nutrition is common, but serious defects are seen primarily among the inhabitants of outlying villages and the families of workers from the mainland. Poverty, traditional dietary customs and intestinal parasitism are contributory factors. Subclinical deficiencies in vitamin C are widespread, and scurvy is observed from time to time. Rickets is frequent among the children in the towns. Anemia is prevalent, and hemoglobin levels of 25 to 30 per cent are not unusual among the women.

## SUMMARY

619 Bahrain is an independent sheikhdom 131 which consists of an archipelago of 5 main 282 islands situated in the Persian Gulf near the 315 coast of Arabia. It has long been famous as a pearl fishing center, and, since 1932, has enjoyed prosperity as an oil-producing area. 161 It has a heterogeneous population which 162 numbered 109,650 in 1950, including 18,471 795 foreigners. The people are predominantly of 124 mixed Arab and Persian origin, and about 96 per cent are Moslems.

p. 264(B)

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M22



adequate motor-bus communications with most of the villages.

Manama is the shipping centre of the Gulf pearl industry,[1] and steamers connect regularly with India, Persia, and Iraq. Bahrain harbour is also the centre of a considerable coastal and pearling trade by dhows, as well as the local headquarters of its fishing industry. Other local industries are dhow-building and the manufacture of sailcloth and reed matting. Much of the import and export trade from al-Hasa and its hinterland passes through Bahrain, and this created an important source of revenue during the years in which Aramco was developing its oilfields on the Saudi coast. Lately, however, the Saudis have perceived the advantage of conducting this trade for themselves. By establishing a high-cost re-entry permit, they have discouraged the foreign staff of the oil company from doing its week-end shopping in Bahrain, and their policy is to increase the port and market facilities of the two Saudi coastal towns opposite the island—Damman and Al Khobar. In Bahrain there is a duty of 5 per cent ad valorem on essential imports such as food and clothing; non-essential imports are subject to higher duties, ranging between 15 per cent on tobacco and liquor, and 10 per cent on luxuries.

*History and Foreign Relations*

The presence in the northern part of Bahrain Island of numerous burial tumuli indicates very early human inhabitants, but their identity, which was at one time thought to be Phoenician, remains unknown. Bahrain's situation and natural harbour facilities suggest that from the earliest days of sea navigation in the Gulf the port was important. Its recorded history, however, dates only from 1507, when the Portuguese occupied the island. They built a fort of which the ruins survive, but were driven out in 1602 by an Arab invasion from Persia. Bahrain was held by Persia intermittently until 1783, when it was conquered by Arabs from the mainland. Since 1816 it has been ruled by the Khalifa family of the Utubi tribe, which in 1820 first entered into treaty relations with the East India Company. But the Persian Government has never ceased to claim sovereignty over the island and at intervals has protested against British treaties with the Shaikh. The Persian claim is based on a British Note of 27 April 1869 in which (the Persians allege)[2] Lord Clarendon recognized their title to sovereignty over the

[1] This has long been important, and in the 1830's the fisheries were estimated to bring in some £300,000 to £400,000 a year.

[2] The Persian claim was disposed of by Sir Austen Chamberlain in a Note of 18 January 1928. See League of Nations, *Official Journal*, May 1928, pp. 606–7.

Bahrein produces dates of very good quality, though inferior to the Iraqi and especially to the Persian variety known in the United States as the Bassorah date. The entire date production of Bahrein is consumed locally, either fresh or dried, or in a powder which is used like wheat flour for the making of bread, the common food of the rich.

The economic value of the date palm does not stop with the fruit. All other parts of the palm yield products of practical value to Bahreinis; their life would be impossible without it. The trunk furnishes timber for houses and boats; the midribs of the leaves go into crates and furniture; the leaf bases are used for fuel; the small leaves are used in basketry, the fiber for cordage and packing, and the fruit stalks for rope and fuel.

Under the shade of their palm trees and around their springs, the Bahreinis live their relatively simple life, producing some vegetables, weaving a few shawls, making sailcloth or reed mats, and breeding their donkeys. The Bahrein donkeys, or "Bandari," were bought by donkey lovers for their endurance, their height, and other celebrated qualities.

The main occupations of the townspeople are commercial and maritime, mostly fishing and handling the transit shipments which are one of Bahrein's largest sources of revenue. The greatest economic asset of the islands, however, despite the value of the recently discovered oil, is still the pearl fisheries.

## PEARL FISHING

The chief source of income of the islands before the discovery and exploitation of oil reserves in the nineteen thirties was pearl fishing. Before the rise of competition from the Japanese pearl fisheries and worldwide economic crisis of 1930, the industry employed more than 20,000 persons annually, and revenue from the pearls, which were exported principally to Paris and London, amounted to about £2,000,000[1] annually. Single pearls often bring enormous prices; for example, the most beautiful

1. Except where otherwise specified, pounds referred to throughout are English pounds sterling.

316 339 is quarried, lorry loads of wood are brought out, and, as in the manufacture of lime, layers of gypsum are interspersed with layers of wood and the pile fired. The slabs of gypsum are then removed and beaten into a fine powder which, when mixed with water, acts like cement. It has the advantage of being quick setting and is still used by those who cannot afford to buy imported cement.

### WEAVING

288 438 291 [697] Weaving is carried on in some of the villages of Bahrain, in Abu Saiba, south of the Budaiya Road and elsewhere. "Awzars," simple garments worn by the villagers around their waists in the summer, are woven from imported cotton, while in many coastal villages the sailors spend the winters weaving sail-cloth. The prisoners on Jidda Island are also employed in weaving, on imported Irish looms, but their activities can hardly be classed as a local industry.

## CHAPTER VIII

## THE ANTIQUITIES OF BAHRAIN

### THE WORLD'S LARGEST GRAVEYARD

172 764 THE tumuli of Bahrain have never been counted, but their number has been estimated at 50,000. In these tumuli Bahrain possesses one of the unsolved mysteries of archaeology, for despite the numerous expeditions that have been made to discover their origin, this is still in dispute.

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The first group of tombs is daily passed by hundreds of people travelling between Manama and Awali, but the best examples of tumuli in this group are not along the main road but are near the village of Aali. These mounds are the largest in Bahrain and while some of them are used by the villagers for baking their pottery, the majority are just as they were left after their opening by various archaeologists. Most of these tombs face south-west and P. B. Cornwall[1] has suggested that the reason for this is that the builders of the mounds worshipped the Evening Star, Venus, which at sunset lies to the south-west. The majority of the tumuli have two storeys and, in the chamber tombs, there are niches cut into the sides of the passages. The sides and roofs of the graves themselves are of local stone and were originally covered with a layer of gypsum. Some of the tumuli are surrounded by low walls of mud and gravel. Finds in these tumuli have included the bones of men and animals, ivory statues, pieces of circular boxes, golden ornaments and earthenware vessels decorated with black stripes.

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there is a deep depression surrounded by large blocks of stone which was once a great spring said to have irrigated much of north-western Bahrain. This spring, known as Ain Sejour, is traditionally associated with the name of the Caliph Abd al-Malik (685-705) who is reputed to have come to Bahrain with an army to chastise the people who had given refuge to politico-religious refugees from Iraq. According to local histories the Bahrainis worsted the invaders in a war by a clever use of the underground water channels and a truce was signed. Later the Caliph is said to have murdered the Bahraini leaders and to have filled in this well "to reduce the pride of the people of Bahrain," since then it has been dry and the land around it has reverted to desert. It seems unlikely that the Caliph himself came to Bahrain, he probably sent one of his generals and later tradition ascribed the leadership to the Caliph himself. 172

Several well-to-do families own houses in Diraz, and when pearling flourished its people were important nakhudas (captains) and pearl merchants. Many of the villagers are still divers and keep their boats on the shore near the little mosque north of Budaiya Garden. For use in these boats the villagers weave their own sail-cloth on local looms. 228 288 554

JESRA

On the edge of the open plain about 4 miles south of Budaiya is Jesra, the point where the pipeline from Arabia crosses to Bahrain, here also is a village whose Arab inhabitants are mainly retainers of the Ruling Family. Several Shaikhs have also built substantial houses in the village, as well as gardens irrigated from artesian wells. Another road leads from Jesra to Rifaa al-Gharbi, following the route of the pipeline across the desert. 315 361 491

MALAKIYA

Four miles south of Jesra the road, after passing through the villages of Karzakan and Dumistan, enters the little village of Malakiya, set in the centre of thriving date gardens, some of which belong to merchants in Manama. The only claim to interest in this village is a large tomb which is held in great veneration by the Shia community of Bahrain and is visited by pilgrims from all parts of the Islands. The tomb is of a certain Amir Zaid, but there is some difference of opinion about his identity. Some contend that he was Zaid bin Sohan, one of the Companions of the Prophet, but according to other local authorities he was a certain Amir Zaid bin Umaira al-Abdi who witnessed a covenant of truce made between the people of the Islands and al-Mua'lla bin al-Hadrami, the Moslem conqueror of Bahrain. A third version is that the worthy Amir was the leader of the people of Bahrain in a war that took place between them and the Caliph Abd al-Malik (See paragraph on Diraz). It has not yet been decided which of these versions is in fact the true one, but this does not deter Shia pilgrims from visiting Malakiya. 361 778

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1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

On a visit to an American Aircraft Carrier. *Left to right* : H.E. Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa al-Khalifah, C.I.E., H.E. Shaikh Muhammad bin Isa al-Khalifah, C.B.E. ; H.H. The Ruler of Bahrain ; Sir Charles Belgrave, K.B.E., Adviser to the Bahrain Government, and the Captain.

*Photo :*
*Official Photograph U.S. Navy.*

In complexion the people vary greatly, some, especially those who work in offices, are very fair, while the African element in the population has produced the opposite colouring. During the past ten years the fashion among the men of Bahrain for wearing partly European dress has developed rapidly, mainly due to the operations of the oil company, where long flowing robes are not only a nuisance but often dangerous. The older men, however, and the members of the Ruling Family still wear the traditional Arab dress which can be seen in its full glory in the picture of H.H. The Ruler. The basic garment is the "thobe," a long shirt fastened up to the neck, above it comes a cloak of brown, white or black wool, with gold braided edges, the "bisht" or "aba". On the head is a small skull cap, not usually visible, over which is a white or coloured headcloth "gutra' held in place by means of a black or white wool ring, called "agal." The last was originally a camel hobble which the bedouin in the desert used to wear on their heads when travelling, removing it when in camp, but today it has lost its original use and is just an article of attire. Members of the Ruling Family, all of whom use the title "Shaikh," wear gold head-rings on formal occasions, while H.H. The Ruler and the senior members of the family wear swords and daggers in gold scabbards.

The purdah system still exists in Bahrain, although it is gradually being modified, and women are veiled when they appear in public; the more old fashioned wearing black masks concealing the upper part of the face, the younger contenting themselves with veils of black net. Although many women in the towns wear European clothes, nylons and cosmetics, they never appear outside their houses without a voluminious black cloak which covers them from the tops of their heads to the ground. In the country the Baharna women wear a large square shawl, black, blue or sometimes brightly covered, which conceals the clothes they wear. Despite the impression which may have been given by this description of veiling still current in Bahrain, the women of the country are now living a much wider life than formerly. Many girls go to the schools where as well as doing lessons they play games and do gymnastics, and what they learn at school gives them more interests at home when they marry. Family parties are commoner and husbands will now allow themselves to be seen driving with their wives in cars, which some years ago was almost unknown. In many ways the life of the women of Bahrain is improving. However, a fact that visitors to Bahrain should remember is that attempts to take photographs of women are usually strongly resented though the ordinary Arab male is fairly immune to the photographic enthusiasm of visiting Europeans.

In Bahrain, unlike most other parts of the Arab World, the upper classes of Arab society have retained their traditional dress, while the working classes have adopted shirts and trousers. A result of this is that one should not be surprised if young men dressed in Arab clothes speak excellent English, know much about European history, French cooking and American enterprise, for they have probably been educated at the American University of Beirut or in Egypt or England. The

316 339 is quarried, lorry loads of wood are brought out, and, as in the manufacture of lime, layers of gypsum are interspersed with layers of wood and the pile fired. The slabs of gypsum are then removed and beaten into a fine powder which, when mixed with water, acts like cement. It has the advantage of being quick setting and is still used by those who cannot afford to buy imported cement.

### WEAVING

288 438 ●291 [697] Weaving is carried on in some of the villages of Bahrain, in Abu Saiba, south of the Budaiya Road and elsewhere. "Awzars," simple garments worn by the villagers around their waists in the summer, are woven from imported cotton, while in many coastal villages the sailors spend the winters weaving sail-cloth. The prisoners on Jidda Island are also employed in weaving, on imported Irish looms, but their activities can hardly be classed as a local industry.

## CHAPTER VIII

## THE ANTIQUITIES OF BAHRAIN

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204 In addition to the English language papers published in Iraq, Lebanon and Egypt, many English and American papers have airmail editions, which take a very short time in reaching Bahrain. Other papers and magazines are on sale in the Manama shops, both American and English, but they take rather longer to arrive. It is possible to receive the *Irak Times* by air, and also numerous Arabic papers from Egypt and Lebanon.

217 There is a public library in Bahrain, the Library of the Education Department, in Shaikh Abdulla Road, which contains Arabic and English books and magazines. There is a subscription library of English fiction and non-fiction at the Residency, Jufair and also libraries in many of the clubs. The largest library in Bahrain is that of the Bapco Club. Some Manama shops have large selections of books and one of them specialises in new books on Middle Eastern topics and stocks them soon after their publication.

### CLOTHING (EUROPEAN)

291 Men in the summer wear shirts and slacks or shorts and light tropical suits on formal occasions. In the evening white opened-necked and short sleeved shirts and white trousers are usual, with black shoes and socks and a black cummerbund at more formal affairs. Aertex or similar day shirts are the most suitable form of wear and cellular vests are useful, not for warmth but to absorb sweat. All forms of clothing for summer wear in Bahrain can be bought in Manama, both ready made and tailored.

In cold weather ordinary tweed suits are worn, or flannel trousers and sports coats and dinner jackets in the evening. It is cold enough for pullovers and overcoats, especially after sunset.

Washing frocks, preferably cotton, are the best wear for women in the very hot weather, as linen or silk are unsuitable when the temperature and humidity are high. Light frocks are usually worn from April till December. Hats are worn on rare occasions. Cotton dress materials can be obtained locally as well as ready made English and American frocks.

In the cold season women require the type of clothing which is worn in England in April and May, and in the Fall in the States. In addition, the cold winter winds call for a really warm coat. As with summer clothes, those needed in the winter can be made in Manama from locally purchased material.

### HOTELS

485 366 There are only two hotels in Bahrain attaining European standards, the B.O.A.C. Guest House and the Bahrain Hotel. The former is primarily built for the benefit of transit passengers and it is often difficult for visitors to Bahrain who expect to stay for some time to get a room there. The Bahrain Hotel, which is at the west end of Prior Road, offers good food and is in fact the only alternative to the B.O.A.C. Guest House. There are a number of small local hotels which are not in the same class as these two.

5: Bahrain G-5 (192( -1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

369 178 in the case of the younger generation, who have passed through the schools. This generation has grown up under a regime of settled government and accepts as a matter of course the existence of regular law courts, regulations, schools, municipalities, and other governmental institutions, though many of the comparatively recent innovations are still resented and occasionally opposed by the old conservative element, which looks back regretfully to the days of the past when, by a little influence with important people and a little judicious expenditure, they would usually get their own way and do as they liked. Education, facilities for easier travel, contact with foreigners, both at home and abroad, and the effect of newspapers, books, and broadcasting, which stimulate an interest in foreign affairs, are some of the chief causes of the changes among the people of Bahrain. Most of the changes are for the better, but the sudden influx of large numbers of Europeans belonging to the Oil Company, many of whom are unaccustomed to Eastern countries, has had minor but unfortunate results. Beggars, who in the past were comparatively unobtrusive, now throng the bazaars and thrive on the misplaced generosity of white people; and the Arab children in the streets of Manamah, who used to be well-behaved, now follow Europeans about the bazaars and make impudent remarks to them in English.

●291 177 To-day, most of the young men in Manamah wear at least one article of European dress, usually a coat, and European shoes are rapidly taking the place of sandals; socks are universally worn, and the more advanced young Arabs wear complete suits of European style, but retain their Arab headdress. Importers of second-hand clothes, ranging from tail-coats to Central European military uniforms, do a good trade. To-day, a young man wearing entirely Arab dress is usually a foreigner or one of the Shaikhs' retainers. Labourers in the oil field who work near machinery are compelled to wear shirts and trousers, and this has contributed to a large extent to the change in dress. Even among the women, there is a tendency to wear articles of European clothing, especially stockings and shoes.

511 Although there is still much poverty and unemployment in Bahrain, the general standard of living has improved, and the older men often complain that their sons are no longer content with the frugal diet of fish, rice, dates and, occasionally, meat, which was good enough for them when they were young. Bread is eaten much more than it used to be, and cheap tinned fruits and biscuits have become almost part of the regular diet in the houses of the middle and wealthy classes. The decrease in food prices has made it possible for poorer people to buy more food and to enjoy more variety. Ten years ago a bag of rice cost Rs 15/-; to-day it can be bought for Rs 11/-. The price of dates has fallen almost 50%, and the public can now buy cheap vegetable ghee instead of expensive clarified butter, which used only to be used by the wealthy classes. Before artesian wells were sunk, all water had to be bought, but to-day there is an artesian well in each district of the big towns, and women of the lower classes fetch their own water from the taps and cisterns. The water supply has encouraged cleanliness, as in the past, when all water had to be bought, there was little washing or bathing except by men in the sea during the summer.

The municipalities have done much to improve conditions, both by cleaning the streets, passing regulations affecting public health, and by building markets where meat, fish, and vegetables are sold under the supervision of municipal inspectors, who are also responsible for inspecting the abattoir. These officials visit the coffee shops and 'hotels' and report cases of the sale of bad meat or stale food to the public.

342 **Houses.** In Manamah there has been a great improvement in the style of buildings. A number of small, sanitary, and well-ventilated houses have been built by private persons for letting purposes. Though the rooms are smaller than those in the old-fashioned houses, the construction is better, the importance of proper foundations is appreciated, and cement and steel beams are universally used. A few years ago the use of steel beams was considered, locally, extremely dangerous. Most of the new houses are equipped with electric light and have adequate sanitary arrangements. By degrees the 'barasti' type of house, built of palm branches, is decreasing, and its place is being taken by stone houses which are more permanent, more healthy, and less liable to catch fire or to collapse during storms.

352 Houses are more elaborately equipped. Formerly a few mats and one or two carpets were sufficient furnishing for the Meglis of a merchant, but now, in most middle-class houses, there

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



101 795 565 463 177

indicates — they constitute the poorer and lower classes of society and manifest all the markings of a minority group. Until recently they lived hardly above the servile state, their occupational specialization being exclusively the cultivation of the soil and other menial labor. The arrival of the British, which has assured them some security in person and a guarantee of minimum rights, and the development of the oil industry, which has opened possibilities of alternative employment, have had the effect of gradually raising these people from their status as second-class citizens.

The Sunnis act as the majority group. This has been especially true since a Sunni tribe established its political dominance over the islands in the 18th century. The Sunnis present a common front toward other groups; among themselves, however, they are divided into several communities and tribes. The largest Sunni community is the Huwalah. Its members are townsmen living by trade; and as townsmen everywhere, they do not manifest marked feelings of solidarity. They can perhaps be regarded as the nucleus of a future middle class.

101 565

The Utab, if not the largest Sunni tribe, is the most influential. This is due to the fact that the Khalifah family, one of its sub-tribes, has ruled the islands without serious interruption for almost 200 years. Every member of the Khalifah family has the title of "shaykh." Along with the privileges and prestige he enjoys as a result of his position, he has certain obligations and restrictions on his conduct and manner of life. For instance, in recent years many Bahrain subjects, especially among the younger city population, have taken to wearing European dress. No member of the ruling family may do so.

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The two other Sunni tribes of any importance are the Sadah and the Dawasir, the first because of its alleged sacred origin, the second because of its comparative wealth.[6]

795 463

Unlike the Shi'is, the Sunnis are relatively mobile. They depend for their livelihood on trade, pearling, fishing, and more recently on employment in the oil industry. Boat building also used to be a fairly important industry. It is very seldom that a Sunni is found engaged in agriculture as a life occupation except as a landowner.

578 565 795

As has been shown, among the two main native elements social division and social tensions rest on religious foundations. Religious affiliation determines to a considerable degree the social and economic position of the individual. When mass violence breaks out it has so far been in terms of Shi'is and Sunnis, never in terms of economic groups.

000

An interesting development in recent years is the stress of the dominant

[6] Most of the Dawasir returned in anger to the Arabian mainland in the early 1920's, soon after Shaykh Hamad, whom they disliked, assumed control. For the story of their return see Government of Bahrain, *Administrative Report for the Years 1926–1937* (Bahrain, 1937), pp. 8–9.

1/4 [i.e. the Shi'is -- need, it]

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517 and coffee-shops. This activity continues until about eleven o'clock especially in the summer when it is pleasanter to be out in the open air than indoors.

377 Manama is supplied with electric light from the Government Power
655 House, situated on the point at the north-east end of Manama. The
365 town water supply, also a Government concern, comes from artesian
312 wells in what used to be the Municipal Garden from where it is pumped into large tanks high above Manama and from there distributed by mains to all parts of the town and to numerous drinking fountains and public baths. This water system, which was installed by Holloway Bros., was completed in 1949, before this the water came from private and public artesian wells and was distributed by water carriers.

### QASARI

491 It is logical in describing Bahrain to leave Manama by the main road, Awal Road, but a more interesting drive can be taken by following the 2nd class road which branches off from Awal Road beyond the
361 Mental Hospital. After passing through a number of villages of
312 comparatively little interest the road comes to a shaded lane bordered on one side by a lake. This is Ain al-Qasari, whose pool, although
529 more extensive than that at Adari, is shallow and therefore unsuitable for swimming. Here there is a garden and a pleasant little house overlooking the pool, admittance to which is free, which is much frequented by picnicers. In the pool there are fish, some of which are as much as eighteen inches in length, as well as turtles. These are so accustomed to visitors that when people walk along the edge of the water or sit in the house, they swim lazily to the surface, waiting to be thrown pieces of bread or food. In a country consisting mostly of desert, and where a small and dirty pool usually constitutes the local water supply, the attractive appearance of Ain al-Qasari, particularly at sunset, is very agreeable.

296 There are in fact two springs called Qasari, the second, situated on Awal Road, is better known by ~~the~~ name of the "Dhobis Pool" on account of the large numbers of Indian washermen who mercilessly beat the dirty clothes on slabs of rock, and when they have finished hang them out to dry in long lines by the side of the road. It is a not unusual sight to round a corner of the road and to see before one lines of clothes, billowing in the breeze like wind-socks, and the frantic activity of the dhobis standing in the water in an odd array of clothing attempting to finish their task and dry the laundry before the sun sets.

### BILAD AL-QADIM

361 A short way beyond Ain al-Qasari is Bilad al-Qadim, literally "The Old Town," formerly the capital of Bahrain, which lies between the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, whose twin minarets are a landmark for navigators, and the Khor Mukhtar inlet on the east coast. Bilad al-Qadim can also be approached from Awal Road opposite the Suq

131 length and a mile wide. "Howar" means "Young Camel" and the island was so called because it is similar in shape though smaller than Bahrain, and so was described as its offspring.

There are many other little islands in the Bahrain archipelago ; some contain small villages or fishermen's huts while others are deserted except during the occasional visits of migratory birds or pearl divers who come to the islands during the diving season to draw water from the freshwater springs.

311 Along the northern coast of Bahrain there is a narrow strip of land
137 some three miles wide which is under cultivation. The fertile gardens containing date and loz (Indian almond or Terminalia) pomegranate, banana and fig trees are irrigated from many natural springs and artesian wells. But in the waterless areas south of the cultivation, in the centre of the island, only sparse and hardy desert flora exists. Although this desert may seem bare to the eyes of a visitor accustomed to the lush greenness of Europe or the States, it is in fact covered with a great variety of desert plants which were found, in a recent survey, to include some 200 species.

133 Beyond the cultivated area the land is barren and the landscape consists of low rolling hills with numerous rocky cliffs and dry wadis. Most of the Islands of Bahrain are surfaced with hard limestone rock, covered in many places with sand dunes, and, in the case of the main island, with pre-historic tumuli. From the shore line the topography rises gradually towards the centre where it again drops off into a basin surrounded by steep cliffs. Towards the centre of the basin there is a very pronounced rocky promontory known as "Jebal ad-Dukhan," *the "Mountain of Smoke,"* a name given to it because of the vague and hazy appearance it often presents, particularly during the hot summer months. The Jebal is only 450 feet above sea level and 250 feet above the surrounding plain but often, when mist surrounds its base, it gives the impression of being a considerable mountain.

Although Bahrain is a small country yet it displays a very varied
226 landscape and many surprising contrasts between old and new. It
228 is primarily a sea faring state. The brilliant blue and green waters, studded with white sails, which surround the islands provide the people of Bahrain with fish, which they catch from boats and in traps, fresh water, from the submarine springs, coral stone for building and pearls which made Bahrain such an important trading centre in the past.
361 The coastal towns have an attractive appearance. Manama's water front is lined with high white houses and beyond the town date gardens extend in an unbroken line down to the water's edge. Roads in the northern part of Bahrain pass through avenues of tall and stately date palms, bearing great bunches of golden, red and yellow fruit during
133 the summer months. The south of the island is a miniature desert and in the foothills around the Jebal there are many little wadis which
000 after the rainy season are bright with desert flowers and shrubs. Even

Some twenty years ago a Danish scientific expedition paid two visits to the Persian Gulf to report on the fish found in it. They discovered that there were over 400 species. 114 136

## AGRICULTURE

Parts of Bahrain have always been fertile and very probably in ancient times more land was under cultivation than is being used today. The gardens of Bahrain are mentioned by many ancient visitors to the islands. The captains of Alexander's ships described Tylos, the ancient name of Bahrain, as "well-wooded and productive" while Idrisi, writing in the 12th century, says that the "capital of Awal (Bahrain Island) is Bahrain; this is a town well populated whose environs are fertile and produce corn and dates in abundance." It could be that the capital of Bahrain mentioned by Idrisi was Bilad al-Qadim, the description would seem to imply this. 311 361

Formerly the Bahrain gardens were irrigated from natural springs and surface wells, the water either flowing from the springs into the gardens or being lifted from wells to the level of the land by various forms of water scoops. The most commonly used is the Shaduf. A man stands near the edge of the well and draws up the water in a sheep skin bag attached by ropes to a counter-balanced pole. In larger wells donkeys or oxen are used, walking endlessly up and down a ramp pulling the water to the surface from where it runs down into irrigation channels. As the rainfall in Bahrain is almost negligible all agriculture depends upon irrigation. 312

In the 20's and 30's Major Frank Holmes drilled many artesian wells in Bahrain which completely changed Bahrain's system of irrigation. By introducing these wells into the island Major Holmes did much to increase the area of land which could be cultivated, but *artesian wells turned out to be a mixed blessing*, for in the following years so many wells were drilled that the water head went down and some of the gardens in the south of Bahrain dried up. Today this problem is being met by a government Water Committee which decides whether and under what conditions new wells may be drilled, it tries to ensure that the water resources of the islands are maintained at their present level or even increased by the utilisation of the many large springs of fresh water which lie under the sea around the shores of Bahrain. 312 647 653

The two commonest crops in Bahrain are dates and lucerne (alfalfa). the latter is often grown in the shade of the date palms where its vivid greenness provides a contrast to the brown and grey-green of the date palms. There is little good fruit in Bahrain although a certain number of fruit trees are cultivated, these include citrus, tamarind, pomegranate, fig, guava, terminalia (indian almond) mango, bananas, grapes and kanard (a small apple-like fruit). European vegetables are grown in the cold weather and other ground crops include sweet potatoes, melons, tomatoes, ladies fingers, egg plants, onions, garlic and pumpkins. 241

### ZELLAQ

361 South again of Malakiya is Zellaq, the southernmost village on the
342 western Coast of Bahrain and approximately three miles west of Sakhir. A road runs from Zellaq to Awali and is much used by BAPCO employees coming to swim at the former place. The houses of Zellaq village, which are of stone, are built along the shore and many of them are large and spacious. As a result of the activities of BAPCO, Zellaq village has increased in size and prosperity and now contains a number of substantial white stone buildings which are conspicuous from a long distance across the flat and sandy plain that surrounds it.

162 The inhabitants of Zellaq are Sunni Arabs; some are from the Dawasir tribe, and many of them are dependents of the Ruling Family.
311 North of the village there are a number of large gardens, irrigated by innumerable artesian wells, which are owned by members of the Ruling Family and by their servants; these gardens form a green belt along the two miles of coast between Zellaq and Sedad.

312 The Bahrain Petroleum Company has a pump house at Zellaq which supplies Awali with much of its water and Zellaq was also once the discharging point for tankers bringing crude oil from Saudi
517 Arabia, before the submarine pipe-line was laid. Near the pumping station is the BAPCO Plage, the excellent bathing place which is much used by the employees of BAPCO, particularly in the Summer evenings.

### RAS AL-BARR

529 This, the southernmost point of the Bahrain islands, is a popular
484 place for summer picnics, but the approaches to it are difficult, and
491 although never dangerous they can easily cause trouble to visitors by the softness of the sand. It is best to travel in parties with not less than two cars, so that one can come to the help of the other if necessary, and care should be taken to keep to the tracks, however faintly indicated rather than to carve out new roads in the desert. The road to Ras al-Barr from Zellaq first passes through Mutalla, the Ruler's hunting lodge, while that from Awali past the Jebel passes another hunting lodge at Rumaitha before joining the Western road at Akala. From here the road goes south, past the swamps on the coast and along the narrow strip of sand which marks the end of the island.

136 In certain seasons of the year the shores along this part of Bahrain
262 are covered with the eggs of sea-birds, and many Arab dhows anchor off the coast while the crews remove the eggs for food. If one is lucky, while driving down the coast, hare and gazelle may be seen, as well as rose-tinted flamingoes on the shore.

## MUHARRAQ ISLAND

### MUHARRAQ

491 The visitor from Manama approaches Muharraq by crossing the
486 1½ mile long causeway and Shaikh Hamed Bridge, completed in 1942,

organize the secondary school system. The teachers received from £25 to £30 a month and "bed and board" paid by the Bahrein government. Interestingly enough, the first director of the first school opened at Muharraq was the present Saudi Arabian Minister to London, Sheik Hafiz Wahba.

At present, there is no newspaper in Bahrein. A weekly newspaper, Al Bahrein, was founded in 1939, but ceased its publication after the death of its publisher, Abdallah Za-id. In 1940 a broadcasting station was built, and the Al-Bahrein Radio started short-wave broadcasts on a 23-m, 50 band on November 4. During the war, Radio Bahrein was most useful to the Allied cause, since its four daily news broadcasts in Arabic and Persian were heard more easily throughout the Near East than those of Egypt.

Besides the schools, two "circles" for the discussion of political and literary matters were established in 1935 under the patronage of the brother of the Sheik. There was already a Cercle Israelite in the island.

## ECONOMY

The geographical features and the geological formation of the islands greatly reduce the economic value of Bahrein. The scarcity of water and the sandy nature of the soil exclude agricultural development. The application of modern methods of agriculture and the utilization of artesian wells and gasoline operated pumps are too recent and too inadequate to make Bahrein even partially independent of imported food. For many years to come, and probably forever, the islands will be dependent on food, meat, vegetables, and fruits brought chiefly from the Persian or Arabian mainland.

Fortunately, in most of the islands of the Persian Gulf and the surrounding regions, wherever water is found naturally or captured artificially, date palms grow with astonishing ease. The northern part of Bahrein Island, thanks to natural springs and more recently to artesian wells, is practically a string of oases with palm groves numbering several hundred thousands.

boat, sucking cigarettes or sipping bitter Arab coffee, but when the water is warmer a longer period is spent in the sea. Food is not eaten during the diving hours as it is considered bad for the diver's health. 228

The splash and swirl of the blue waters of the Gulf, often as smooth and clear as glass, the glistening bodies of the sun-burnt divers, the deep-throated chanting of the Saibs and the mounting piles of dark encrusted shells, are sights and sounds never to be forgotten. From time to time the cabin boy, who is found on each boat, collects the shells in sacks and piles them along the sides of the boat. As the sun sets the crew eat their light meal of dates, fish, bread and coffee and then sink down with pleasure into deep sleep along the decks. Then all that there is to disturb the silence of the night is the crackling of the fire burning on the portable mud hearth, the creaking of ropes and the splash caused by the line of the midnight fishermen catching to-morrow's meal.

Next morning the members of the crew are up early and gather around the heaps of shells which are more easily opened after having been left in the night-air, and with deft flicks of little curved knives they examine the oyster's meat so that not even the smallest seed pearl is missed. The despoiled shells are tossed aside, to be collected later and thrown back into the sea. As the pearls are found, their finders stick them between their toes until they have collected a number, which are then handed to the nakhuda or captain. The latter stores them in a great wooden chest, studded with brass nails after tying them in small squares of red cloth, that being the colour which is believed to show pearls to their best advantage. When all the shells have been opened the remains are thrown overboard, the decks swabbed down and the day's diving commences.

From time to time boats return to Bahrain to collect fresh provisions and for the medical treatment of the crew. Fresh water, surprisingly enough, is less of a problem, for near many of the pearl banks there are submarine fresh water springs, some of which have been controlled by pipes affixed by the Bahrain Government. The monotony of the diver's day is also broken by the visits of "Tawawish," pearl buyers, who come out in launches to the banks to offer ready cash for their purchases, and by visits of hospital and police launches from Bahrain. The end of the diving season, as well as the date of its commencement, is laid down by the annual proclamation of the Bahrain Government. [312] [437] [656]

Despite the tales of travellers, sharks and saw-fish are not a very great menace to divers, they are in fact a rarity and for many years no diver has been attacked by either fish. The blue jelly-fish is more feared than either, for with its long tentacles it can give a most unpleasant sting, and it is to combat it that in the jelly-fish season many divers wear a form of cotton combinations covering all parts of the body except hands and eyes. The detrimental effect of diving on the men's health is often exaggerated, and with the better diet and medical treatment the divers of today are a healthy set of men and compare favourably with workers in other industries. [136]

Some twenty years ago a Danish scientific expedition paid two visits to the Persian Gulf to report on the fish found in it. They discovered that there were over 400 species. 114 136

## AGRICULTURE

Parts of Bahrain have always been fertile and very probably in ancient times more land was under cultivation than is being used today. The gardens of Bahrain are mentioned by many ancient visitors to the islands. The captains of Alexander's ships described Tylos, the ancient name of Bahrain, as "well-wooded and productive" while Idrisi, writing in the 12th century, says that the "capital of Awal (Bahrain Island) is Bahrain; this is a town well populated whose environs are fertile and produce corn and dates in abundance." It could be that the capital of Bahrain mentioned by Idrisi was Bilad al-Qadim, the description would seem to imply this. 311 361

Formerly the Bahrain gardens were irrigated from natural springs and surface wells, the water either flowing from the springs into the gardens or being lifted from wells to the level of the land by various forms of water scoops. The most commonly used is the Shaduf. A man stands near the edge of the well and draws up the water in a sheep skin bag attached by ropes to a counter-balanced pole. In larger wells donkeys or oxen are used, walking endlessly up and down a ramp pulling the water to the surface from where it runs down into irrigation channels. As the rainfall in Bahrain is almost negligible all agriculture depends upon irrigation. 312

In the 20's and 30's Major Frank Holmes drilled many artesian wells in Bahrain which completely changed Bahrain's system of irrigation. By introducing these wells into the island Major Holmes did much to increase the area of land which could be cultivated, but artesian wells turned out to be a mixed blessing, for in the following years so many wells were drilled that the water head went down and some of the gardens in the south of Bahrain dried up. Today this problem is being met by a government Water Committee which decides whether and under what conditions new wells may be drilled, it tries to ensure that the water resources of the islands are maintained at their present level or even increased by the utilisation of the many large springs of fresh water which lie under the sea around the shores of Bahrain. 312 647 653

The two commonest crops in Bahrain are dates and lucerne (alfalfa). the latter is often grown in the shade of the date palms where its vivid greenness provides a contrast to the brown and grey-green of the date palms. There is little good fruit in Bahrain although a certain number of fruit trees are cultivated, these include citrus, tamarind, pomegranate, fig, guava, terminalia (indian almond) mango, bananas, grapes and kanard (a small apple-like fruit). European vegetables are grown in the cold weather and other ground crops include sweet potatoes, melons, tomatoes, ladies fingers, egg plants, onions, garlic and pumpkins. 241

172 high walls around a central courtyard are all that it consists of, and some
712 of the Omani guns still remain in the towers. The fort was built in 1800 by the Ruler of Muscat, Sultan bin Ahmed, who in that year seized Bahrain from the Khalifah and sent his brother, Sayed Said, to govern the Islands they were soon expelled but later returned. The Muscatis remained in their fort for nine years, but after their expulsion in 1809 by the Khalifah-Saudi alliance the fort was left deserted.

Near Muharraq town is the fort of Abu Mahur, already mentioned in connection with the Portuguese map and named after one of the largest undersea springs in Bahrain, which is situated near it. The fort, which dominates the southern approach to Muharraq and Manama, was built on the island-peninsular of Abu Mahur by Shaikh Abdulla al-Khalifah, who ruled jointly with his brother Sulman, builder of the fort at Rifaa ash-Sharqi. In 1843 Shaikh Abdulla was expelled from Bahrain by his son Muhammad, who was also unable to enjoy a peaceful reign, for after a dispute with Qatar Muhammad was replaced as Ruler of Bahrain by his brother Ali and the British shelled the fort
[744] of Abu Mahur, which was destroyed with the exception of one tower. More recently the remains of the fort and the island was given to the Baluchi retainers of the Khalifah, but in 1930 the Baluchis were given land elsewhere and the island was turned into a Quarantine Station. This is therefore a fort which visitors are not advised to visit.

### THE QANATS

● 312 "Qanat" is the Arabic name for the underground water channels
172 which are found in many parts of Bahrain, particularly in the south-west of the island. Here, among others, is a long channel running inland from Sadad, another brings water to Karzakan from the spring called Ijraiyi, a mile and a half to the north, and a third channel runs from the spring of Malakiya to the village of the same name. These are but a few of the many channels in Bahrain.

312 These channels are present in great numbers in Persia and are also
171 found in eastern Saudi-Arabia and Syria. It is probable that those in Bahrain were first built by the Persians. It is stated in at least one history that they were the work of the Persian King Anushirvan who captured Bahrain from the Arabs in the fourth century A.D. They have often been mentioned by travellers to Bahrain and in a local history it is stated that during a war that took place in the eighth century between the people of Bahrain and an army sent by the Caliph, the Bahrainis made good use of these same channels by passing through them till they reached the rear of the enemy forces and then making a successful surprise attack.

312 The channels were built to prevent the wastage of water from evapor-
172 ation which would have occurred had the water been carried in surface channels, By this method the water is sheltered from the sun and its flow is not hindered by falls of sand or the movements of sand dunes. It seems that the channels were first built as open ditches and then roofed with slabs of sea rock, called feroush. The roofs of the channels are sloping and after construction they were covered with sand to the

level of the ground. Every 10-20 yards along the length of the channels are airholes, round chimneys lined with stone and varying in diameter from 2 to 5 feet. The top of the shaft, which resembles a well head, is surrounded by a low wall. Page 116 shows the channel which has been uncovered and in which the construction of the airholes can clearly be seen. At the shaft of the water channel which runs west of the village of Shakhura there is a large subterranean room which serves the purpose of a bathing hall. It has a high arched roof with columns branching out from a central pillar. It is roofed over and has a hard gypsum floor covered with fine white sand. There is a continual stream of cold water through the chamber, which is still used by the inhabitants from the surrounding villages as a bathing place to which they go in the heat of the summer and sit in comfort in the shady coolness below. It is rumoured that there are more such chambers, but this is the only one that the author has personally visited.

The channels in most cases carry water from springs in the hills a few miles inland to the coastal gardens. Many of them are still used, although others have long since fallen into ruin, but very skilful work was involved in their building and the fact that water still flows in many of them is a conclusive proof of their scientific construction. So far, no inscriptions have been found within them, but there is no doubt that if they were examined with care some signs would be found of their exact origin.

In these four sections most of the antiquities of the Bahrain Islands have been described, for they are unfortunately rare and, with the exception of the Tumuli, the mosques, the forts and the Qanats there, is little of archaeological interest in Bahrain. There are possibilities of future discoveries, however, especially in Bilad al-Qadim which should, as the ancient capital, yield something of interest to any archaeologist who explores its ruins. The numerous Arabic inscriptions would also be worth further study and their translation should add something to the history of Bahrain by giving the names of the various rulers who, at one time or another, built mosques or other buildings and had their good deed inscribed on stone.

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In addition to these works a number of books appear in the general bibliography at the end of this guide which may be consulted for further information about Bahrain's antiquities.

and coffee-shops. This activity continues until about eleven o'clock especially in the summer when it is pleasanter to be out in the open air than indoors.

Manama is supplied with electric light from the Government Power House, situated on the point at the north-east end of Manama. The town water supply, also a Government concern, comes from artesian wells in what used to be the Municipal Garden from where it is pumped into large tanks high above Manama and from there distributed by mains to all parts of the town and to numerous drinking fountains and public baths. This water system, which was installed by Holloway Bros., was completed in 1949, before this the water came from private and public artesian wells and was distributed by water carriers.

### QASARI

It is logical in describing Bahrain to leave Manama by the main road, Awal Road, but a more interesting drive can be taken by following the 2nd class road which branches off from Awal Road beyond the Mental Hospital. After passing through a number of villages of comparatively little interest the road comes to a shaded lane bordered on one side by a lake. This is Ain al-Qasari, whose pool, although more extensive than that at Adari, is shallow and therefore unsuitable for swimming. Here there is a garden and a pleasant little house overlooking the pool, admittance to which is free, which is much frequented by picnicers. In the pool there are fish, some of which are as much as eighteen inches in length, as well as turtles. These are so accustomed to visitors that when people walk along the edge of the water or sit in the house, they swim lazily to the surface, waiting to be thrown pieces of bread or food. In a country consisting mostly of desert, and where a small and dirty pool usually constitutes the local water supply, the attractive appearance of Ain al-Qasari, particularly at sunset, is very agreeable.

There are in fact two springs called Qasari, the second, situated on Awal Road, is better known by the name of the "Dhobis Pool" on account of the large numbers of Indian washermen who mercilessly beat the dirty clothes on slabs of rock, and when they have finished hang them out to dry in long lines by the side of the road. It is a not unusual sight to round a corner of the road and to see before one lines of clothes, billowing in the breeze like wind-socks, and the frantic activity of the dhobis standing in the water in an odd array of clothing attempting to finish their task and dry the laundry before the sun sets.

### BILAD AL-QADIM

A short way beyond Ain al-Qasari is Bilad al-Qadim, literally "The Old Town," formerly the capital of Bahrain, which lies between the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, whose twin minarets are a landmark for navigators, and the Khor Mukhtar inlet on the east coast. Bilad al-Qadim can also be approached from Awal Road opposite the Suq

al-Khamis Mosque and half a mile south of the village there is an inlet of the sea which can be crossed at low tide by a ford which leads to the village of Tubli. 361

Bilad al-Qadim is a Shiite village and was the capital of Bahrain before the Arab conquest of the Islands. It is frequently referred to in local Shiite histories and is described but not named in a number of early Moslem writings. A large area of the town is now in ruins, but its walls and mounds show that it was once a place of considerable size and importance. According to local reports the sandy mound near the School opposite Suq al-Khamis Mosque is all that remains of the fort that protected the town, while the mosque itself was its Friday Mosque. The Thursday Market (Suq al-Khamis), after which the district takes its name, is probably a relic of the time when this was the capital of Bahrain and when goods were brought here from the country for sale, just as today the Wednesday Market serves the same purpose in Manama.

There are several well-known springs in the vicinity including Qasari, which has already been mentioned, the Dhobi Pool and Abu Zaidan. A relic of the old town still stands in the shape of Masjid ar-Rafia, a mosque built over a spring, which is on the west side of the town and contains an ancient Kufic inscription. Date groves and gardens surround the town but many of the inhabitants work in Manama, where some of them own shops. The white buildings in the clearing opposite the Suq al-Khamis Mosque are a Government Boys School and a dispensary. [312]

## ADARI

"The Lido of Bahrain" is a description which is often used for Ain Adari (The Virgin's Pool). It is especially applicable in the summer when every evening buses, cars, lorries and bicycles convey people from Manama to the deep, cool blue waters of the pool where they swim or sit about in the public garden or coffee-shop. Adari is the largest natural spring in Bahrain and the stream which flows from it irrigates many acres of gardens. 312 529

Adari was once a very messy pool where camels and donkeys were watered, but it has been developed by the government into a bathing place. The sides of the pool have been lined with cement and provided with steps, there is a mosque, a coffee shop, bathing huts and diving boards, and around the pool a flower garden where oleandar, bougainvillea and ponciana flourish. The road to Adari, which branches off Awal Road, is indicated by a sign-post about half a mile south of Suq al-Khamis. [491]

## UPPER AND LOWER SEHLAH

These are two villages on opposite sides of Awal Road. Upper Sehlah is a small village of stone and barasti houses built on a hill overlooking the surrounding gardens; in summer the village expands when the date pickers descend on it and put up their barastis. 361 245 221

to the days when the Rulers of Bahrain lived here and ruled the Islands from the castle. Below the fortresss is the spring of Hanani, whose water is the best in Bahrain, and a plain where, in the rainy season, a small lake forms and on disappearing leaves in its place a bright lawn of grass. Rifaa has been expanding rapidly during recent years, the town is spreading to the south-east, and it now possesses boys' and girls' schools and a Municipality. Some members of the Ruling Family still live in the town which has expanded owing to the development of the oil industry, in which some 500 of its male inhabitants are working.

The situation of the town is ideal for strategical purposes, from it it is possible to see Manama, Muharraq and Sitra while the land around it is free of vegetation which could have served to hide the enemy. It has an excellent climate and is drier than Manama in the summer. To the north of the town are two small graves where members of the Khalifah family are buried; these fell in battle during a civil war which took place in the 19th century.

There is a tradition connected with the fortress of Rifaa. It is said to have been built in the 17th century by the Wazir of the then Ruler, a certain Shaikh Jabbara. For years the Ruler and his wazir worked together, but one day the Shaikh was told about the beauty of the wazir's wife, and he desired her. He was tricked into believing that he had visited her, though in fact he was entertained by her maid-servant. He was so angry at the deception, about which the wazir knew nothing, that he killed him. The Wazir's widow thereupon fled from Rifaa to the mainland, from where she wrote to the Shah of Persia sending him a minature palm tree of pearls and gold and saying that so rich was Bahrain that such a tree was given to a child as a toy. She succeeded in exciting the avarice of the Persian Shah, who sent an army to Bahrain, defeated and killed Shaikh Jabbara, and annexed the Islands to Persia, thus avenging the Wazir's wife. This same Shaikh Jabbara is said to have lived in the fort of Amr, south-east of the Jebel, which is mentioned in Chapter VIII.

There is a third Rifaa, a small community built by BAPCO for its Indian and Pakstani employees; this is mentioned in the Chapter on Bahrain's Oil.

### AWALI

Meaning "The High Places," this name was given by Shaikh Hamed, the late Ruler of Bahrain, to the oil camp when it was first established in its present location. Before the oil company arrived in Bahrain the site was deserted—for who would live in the middle of a waterless desert? But the company wanted to build their town near the oil field, and so the small, 240 foot, hill was chosen. Today Awali somewhat resembles a London surburb or a small American town. As in London, varied gardens and different coloured exteriors of the houses serve to disguise their basic similarity. In these gardens children play while their mothers chat to each other over the fences. Happy

by Sunni Arabs who were prosperous when the pearling industry flourished but who depend today upon fishing, the oil company and transporting jus from Hawar for their living. In the summer the heat and the shortage of water (for although Jaw has a well it is brackish and more to the taste of the date palms that grow around it than to the people) drive most of the inhabitants to migrate to Sitra. Jaw was once spread some distance along the shore, as can be seen from the ruins that surround it, and in addition to having been a pearling centre it was inhabited by the people of Zubara when they wanted to escape the tyrannical rule of the Wahhabis in the 19th century. Jaw is the point on Bahrain nearest to Zubara and the Qatar coast, and for that reason it was always garrisoned when there was a threat to Bahrain from the mainland, but today the Police Camel Corps, which is stationed there, is to prevent the smuggling into Bahrain of Arabs from the Trucial Coast who come seeking work.

North of Jaw on the road to the Refinery is Asker and opposite it the island of Mushaikha, where an old tomb is the centre of pilgrimage for one of the Moslem sects, the Buharas. The interior of the tomb is filled with bottles of rose water, brought by pilgrims as offerings. Asker itself is a village much like Jaw and Dour.

### JIDHAFS

We must now return to Manama and follow the other road that leads out of the town, this time in the direction of Budaiya. After passing through some miles of gardens the road reaches Jidhafs, a large village, which is also said to have been at one time the capital of Bahrain. Its inhabitants have a reputation for being enterprising and go-ahead, they have recently demonstrated this by deciding to build a club, the first in any of the villages, although in the towns there are many. Jidhafs contains one of the Shiite Juma Mosques and Friday Prayer is said there. It may seem strange that this should be a claim to fame, but according to Moslem custom only certain mosques are used for the Friday Prayers which is intended to encourage large congregations and to prevent the dispersal of the faithful in all the other mosques.

Like all the villagers, those of Jidhafs enjoy a visit to the town every now and then, and in the evenings bus loads of men and many cyclists can be seen coming in to town to enjoy themselves by going to the cinema or sitting gossiping with their friends in the coffee-shops to the blare of wireless music.

South of Jidhafs in the direction of Suq al-Khamis is the village of Ain al-Dar; although today it presents a quiet and peaceful appearance it was once the headquarters of a notorious gang of robbers who used a ruined house, inhabited by a lunatic, as a cache for storing their loot.

### BUDAIYA

This strange town, on the north-western tip of Bahrain Island, is connected with Manama by a good motor road which runs through the village of Jidhafs. Budaiya used to be a large town, divided into Two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya.

### ZELLAQ

361 342 South again of Malakiya is Zellaq, the southernmost village on the western Coast of Bahrain and approximately three miles west of Sakhir. A road runs from Zellaq to Awali and is much used by BAPCO employees coming to swim at the former place. The houses of Zellaq village, which are of stone, are built along the shore and many of them are large and spacious. As a result of the activities of BAPCO, Zellaq village has increased in size and prosperity and now contains a number of substantial white stone buildings which are conspicuous from a long distance across the flat and sandy plain that surrounds it.

162 311 The inhabitants of Zellaq are Sunni Arabs; some are from the Dawasir tribe, and many of them are dependents of the Ruling Family. North of the village there are a number of large gardens, irrigated by innumerable artesian wells, which are owned by members of the Ruling Family and by their servants; these gardens form a green belt along the two miles of coast between Zellaq and Sedad.

312 517 The Bahrain Petroleum Company has a pump house at Zellaq which supplies Awali with much of its water and Zellaq was also once the discharging point for tankers bringing crude oil from Saudi Arabia, before the submarine pipe-line was laid. Near the pumping station is the BAPCO Plage, the excellent bathing place which is much used by the employees of BAPCO, particularly in the Summer evenings.

### RAS AL-BARR

529 484 481 This, the southernmost point of the Bahrain islands, is a popular place for summer picnics, but the approaches to it are difficult, and although never dangerous they can easily cause trouble to visitors by the softness of the sand. It is best to travel in parties with not less than two cars, so that one can come to the help of the other if necessary, and care should be taken to keep to the tracks, however faintly indicated rather than to carve out new roads in the desert. The road to Ras al-Barr from Zellaq first passes through Mutalla, the Ruler's hunting lodge, while that from Awali past the Jebel passes another hunting lodge at Rumaitha before joining the Western road at Akala. From here the road goes south, past the swamps on the coast and along the narrow strip of sand which marks the end of the island.

136 262 In certain seasons of the year the shores along this part of Bahrain are covered with the eggs of sea-birds, and many Arab dhows anchor off the coast while the crews remove the eggs for food. If one is lucky, while driving down the coast, hare and gazelle may be seen, as well as rose-tinted flamingoes on the shore.

## MUHARRAQ ISLAND

### MUHARRAQ

491 486 The visitor from Manama approaches Muharraq by crossing the 1½ mile long causeway and Shaikh Hamed Bridge, completed in 1942,

There is a bus service between Hedd and Muharraq and also a few taxi cabs in the town. 414

In addition to the towns of Muharraq and Hedd the island of Muharraq is fringed by many villages ; going north round the coast from Muharraq town they include Busatin, Dair, Raiya, Galali and Arad. The first three villages contain many homes of members of the Ruling Family and are especially popular in the summer when the Muharraq weather is considered superior to that of Manama. Galali is a sizeable village inhabited by fishermen and industrial workers, while Arad is the centre of the agriculture of the island and is built near a large pool in the centre of the date gardens on Arad peninsular. The inhabitants of the village work in the gardens, but on the shores of the Bay near the old Omani fort is a large village built entirely of barastis. In the summer this temporary village is entirely filled with people from Muharraq who spend the nights here, crossing by ferry every day to Muharraq town. 361

In general Muharraq island is very low-lying, so much so that it was thought at one time that there was a danger of the sea affecting the efficiency of the Airport, but this has been removed by pumping stations around the field which remove, when necessary, surplus water from the runways. It was, however, found necessary to build a raised road from Muharraq town to Hedd, for when there was any rain or an exceptionally high tide the road was often blocked. 133 491

### UMM ASH-SHAGAR ISLANDS AND UMM ASH-SHIYAIRA

These are the two islands that lie to the south of Hedd town; the former, to the north, is covered with small stone and barasti houses; the second, whose name is a diminutive of the first, contains only barastis and is inhabited by fishermen. 361 101

### THE ISLANDS

In addition to these two, there are several other small islands south of Muharraq, of which the three largest, although none of them is more than a few hundred square yards in area, are Halat-as-Suluta, Halat-al-Khulaifat and Abu Mahur.

The first two islands lie to the south of Arad peninsular and at low tide they are joined by a sand-bar which permits walking between them. They contain small villages, whose people derive their livlihood from fishing, and they are lucky enough to have on them fresh water springs. Abu Mahur, the third and largest island, is in fact named after one of the largest of these springs, which is in the sea a short distance from the shore. The fort of Abu Mahur is now in ruins but the island is now used as a quarantine station. 361 226

The fresh water submarine springs south of Muharraq and the manner in which the people obtain water from them has astounded 312

many of the travellers who have visited the islands. Men with deflated sheepskins dive down to the spring and place the mouth of the skin over the place where the fresh water emerges ; the skin then fills with fresh water and when full the diver comes to the surface. Before artesian wells were drilled in Bahrain both Muharraq and Manama obtained much of their water in this way, but today, owing to artesian piped wells and water systems, the undersea springs are little used except those to the north of Bahrain near the pearling banks. A Turkish traveller who visited Bahrain in 1554, Sidi Ali, says of the submarine springs, "The sailors provided with a leather sack, dive down into the sea and bring the fresh water from the bottom for Rais Murad's (the Governor of Bahrain) use. This water is particularly pleasant and cold in spring time. God's Power is boundless !" There is a legend concerning the spring of Abu Mahur which says that in the time of the Caliph Merwan (684-685) a certain Ibn Hakim, a chief in Qatif, wished to marry the lovely daughter of a Bahrain shaikh. His suit was refused and so he attacked the islands and captured all the wells which supplied the towns on Bahrain Island, but the guardian diety of the Bahrainis caused the well Abu Mahur to appear in the sea near Muharraq to succour his people.

### NABIH SALIH

A most attractive island is Nabih Salih, set in the Khor-al-Kab between Umm al-Hassan and the mainland of Bahrain. With its thick cultivation, for the date palms run right down to the sea shore, and its many springs, including a large pool much frequented by bathers, Nabih Salih is a very popular place for visitors. In addition to its pool it is a place of pilgrimage for the Shia of Bahrain who go to pay their respects to the tomb of Salih after whom the island is named. The date palms of the island are particularly fine, they compare very favourably with those elsewhere in Bahrain, which is mainly due to the pool already mentioned, Safahiya, which irrigates much of the island. Nabih Salih can be visited by launch or sailing boat, the nearest point to it on Bahrain is Ain al-Hakim ; boats can also be obtained from Umm al-Hasan or from Sitra. People have been known to swim to the island, but this is not the only way of getting there and in the summer this method is inclined to be rather exhausting.

### SITRA

South of Nabih Salih and close to the coast of Bahrain is Sitra Island, which in addition to its many villages and gardens contains the Tank Farm and Drum Plant of BAPCO and the land end of the jetty. The site of these installations is a strip of bare and often sea-swept sands, but to the north of the island there are many gardens and a sizeable pool, Ain Raha, which is much visited by the people of Muharraq and Manama. Among the villages of North Sitra are Wadiyan, Sufala, Kharijya and Kuriya. Near the third village is a school and police station. To the south of the island is Umm al-Baidh, literally "Mother

of the Egg," a small village with many seafaring inhabitants. To the north of Sitra there is a very pleasant sandy beach looking towards Umm a-Hasan where there is excellent bathing; the view also includes Nabih Salih and Jaziyra. There is deep water to the north of Sitra, and it is here that the Bahrain Government is building the new Port of Manama with a pier running into deep water from the shore between Umm al-Hasan and Jufair.

### JIDDA

This island is about 2½ miles from Budaiya. It is small and rocky and in appearance unlike any of the other Bahrain Islands. Its high cliffs rise abruptly from the water and a few fort-like buildings are silhouetted against the sky-line. On the south side of the island there is a level strip of land which is extensively cultivated. Jidda is Bahrain's penal settlement; here all long term prisoners are detained, spending their time cutting stone, weaving and working in the gardens. There is a small house on the top of the cliffs above the jetty which catches all the wind in the summer and which is used by the Adviser to the Bahrain Government. Being a prison island, Jidda is forbidden to general visitors.

The stone quarries at Jidda are of great age and it is likely that the large stones which line the graves in the burial mounds were cut here. There is an Arabic inscription roughly cut on one of the cliffs which reads as follows :

"During the month of Shaban in the year 968 (April/May, 1561) there was completed the cutting of the 100,000th rock for the mending of the tower of the Bahrain fort in the wazirate of the Great Wazir Jilal ad-Din Murad Mahmud by the hand of the slave . . ." (a few words after this are unreadable).

### UMM AN-NASAAN

This, the second largest of the Bahrain islands, lies a few miles across the shallow water to the south of Jidda. It is sandy and flat, with the exception of two small limestone hills towards its centre which break the monotony of its shape. At the north end of the island there are several natural springs and artesian wells from which extensive date gardens are irrigated; they were planted by the late Ruler of Bahrain, H.H. Shaikh Hamed, who also established on the island a herd of black buck and gazelle, the former being imported from India and the latter from the mainland of Bahrain.

There is evidence of ancient habitations on Umm an-Nasan, foundations of many old houses are visible and sherds of pottery can be picked up. Local legend has it that Nasaan, after whom the island is named, was one of the early rulers of Bahrain, but this legend has not been substantiated by historical research.

## HOWAR ISLANDS

101 This group of 16 islands is about twelve miles south-east of Ras al-Barr. It consists of one large island, Howar itself, which is about eleven miles long and a mile in breadth, and fifteen other islands much smaller in size. In the centre of the main island there is a rocky [361] eminence known as al-Jebal. There are only two villages, the larger one at the northern end on the shore of the bay consists of stone huts [625] with mat roofs (Kubbar); it also has a small mosque. The Bahrain State Police maintain a garrison on the island, in a fort which dominates [162] the bay and from the roof of which the Qatar peninsular is visible. The islands are inhabited by fishermen from Bahrain and also by men [312] who come to cut gypsum which they sell in Bahrain. The water supply of the island is very limited and consists of old cisterns cut out of living rock which are filled by rain. Attempts to drill for water have failed, but in the years when there is normal or plentiful rainfall the island provides good grazing for camels and sheep. Fishing in the 133 bay is excellent, the water is comparatively deep and a launch can 503 come alongside the short jetty. The southern tip of the island is so close to the Qatar coast that when the tide is out boats cannot pass between the island and the shore, but at one place between Howar and Qatar, a long narrow channel has been hewn out of the coral sea bed to allow boats to pass through a shallow stretch of water. This submarine canal was made by a certain Isa ibn Tarif, a notorious pirate, who played an important part in the history of Bahrain during the middle of the last century; he used the channel as a passage to his fortress on the Qatar coast from where he sallied forth to attack the shipping around Bahrain.

132 The climate of Howar is noticeably better than in Bahrain, it is drier and cooler during the summer nights, but has no other amenities to attract visitors fleeing from the dampness of Bahrain, and at present its only visitors go there for work and not for pleasure.

## ZUBARA

361 On the coast of the Qatar peninsular opposite the Bahraini village
172 of Jaw is the ruined town and the bay of Zubara, which has already been mentioned in detail in the history of Bahrain in Part II. The town of Zubara is on the east of the bay and stretches about 1½ miles along the coast and 2 miles inland. The ruins of the town are still impressive. The high wall which surrounds the wide straight streets and the fine mosques, the obvious care with which the town was laid out, speaks well for those who governed it. Further east of the town, at a distance of about two miles across the desert, is the great fort; some of the walls and the mosque are still standing. At the corners of the walls are towers with slits for rifles and the domed roof of the mosque presents an attractive picture. The whole building is made from local stone and little gypsum was used in its construction. Within the fort there are two wells one of which is dry, but the other still

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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A roadside Mosque. Photo : Sir Charles Belgrave.

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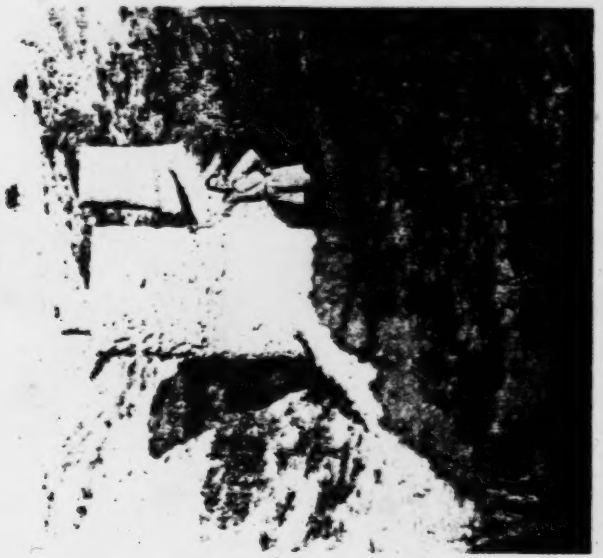

A Qanat (Water Channel) Photo : The Author.

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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The Results of a Fishing Expedition. Photo: Y. A. Shirawi.

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A Village Pool, North Sinra. Photo: The Author.

Rifaa Ash-Sharqi. Photo: The Author.

526

A Bahrain Football Team.

visa either directly to the Bahrain Government or to the nearest British Consulate which will, after reference to the Bahrain Government, accept or reject the application on the latter's behalf. Passengers arriving in Bahrain without visas are likely to find themselves on the next plane outward bound. 486

Travellers from Bahrain who require visas for other countries must apply for them to H.B.M.'s Political Agency. In some cases the Agency is able to issue these visas on behalf of the foreign countries, but in the case of others it will be found necessary to apply for visas directly to the nearest consulate of the country concerned. H.B.M's Political Agency are in a position to inform prospective travellers about the latest regulations on this subject.

## TAXES

There is no income tax in Bahrain, but for owners of houses and other premises within the Municipal areas of Manama, Muharraq, Hedd and Rifaa there is a small Municipal tax. 651

## WATER AND ELECTRICITY

Within the Municipal area of Manama both water and electricity is provided by the State. 312 377

Within the Municipal area of Muharraq electricity only is provided by the State. 655

Rates for these amenities are as follows :—

| *Electricity.* | *Water.* |
|---|---|
| First 50 units per month, 4 *annas* per unit. | 1,000 gallons *Rs.*1 *As.*14. |
| Next 200 units per month, 3 *annas* per unit. | Meter rent, 8 annas per month. |
| Over 250 units per month, 2 *annas* per unit. | Minimum charge, *Rs.*1 *As.*14 per month. |
| Meter rent 8 *annas* per month. | |
| Minimum charge *Rs.*1 or 4 units per month. | |

## CURRENCY

Local currency in use in Bahrain at the time of writing is the Indian Rupee, worth, at the current rate of exchange, 1/6d. 436

Coinage is as follows :—

12 pice make 1 anna.
4 pies make 1 anna.
16 annas make 1 rupee.

The following coins and notes are in circulation :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 pice (1/12 anna) | copper | 1 rupee | nickel and note |
| 1 pie (¼ anna) | copper | 2 rupees | note |
| 1 anna | nickel and brass | 5 rupees | note |
| 2 annas | nickel and brass | 10 rupees | note |
| 4 annas | nickel | 100 rupees | note |
| 8 annas | nickel | | |

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



## MAIN WATER SUPPLY

### OPERATING ACCOUNT

S. 1370

| Expenditure | Rs. | Rs. | Revenue | Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| To Establishment Costs | 31,496 4 7 | | By Sales of Water and Rental of Metres | 2,03,761 3 0 |
| To Electric Power at Pump House | 15,622 0 0 | | By Miscellaneous Receipts | 5,460 0 0 |
| To Upkeep and Repairs to Mains | 22,745 0 0 | 69,863 4 7 | | |
| To Reserves for Bad Debts | 2,105 0 0 | | | |
| To Depreciation on Capital fixtures | 1,13,630 0 0 | 1,15,735 0 0 | | |
| *Balance being Profit* carried to Profit and Loss Account | | 23,622 14 5 | | |
| | Rs. | 2,09,221 3 0 | Rs. | 2,09,221 3 0 |

### PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT

| | Rs. | | Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To loss at end of 1369 | 1,45,788 14 2 | By Profit for 1370 brought forward | 23,622 14 5 |
| | | By Loss carried forward to 1371 account | 1,22,165 15 9 |
| Rs. | 1,45,788 14 2 | Rs. | 1,45,788 14 2 |

YEAR 1371

### OPERATING ACCOUNT

| Expenditure | Rs. | Revenue | Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Establishment Costs | 51,415 12 4 | By Sales of Water and Rental of Meters | 2,50,422 0 0 |
| To Electric Power at Pump House | 17,435 14 0 | By Miscellaneous Receipts | 3,780 12 0 |
| To Upkeep and Repairs of Mains | 13,585 0 0 | | |
| To Depreciation | 1,29,284 0 0 | | |
| | 2,11,720 10 4 | | |
| *Balance being profit* carried to Profit and Loss Account | 42,482 1 8 | | |
| Rs. | 2,54,202 12 0 | Rs. | 2,54,202 12 0 |

### PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT

| | Rs. | | Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Loss at end of 1370 | 1,22,165 15 9 | By profit for 1371 account | 42,482 11 8 |
| | | By Loss carried forward to 1372 A/c | 79,683 14 1 |
| Rs. | 1,22,165 15 9 | Rs. | 1,22,165 15 9 |

YEAR 1372

### OPERATING ACCOUNT

| Expenditure | Rs. | Revenue | Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Establishment Costs | 59,876 6 0 | By Sales of Water and Rental of Meters | 2,71,411 1 0 |
| To Electric Power at Pump House | 15,500 10 0 | By Miscellaneous Receipts | 6,322 12 0 |
| To Upkeep and Repairs of Mains | 15,224 11 3 | | |
| To Depreciation (see note below) | 1,67,583 0 0 | | |
| | 2,58,184 11 3 | | |
| *Balance being Profit* carried to Profit and Loss Account | 19,549 11 9 | | |
| Rs. | 2,77,734 7 0 | Rs. | 2,77,734 7 0 |

### PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT

| | Rs. | | Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Loss at end of 1371 | 79,683 14 1 | By Profit for 1372 account | 19,549 11 9 |
| | | By Loss carried forward to 1373 A/c | 60,134 2 4 |
| Rs. | 79,683 14 1 | Rs. | 79,683 14 1 |

NOTE : The rate of depreciation on Water Meters has been doubled this year ; and an extra sum of Rs. 25,000 charged against expenditure, to cover the increase.

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653 491

In the last ten years several new roads have been made by the Government, linking up existing roads, such as the road from Sehlah to a point on the Budeya road opposite the Portuguese Fort and the road from the top of Rafaa hill to East Rafaa, which used to be inaccessible except from down in the valley.

There is still need for several more roads, especially for one connecting Aali with Manamah, which will take the donkey traffic which comes into Manamah from the villages around Aali. The main road to Radm al Koweri cannot be widened any more, except at great expense, as it is bordered on both sides by valuable date gardens, and the mixture of motor traffic and laden donkeys, which disregard all traffic rules, is a constant source of accidents. The country people themselves, through the Shia Wakf committee, have asked that a donkey track should be made so that they need not use the motor road.

653 491 346

**Buildings. Suk al Khamis Mosque.**

In 1346 (1927-28) the ancient mosque at Suk al Khamis, which was in a dangerously dilapidated condition, was restored by the Government, which at the same time straightened out the main road which previously made a wide detour. Earlier attempts to bring the road past the mosque had been opposed by the Shia villagers, but because they were pleased at the Government's action in repairing the mosque, no objections were made about the road.

This mosque was described by Von Ernst Diez, who visited it in 1914, as being a mosque of the year 740 H. (1339-40). The ornamentation of the wooden pillars and cross beams are of particular importance and interest. Over twenty years ago all the wood in the mosque disappeared. During the last few months I have found, and been able to recover from a neighbouring village, several of the beams and large pieces of wood containing the carvings which were described and illustrated by Diez and which he ascribed to the ninth or tenth century.

653 312

**Idari Water Channel and Mosque.**

During this and the following year the Government, at the request of the landowners whose property is irrigated from Idari spring, built a cement water channel from the main spring to the high road, a distance of about 1,200 yards. The cost of the work, Rs 21,000/-, was paid by the owners of the gardens. At the same time the Government built a small mosque, on the site of an older one, on the bank of the pool. During the last year, further improvements have been made at Idari, and a quantity of flowering trees and bushes have been planted there. The pool during the summer is visited by thousands of people, who bathe there.

653 346

**Manamah School and Workshop.**

The school was begun in 1347 (1928-29) and completed in the following year. The cost of the Manamah School, and a small school which was built at the same time at Suk al Khamis, was Rs 39,000/-. There are ten class-rooms in Manamah, capable of accommodating about three hundred boys, and a large hall which has on one occasion held six hundred people. The building is of stone and cement and is on one floor.

During the present year a workshop has been built close to the school on the opposite side of the road. This became necessary as the carpentry and engineering classes made so much noise when working in the main building that other classes were disturbed.

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**Barracks, Police Station.**

In 1353 (1934-35) a new barrack room was built in the Fort in place of some of the old rooms, which became uninhabitable. The original building was made of stones fastened together with mud, plaster, and covered with a thin coating of lime plaster. Every year for the last ten years portions of the main wall of the Fort have fallen down, and most of the old quarters inside the Fort are in a dangerous condition.

A second barrack room was built in 1936, and also a new armoury and three motor garages, and in 1937 the north-west tower, which had fallen in, was rebuilt and part of the walls were faced with cement and thoroughly repaired.

The larger of the two barrack rooms, which is 114 feet long and 22 feet wide, with three doors and fifteen windows, and also clere windows, accommodates forty men and cost Rs 7,300/-

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

632 Until 1348 the Government paid Rs 48,000/- per annum to municipal funds, and the municipality paid Rs 24,000/- to the Government towards public protection.

632 491

**Municipal Achievement.**

Manamah. It is in Manamah that the work of the municipality is most conspicuous, partly because Manamah Municipality has had more money to spend and has existed for longer than the Muharraq Municipality.

**Roads.**

The most noticeable work in Manamah during the last ten years is the construction of roads and the widening of streets in the bazaar area. Ten years ago there were very few parts of the bazaar which could be reached in a car, and even the most important shops were situated in narrow lanes. Now most of the principal bazaars are accessible to cars. The wider streets, which are in some places permanently roofed, are more healthy and sanitary and are easier to keep clean. The style of building has changed: people are no longer contented with low, dark shops, but build high, airy showrooms with windows in which their goods can be displayed. Although the first people to set this fashion were foreign shop-keepers, their example was very soon followed by the local traders, especially as, during the last two years, rents of good shops and offices, as well as houses, have risen considerably.

632 744 ● 382

**Conservancy, Sanitation, Water Supply, Malaria.**

For many years a municipal contractor was employed to clean the town; his work was satisfactory in the conspicuous parts of the bazaar and town, but not satisfactory in the back quarters of Manamah. The municipality now does the work itself, with more successful results. On the whole, the town is very clean and free from smells. One of the greatest problems which the municipality has to deal with is the reclamation of low ground behind the town, where water lies stagnant after the rainy season for many months. Originally the people of Manamah dug mud from this site for building houses, and now a large area of ground is only a few feet above sea level, so low that all attempts to drain the water into the sea have proved unsuccessful. During the last two years, special grants of Rs 10,000/- have been made by the Government to the municipality for filling this ground. The work is not yet complete.

Until a few years ago sanitation in Manamah consisted of cesspits in every house, which were emptied once or twice a year. The system was satisfactory; the municipal inspectors reported any leaking drains or insufficiently covered cesspits. Lately, however, many householders have installed a water supply, and an attempt at modern sanitation. In the case of houses on reclaimed land and near the sea, the drains flow into the sea, but the drainage conditions of houses distant from the sea is not satisfactory. A sewer which was built from the Municipal Garden to the sea, at the cost of over Rs 7,000/-, has not proved a success owing to the small difference in level between the garden and the sea, and drains which empty into this sewer have flowed backwards. At the time of writing, work is being done on the sewer, and it is hoped that it will eventually serve its intended purpose.

The water supply in Manamah now consists of a number of artesian wells, some of which are private property, others having been made by the Government. The Government and the municipality have issued regulations to prevent waste of water and the collection of stagnant water where mosquitoes will breed; these regulations are effective in the town. During certain months of the year, in the spring and autumn, there are a great many mosquitoes in Manamah and Muharraq. It has, I think, been proved that the main mosquito-breeding place is inside houses in the large earthenware water jars which are kept in every compound, usually in a dark corner under a shed. They are never emptied, but are refilled when the supply gets low. Until now the municipal council and the public have strongly opposed all suggestions that the water jars should be inspected. In Rafaa and Sakhir there are always quantities of mosquitoes, and these places are many miles from any gardens or water, which is an additional proof that the mosquitoes breed inside the houses. The municipalities spray oil on all standing water and take all possible steps to deal with breeding places which are not inside houses, but their officials have no authority to enter houses and inspect them.

At a future time it will be necessary to consider installing a regular town water supply, and possibly a drainage system as well. It is possible that a water system with a tap in every house would obviate the need of water jars and reduce the number of mosquitoes.

● 312

*Above*
An Artesian Well
(Showing head of water)

*Below*
A Natural Spa (Adari)

[facing p 414]

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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The municipalities are valuable vehicles for carrying out sanitary and health measures among the public. It is easier to introduce unpopular rules, such as anti-malaria regulations, through the municipalities than by direct Government action.

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**Fire Precautions, etc.** In several parts of the town there are quantities of barasti houses made of palm branches; these buildings are very inflammable. When fires occur in these neighbourhoods the flames spread rapidly. The Manamah Municipality some years ago built fire stations in various parts of the town, equipped with a fire bell and tins of sand for use in emergency. The storing of more than a certain number of tins of petrol and paraffin inside the town was also forbidden, and for this reason the Anglo-Persian Oil Company were given a piece of ground on the sea shore beyond Manamah, on which they built an oil and petrol store. The Government has now ordered a fire engine from England, and when this arrives, valves will be fitted on to the artesian wells in the town so that the engine can fill from any well. The fire engine will be in charge of the police, and will be kept at the Fort.

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**Markets and Food Regulations.** During the last ten years the municipality has greatly improved the conditions under which food is sold in the bazaars. Animals used to be slaughtered in the town opposite the Municipal Building, and the meat was sold under filthy conditions in a line of palm branch shops whose mud floors were never clean. The monopoly for the meat market and the slaughter-house was in the hands of Shaikh Sulman bin Shaikh Hamad. The municipality, in 1346, built a slaughter-house on the shore at Kozaibia, actually in the sea, connected to the shore by a pier, and by means of an arrangement with Shaikh Sulman a proper stone meat market was built adjoining the Municipal Building. The municipality eventually, with the assistance of the Government, purchased Shaikh Sulman's rights over the slaughter-house, which is now a municipal concern. The negotiations, unfortunately, caused considerable ill-feeling, but the final results were satisfactory.

In 1931 a fish market was built, and during the present year three large steel markets have been erected by His Highness on his own property in the Suk al Arba, which are to be used as vegetable, lucerne, and fruit markets. These buildings, and a number of new stone shops, occupy a site which previously contained barasti buildings. After a serious fire at the end of 1936, the whole of the area was laid bare, and it was then possible to rebuild the markets, replacing straw shelters with stone shops and steel buildings.

Many regulations have been passed by the municipality affecting foodstuffs; dried fish, which has an evil smell, can only be sold in a certain area; the food sold in the hotels and coffee shops is regularly examined by municipal inspectors, who are also responsible for the cleanliness of soda factories. Other matters affecting food in which the municipality has shown an interest—sometimes a rather officious interest—are prevention of short-weight bread, use of soda, adulteration of real ghee with cheap vegetable ghee, short-weight rice, and also standardisation of weights and measures. During Ramadhan, the municipality buys a quantity of sheep and sells meat at cost price in order to assist the poor. Other charitable work which is done by the municipality is the payment of compensation to poor persons whose houses are destroyed in fires, and the burial of paupers.

**Public Health Measures.** In 1931 the municipality opened a lunatic asylum, which was badly needed. It is under the supervision of the Quarantine Medical Officer. The inmates are men and women, and it usually contains about a dozen patients.

The need for a leper settlement has been often discussed by the council, but this has been postponed until the Government has its own medical officer. There are a number of lepers in Bahrain, especially in the country villages, and undoubtedly steps should be taken to segregate them. Foreign lepers, when they are discovered, are immediately sent home to their own countries.

Attempts to enforce compulsory vaccination have not yet succeeded, though the need for this is appreciated by many members of the council.

Both in Manamah and Muharraq there are municipal midwives—Indian—who also have free dispensaries and clinics for women and children. The Government has recently opened a second

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# INTRODUCTION

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131 About midway of the Persian Gulf and some fifteen miles off the coast of Arabia, lie the Bahrein Islands at the mouth of the Gulf of Bahrein, of which the Qatar Peninsula forms the western side. There are five principal islands, only two of which are of real consequence. The largest and by far the most important is variously called Awal, Al Manāmah after the principal city, or more commonly just Bahrein. The last is the modern designation.

103 In ancient times, the name "Bahrein" was applied to a larger area which included the Arabian mainland of Qatar and Hajar and the land situated between Mesopotamia and the Gulf of Oman (the Indian Ocean); this area took in the entire southern coast of the Persian Gulf. This has caused widespread misinterpretation of much of the writings of pre-Islamic and Medieval historians. Throughout this book we shall use the term "Bahrein" in its modern sense to refer to the archipelago of Bahrein proper or to the central island, except where the mainland province is clearly indicated.

132
511 Bahrein today has few attractions. There is not much to recommend it as a place of residence, as it is intensely hot for about seven months of the year, and for many of the native inhabitants lacking in comfortable living conditions. For tourists it is rather off the beaten track. Nevertheless, through the centuries these bits of land have been considered well worth fighting for by both European and Asiatic empires.

228
648
312 The reason for Bahrein's unusual and enduring importance can be summed up in two words—pearls and strategy. The pearl fisheries of Bahrein have been known all over the world since the dawn of history and, thanks to an abundance of fresh water springs, the island was a frequent stopping place for ships on the trade routes to India and the Far East.

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175 The Portuguese, the first European power to have an Asiatic colonial empire, fought hard for possession of the islands.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

131 Arabia and somewhat closer to the Qatar Peninsula. Manama, the capital, is at 26°13′ north and 50°35′ east.[1]

The archipelago is formed by five principal islands and a number of smaller ones, of which only one is of real importance. It is variously called Awal,[2] Manama after the principal city, or more commonly just Bahrein. Curiously shaped in the semblance of a sea horse,[3] the island is only twenty miles long and ten miles across at the widest point.

312 Bahrein would be totally uninhabitable if it were not for an abundance of fresh water (believed to come through channels under the sea bottom from somewhere in Arabia, probably the Tuwaik mountains) which supplies about two hundred springs and many artesian wells. It is likely that some of these springs were formerly under the sea, since the islands are surrounded by coral formations and in such places the sea always tends to become shallower and dry land to increase. In the northern part of the principal island the water is plentiful enough to produce luxuriant gardens and palm groves, and on the other islands irrigation farming is carried on extensively.

Fresh water springs are also found on the shallow ocean bottom. In former times the natives dived into the sea to collect drinking water in collapsed goatskins. Some water sellers used more scientific methods, however, sinking bamboo tubes to the level of the springs, then collecting the water as it rose above sea level.

## GEOLOGY

133 Bahrein lies on a portion of the ancient Tethys geosynclinal belt represented today by the Persian Gulf. The formation of the principal island is the result of pressure from the mountainous masses of Persia against the crystalline platform of central Asia, the thrust being absorbed by a gentle folding in the

1. The British Political Agency is at lat. 26°14′09.95″ N. and long. 50°35′00.39″ E.
2. The etymology of the word *Awal* is "fish" or "whale."
3. See map, back of book.

geosyncline. The structure of Bahrein is that of a large, single, closed dome covering the entire faulting. 133

Rocks exposed at the surface consist of:

1. Recent sands and coquinas forming flat, raised beaches surrounding the island from which the surface rises gradually to an elevation 150 to 200 feet above sea level. At this point it breaks away into inward-facing cliffs eighty to one hundred feet high completely surrounding an oval central depression about twelve miles long and four wide.
2. Pleistocene sands, cross bedded and probably wind deposited, lying in the canyons.
3. Meiocene silicious clay covering a very limited area.
4. Eocene limestone covering most of the island, the central region of which, known as "Jabal Dukhān" or "Mountain of Smoke," rises to a point 439 feet above sea level. The limestone is very porous and is the source of most of the water in the northern half of the island. [312]

Because of the coral formations surrounding the islands, the sea approach is shallow, so that only vessels of very light draft can land. Ships drawing as much as twenty feet anchor from two to four miles out in the Gulf, and those of greater draft from fourteen to seventeen miles out. Shallow boats are used for all transfers of passengers or freight, and the Standard Oil Company was obliged to construct a submarine pipeline three miles long to convey oil from Bahrein Island to its tankers. 133 503

## CLIMATE

The Bahrein Islands possess one of the most trying climates in the world. It is intensely hot for about seven months of the year and the humidity stays near the saturation point. The annual average temperature is 78° F. with a corresponding relative humidity of 73%. The hottest month is August, when the mean temperature is 92° and between noon and 3 P.M. may 132

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Manama, is the capital of the State, and is the official residence of the Sheik. The Sheik holds court and administers justice once a week on the balcony of the municipal building and petty criminals are publicly flogged by red-turbaned policemen in the market place immediately below.

Manama is also the seat of the higher court composed of two members of the family of the Sheik and presided over by the British Adviser. The British Political Agent, who is under the authority of the Persian Gulf Political Agent at Bushir (in Persia), also has his residence in Manama.

BADAIYA'A is located at the northwestern end of the island, a mile from the coast. The majority of its eight thousand inhabitants belong to the Dawāsīr tribes, famous for their ability as divers. Following the political upheaval of 1923,[1] the Dawāsīr evacuated the town and fled to Damān on the mainland, but the majority later returned.

Near Badaiya'a are the two important centers of *Diraz* and *Jamra.*

ZALLĀQ. Situated on the west coast, this is another important center inhabited by the Dawāsīr fishermen and divers.

BALAD AL-KADIM. Really a cluster of several villages, this is, after Manama, the most active native center, with many palm groves and artesian wells. Its small but important population consists mostly of Baharinah farmers and fishermen. A short distance from the village is the small Sūq al Kaamīs where the Thursday market is held. Half a mile farther on is the famed water source of Abu Zidān with a religious school near by and a noted minaret in the Persian style, reminder of Iranian supremacy.

BURI, another village inhabited entirely by the Baharinah, is located about seven miles south of Manama. It is a date producing center with ten to twelve thousand palm trees.

JIDD HAFS is located about three miles west of Manama on the highway joining that town to Badaiy'a. Populated by the Baharinah, it is one of the most prosperous agricultural centers,

1. See below, p. 99.

361 with palm groves containing more than sixteen thousand trees,
162 as well as numerous vegetable gardens and orchards.

Near by is the small village of 'AIN-AD-DAR.

'ALI is located about a mile north of Buri to the west of
[491] the paved main highway running south from Manama to the Jabal Dukhān region. A motor road joins the village to Buri and Karzakkan and the west coast of the island. Situated as it is in the midst of palm groves and vegetable gardens, 'Ali is an important market place. Many of the Persian residents of the island own lovely homes there and the town has a mosque in the Persian style.

SANĀBIS and FALA, on the north shore of the island about three miles west of Manama, are active commercial and fishing centers inhabited by the Baharinah.

RIFA'. The two villages of East Rifa' (Ash-Sharki) and West Rifa' (Al-Gharbi), situated a mile apart, are near the center of the island. Since their location is considered to be one of the most healthful in Bahrein they are not surprisingly inhabited by the Utūb, the tribe to which the Sheik belongs. His immediate
• [312] family lives in West Rifa', which is more exclusive though the important water sources are at East Rifa'.

ASKAR. This is another village of interest on the east coast, four and a half miles east of Jabal Dukhān. The inhabitants are the bu 'Ainin, probably the descendants of the people who ruled Bahrein nearly a thousand years ago.

About three miles away is the town of JAU, also on the east coast. Near by are historic ruins, probably the remains of the important ancient town, also called Jau, which is believed to have been the capital of the island in pre-Islamic times.

KIRABAD, or "Oil City," is the initial Awali camp built by the Bahrein Petroleum Company for the use of its employees and popularly known as "Bapco" from the initials of the company. Three miles away is the refinery. The town is on an elevation eighteen miles south of Manama, to which it is connected
[491] by a modern highway also built by the company.

000 "Bapco" has some two hundred homes for married members

longest runway, to the nearest hundred feet, is 7400 feet long. There are radio communication and direction finder with voice, and the Radio Bahrein tower operates on 6440 kilocycles, 117.9 mc.

The other principal islands of the Bahrein group are:

SITRA, which is separated from Bahrein by the Sitra Canal, which is about a quarter of a mile wide. The southern part of the island is completely barren but in the north there are small villages, mostly inhabited by Baharinah farmers and fishermen. The most important are Wadiyan, Kharijia, Muhazza and Sufala, all of which are important date growing centers.

NABBI SĀLIH, the smallest of the five islands, situated about three quarters of a mile off the coast of Bahrein. There are palm groves and two small fishing centers, Kaflan and Karya. The island has many gardens and orchards as well as palm groves with some fifteen thousand trees. It is entirely inhabited by the Baharinah.

UMM NA'SAN, two miles west of Bahrein, a low and sandy island four miles long and triangular in shape. The island is dominated by two rocky peaks, one rising to an elevation of sixty-six feet at about half a mile from the western point of the island, and the other twenty-five feet high situated about half a mile farther to the east. Near the west coast there is a water source used by the people of the west coast of Bahrein, mostly the towns of Badaiya'a and Zallāq, whose custom it is to send their cattle to graze there during the summer.

Besides these principal islands there are a number of smaller ones, mostly inhabited. From north to south and west to east these are:

KHASAIFA.

JARDI.

SAYA, with its fresh water spring, located about half a mile off the west coast of Muharraq Island.

ABU MAHIR, a small island south of Muharraq and connected to it at low tide. There is a small fort on the island erected for the defense of the water source which formerly supplied the people of Muharraq.

formerly supplied the people of Muharraq. The inhabitants, who are divers and fishermen, belong to the Sunnite sect.

NAIM, SULUTA, and KHULAFFAT are three small islands in the Gulf of Arad.

Farther east are:

[312] ABU SHĀHIN, with its fresh water spring.

UMM SHAJAR.

UMM SHIYARA.

Mention should also be made of the three small, rocky islands north of Sitra bearing the name of Kasr (Castle) and farther south, opposite the village of Askar, the little island of Mashāikh with its fishing huts.

Off the east coast there are many others which are rocky islands or mere shoals and of no interest to us. Among them are the small islands of Raka and Cliff, El Ben farther north, and Yusuf closer to the coast.

## ANTIQUITIES

The north central part of Bahrein Island is covered with thousands of large tombs in the form of mounds of rock heaped with earth which are among the unsolved mysteries of Near Eastern archaeology. Their number has been variously estimated at from fifteen thousand to several hundred thousand—so many in fact as to be completely out of proportion to the size of the island and its possible ability to support in ancient times a population to match the size of this enormous cemetery.

The tombs are ancient burial vaults of large dressed stones erected at ground level, sometimes with a second story. After the interment the vault was covered with a mound of gravel, stone chips, and earth, obtained largely at the foot of the cliffs surrounding the central basin of the island. The mounds vary greatly in size, ranging from four to eighty feet high and up to one hundred feet in diameter. Some of the largest tombs show the remains of outer walls, while others seem to have been surrounded by rings of heaped up gravel to keep intruders

organize the secondary school system. The teachers received from £25 to £30 a month and "bed and board" paid by the Bahrein government. Interestingly enough, the first director of the first school opened at Muharraq was the present Saudi Arabian Minister to London, Sheik Hafiz Wahba.

At present, there is no newspaper in Bahrein. A weekly newspaper, Al Bahrein, was founded in 1939, but ceased its publication after the death of its publisher, Abdallah Za-id. In 1940 a broadcasting station was built, and the Al-Bahrein Radio started short-wave broadcasts on a 23-m, 50 band on November 4. During the war, Radio Bahrein was most useful to the Allied cause, since its four daily news broadcasts in Arabic and Persian were heard more easily throughout the Near East than those of Egypt.

Besides the schools, two "circles" for the discussion of political and literary matters were established in 1935 under the patronage of the brother of the Sheik. There was already a Cercle Israelite in the island.

## ECONOMY

The geographical features and the geological formation of the islands greatly reduce the economic value of Bahrein. The scarcity of water and the sandy nature of the soil exclude agricultural development. The application of modern methods of agriculture and the utilization of artesian wells and gasoline operated pumps are too recent and too inadequate to make Bahrein even partially independent of imported food. For many years to come, and probably forever, the islands will be dependent on food, meat, vegetables, and fruits brought chiefly from the Persian or Arabian mainland.

Fortunately, in most of the islands of the Persian Gulf and the surrounding regions, wherever water is found naturally or captured artificially, date palms grow with astonishing ease. The northern part of Bahrein Island, thanks to natural springs and more recently to artesian wells, is practically a string of oases with palm groves numbering several hundred thousands.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M22
Kuwait M11
Saudi Arabia MJ1



companies may need to be defined now that one concessionaire seems likely to create revenue; problems may also arise if, as a result of oil developments, it is planted with a population that will need to be endowed with public services and, no doubt, with a system of taxation.

## BAHRAIN

The Bahrain Archipelago is a group of islands in the Gulf of Bahrain, which is bounded on the east by the Qatar Peninsula and on the west by the mainland coast of al-Hasa. Its total area is 213 square miles. The principal island—Bahrain itself—is about thirty miles long and ten miles wide. It is low-lying and its northern end is well watered by fresh water springs and produces good date crops. Citrus fruit and lucerne are also grown. The oilfields lie round the rocky cluster of hills known as Jebel Dukhan (Hill of Smoke), which is in the barren centre of the island.

To the north-east of Bahrain Island, and joined to it by a causeway and motor road, is the low, sandy island of Muharraq, and between the two islands is a good deep-water harbour (Khor Kaliya). It is used as a small British naval base; an American admiral also flies his flag there. Nearby there is a second, but shallow harbour (Bahrain harbour), which faces north and is usefully equipped. The natural aerodrome on Muharraq Island has been developed into the largest commercial airfield in the Persian Gulf and now serves the airliners of all nations. It is also used by the RAF, and the whine of jet aircraft is a commonplace. The south end of the island of Bahrain is low-lying and sandy. The climate, though oppressive in summer owing to the prevalent heat and damp of the western shores of the Persian Gulf, is more humid and less windy than that of Kuwait. The population of the Archipelago was 109,650 when a census was taken in 1950.[1]

The capital and the seat of government is the port of Manama.[2] It is generally referred to as Bahrain, and is situated between the two harbours. It has a population of 39,648, which includes many rich Arab, Persian, and Indian merchants, as well as some 300 Europeans and Americans. The second town, Muharraq, on Muharraq Island, has a population of 24,566 which is purely Arab.

The British Political Agency is in Manama town, which also boasts an electricity station, a wireless station, post offices, hospitals, clubs, public gardens, and up-to-date schools. The town is well supplied with good motor roads, and there are

[1] 1952 estimate, 115,000. [2] Population: 1950, 39,648; 1952 (estimate), 45,000.

THE COMPANY ALSO

refinery on the eastern side of the island, opposite Sitra. It was expanded in 1945, and 80 to 85 per cent of the crude oil processed is now obtained by pipeline from Saudi Arabia. The refined petroleum products are pumped to storage tanks on Sitra Island, and subsequently to a deep-water loading terminal 3 miles offshore. Over 6,000 Bahrainis, as well as some 1,600 British and Americans, are employed in different branches of the industry. Two thirds of the royalties accrue to the Bahrain government, half of which are utilized for capital expenditures designed to raise the standards of living of the people. Reports for 1951 indicate that 68 per cent of the government income was derived from oil revenues, as against 26 per cent from customs receipts.

The renewed prosperity of the islands and the concurrent growth in population have stimulated private enterprise and the growth of small factories to supply current needs, particularly as regards building materials. Fishing is an important seasonal occupation of many villagers, and preserved fish, fish oils and other fish products are items of export. Agriculture plays a minor role. Barely 5 to 10 per cent of the total land area is under cultivation, and further expansion is restricted by the nature of the terrain, the concentration of water supply in limited areas and a feudalistic system of land tenure. Date gardens flourish in oases on Bahrain, Muharraq and Sitra Islands, but the supply equals less than one quarter of the local requirements. The government is endeavoring to promote the introduction of other crops, and maintains an experiment station at Budaiya.

The sea approaches to the archipelago are shallow, making it necessary for ocean vessels and oil tankers to anchor 2 to 4 miles from the shore. Bahrain and Muharraq, however, have good harbors which accommodate dhows and other shallow-draft vessels. Manama is an active trading center: coastal traffic is more or less continuous, while frequent steamer services are available to the northern Gulf ports and to India AND PAKISTAN.

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p. 257 (B)

342 flat roofs, surrounded by parapets. Those with two or more stories sometimes have broad balconies.

342 571 In the towns, the poorer people often occupy multifamily houses in the older, congested districts or live in hut settlements on the outskirts. The huts, known locally as *barastis*, are made of bamboo or date-stick poles interwoven with palm leaves, and roofed with palm-leaf matting. They are frequently grouped within pole and matting stockades, the individual huts being separated by narrow alleys. Of the 5,703 houses 342 511 counted in the town of Manama at the time of the 1950 census, 2,608 were of palm-leaf 361 construction. Although the standards of living have improved among the laboring classes within recent years, most of the rural inhabitants dwell under primitive conditions, as did their forefathers. Palm-leaf huts predominate in the date garden and the fishing villages. They are admirably adapted to the heat of summer, but afford poor protection against the occasional cold winds.

186 361 663 342 The rural Baharna and Arabs live apart in segregated villages, and even in the towns there is a tendency for the different racial and religious groups to form distinct communities. The Bahrain Petroleum Company has created a self-sufficient modern settlement for its British and American employees at Awali, on the edge of the oil field area. The development of modern housing projects is also being promoted by the government, and plans are under consideration for the demolition of certain slum areas and the erection of low-rental dwellings.

## ENVIRONMENT AND SANITATION

### Water Supplies

312 The fame of the sweet-water springs of Bahrain stems from ancient times, and undoubtedly contributed to the early development of Manama as a trading center. Not only do abundant sources of water exist in the oases along the northern end of Bahrain

Island, but fresh-water springs, said to originate in the mountains of Arabia, are found in the shallow waters about a mile from the shore. Up to around 25 years ago, most of the water used in the towns was brought by donkey carts from wells or springs in the oases; sometimes by boats from the offshore springs. Water for domestic and irrigation purposes is now obtained from springs and shallow wells, and to an increasing extent from deep wells: several hundred artesian wells have been sunk within recent years on Bahrain, Muharraq, Sitra and other islands. In 1948, a special Agriculture and Water Committee was created in the government to control the water supply and prevent unnecessary wastage.

Manama has a municipal water supply, the initial stages of which were completed in 1948. Water, derived from artesian wells, is piped to about 70 per cent of the houses and to community fountains in the older, congested districts and *barasti* settlements. In other towns, water from private wells is used, or day-by-day supplies are purchased in 5-gallon cans from commercial peddlers.

Most shallow wells and spring supplies are unprotected and seriously polluted. Since the installation of a piped water system in Manama, many of the shallow wells have been closed, with a resultant decrease in anopheline breeding and in prevalence of intestinal infections. However, numerous opportunities for contamination still occur in the distribution of water from community sources. Distilled sea water is produced by a plant at Manama, but its sale for household purposes has been restricted since the town supply became available.

### Waste Disposal

The methods of sewage disposal are generally primitive. Septic tanks are employed in connection with many of the newer houses, and in the oil company installations. Cesspits or simple privies are in use in the bazaar districts and the *barasti* quarters, as well as in the smaller towns and villages.

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN MZ 2

Responsibility for the protection of the health of the people resides in the Public Health Department of the Bahrain government. It has curative and preventive divisions, and is administered by a Chief Medical Officer with headquarters in Manama. Four general hospitals—government, mission and industrial—with an aggregate capacity of 324 beds were functioning in 1951. In addition, the government services operated 5 special hospitals with 86 beds, maternity clinics and scattered dispensaries for men and women. Water supplies are obtained from large numbers of artesian wells, as well as from springs and shallow wells. The town of Manama has a piped artesian supply which serves over 70 per cent of the houses. Sewage is disposed of by primitive methods, and most well and spring water sources are polluted.

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p. 265(A)

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



133 el-Kabb, runs into the island from the E. coast, penetrating nearly to the centre. The rocks of Bahrein, except those of Jebel ed-Dukhān, which are dark, are pale-coloured limestone of the Eocene Age, sometimes sandy or argillaceous, and containing much flint or other siliceous material, with both gypsum and salt. The interior depression, like the flat shores of the island, has emerged from the sea in more recent times; the latter consists of coral rocks or shelly concrete. There is a small deposit of asphalt 3 miles SSE. of Jebel ed-Dukhān. 312 The Bahrein islands are famous, like the oases of Hasa and Qatīf, for a number of springs, clear but slightly brackish, which are fed by the drainage from Nejd travelling down to the coast under the Dahanah desert. Some of the springs are submarine (*kaukab*); the best known of these are that called *Abu Māhur*, close to Muharraq Island, and that near the E. extremity of *Khōr Fasht*, a large coral reef about 7 miles NW. of Bahrein Island. The best water of the archipelago comes from the *Haneini* wells N. of the central depression on Bahrein, and the *Khālid* and *Umm Ghuweifah* wells on the adjoining plateau. The springs N. of the Khōr el-Kabb are generally almost pure, but warm, as in Hasa: the best known are called *'Adāri*, *Qassāri*, and *Abu Zeidān*.

### Climate

132 Through the nearness of the sea on all sides, and abundant irrigation, the atmosphere of Bahrein is damp and heavy, with a mean humidity ranging from 79–80 per cent. of saturation. Though [164] there is much malaria and rheumatic disease, the climate is not the most unhealthy in the Gulf. The maximum temperature, usually attained in August, is about 104° F.; the minimum, reached in December or January, about 48°. The average rainfall for the years 1910–13 was 4·55 in. The weather from October to April inclusive is not unpleasant, indoor temperature ranging between 60° and 85°. In January and February N. winds blow, and it is cold enough for fires to be acceptable. Though the weather is hot from the beginning of May to the middle of June, the heat is still tempered by the sea-breeze, and nights are fairly cool. The oppressively hot weather lasts from the middle of June to the end of September; in this period, though there may be irregular land-breezes, the thermometer remains persistently above 100° F. All rains fall between the middle of October and the middle of May, but actual wet days are few. The prevailing wind is the *Shamāl* or north-wester, which blows for forty days from the second week in June and is very violent in winter; next to this in frequency

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ

Bahrein produces dates of very good quality, though inferior to the Iraqi and especially to the Persian variety known in the United States as the Bassorah date. The entire date production of Bahrein is consumed locally, either fresh or dried, or in a powder which is used like wheat flour for the making of bread, the common food of the rich.

The economic value of the date palm does not stop with the fruit. All other parts of the palm yield products of practical value to Bahreinis; their life would be impossible without it. The trunk furnishes timber for houses and boats; the midribs of the leaves go into crates and furniture; the leaf bases are used for fuel; the small leaves are used in basketry, the fiber for cordage and packing, and the fruit stalks for rope and fuel.

Under the shade of their palm trees and around their springs, the Bahreinis live their relatively simple life, producing some vegetables, weaving a few shawls, making sailcloth or reed mats, and breeding their donkeys. The Bahrein donkeys, or "Bandari," were bought by donkey lovers for their endurance, their height, and other celebrated qualities.

The main occupations of the townspeople are commercial and maritime, mostly fishing and handling the transit shipments which are one of Bahrein's largest sources of revenue. The greatest economic asset of the islands, however, despite the value of the recently discovered oil, is still the pearl fisheries.

## PEARL FISHING

The chief source of income of the islands before the discovery and exploitation of oil reserves in the nineteen thirties was pearl fishing. Before the rise of competition from the Japanese pearl fisheries and worldwide economic crisis of 1930, the industry employed more than 20,000 persons annually, and revenue from the pearls, which were exported principally to Paris and London, amounted to about £2,000,000[1] annually. Single pearls often bring enormous prices; for example, the most beautiful

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1. Except where otherwise specified, pounds referred to throughout are English pounds sterling.

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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BAHRAIN AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

ment with launch or dhow owners, but it should be remembered that some of them are private property. Umm as-Sabaan is the private property of Mr. Max W. Thornberg, Jidda being a penal settlement, is forbidden ground, and Umm an-Nasaan may only be visited with permission of H.H. The Ruler. The others, the small islands south of Muharraq, Nebih Salih, Jezira and the Howar islands are free to all visitors and a visit to them makes a change from drives around the islands.

Transport in Bahrain includes both bus and taxi, the former are not the luxurious affairs seen in Europe and England but have wooden bodies built in Bahrain and attached to an imported chassis. Taxis, however, are not too expensive if care is taken to pay the correct fare which is recorded in a fare book that should be carried by every driver. It is rumoured that taxis will soon carry meters, which will certainly simplify matters, but till that happy day passengers who have complaints to make about being over-charged should make them to the Traffic Department of the State Police.

Petrol and oil are cheap in Bahrain, which is not surprising, and the import tax on cars and motor cycles is only 10%, so that to own and run a private car is cheaper than in England or the States, as many fortunate people have discovered. Most makes of cars are obtainable in Bahrain, garage facilities have increased and the improvement in the roads has enabled English cars to be used with comfort.

The old-fashioned form of transport in Bahrain was the donkey. It was used for every task, for bringing the produce of the country for sale in the town, for pulling carts and for riding. The white Bahrain donkeys used to be well known all over the Middle East and they were exported from Bahrain to places as far distant as the East African coast. Today buses are replacing donkeys, there are bus services between most of the villages, though many of the young men prefer to use bicycles. Lorries too have successfully competed with donkeys and now carry most of the goods between the towns and villages, but in the gardens and in the narrow country lanes one still meets many donkeys though few of the fine white beasts for which the islands were famous long ago. However, the donkey will never entirely die out, for he has certain advantages over other methods of transport, he can reproduce young donkeys, he can find his own way along small and narrow tracks in the gardens and he produces manure, which is a valuable commodity in Bahrain.

## CHAPTER V

## BAHRAIN'S OIL INDUSTRY

The man who was chiefly responsible for the discovery of Bahrain's oil resources was an Australian, Major Frank Holmes, who came to Bahrain on behalf of the Eastern and General Syndicate, a British prospecting company. Major Holmes, after drilling a number of artesian wells and thus discovering something about the composition

315 471 of the ground below the surface of Bahrain, believed that oil was present in the islands in commercial quantities and so obtained from the Ruler, on December 2nd, 1925, a prospecting concession which was to run for two years. During this period Holmes tried to interest British oil companies in the petroleum possibilities of Bahrain, but their experts declared that there was no oil in Bahrain and that it would be a poor gamble to start operations in that country. Finally Major Holmes went to the States and on November 30th, 1927, an American corporation, the Eastern Gulf Company, acquired a two years option. After negotiations which involved the Foreign Office and the State Department, for Bahrain was a protected State, and after discussions between various important oil interests, the Eastern Gulf Company assigned its option over the Bahrain concession to the Standard Oil Company of California. On August 1st, 1930 the concession was assigned by Standard Oil to its fully owned subsidiary, the Bahrain Petroleum Company Ltd. (BAPCO), which was registered in Canada in order to give it the status of a British company. Such are the politics of oil that it had taken five years for an oil company to be formed to develop Bahrain's oil, and had it not been for the enterprise of an American company, which took up the concession after it had been refused by the British, the oil of Bahrain might never have been exploited.

315 382 Directly the concession was signed, surveying and drilling operations were commenced and in 1932 the first well "came in." This well can be seen immediately south of Awali and is still producing. By 1935 there were sixteen producing wells and six more drilling. It was then decided that the crude oil should be processed in Bahrain, and in the following year the first small distillation unit was erected and put into operation. A year later the capacity of the refinery was expanded to 25,000 barrels a day. The refinery was continually enlarged and improved so that finally it was able to process more crude than was forthcoming from the Bahrain fields. A 12" pipeline was therefore laid from the Dammam field on the coast of Saudi Arabia to the refinery, a distance of 34 miles, of which 17 were under the sea, making it the longest private pipeline of its kind in the world. Having expanded the refinery it became necessary to improve the shipping facilities to speed the export of oil products so a three mile jetty was constructed from Sitra Island to the deep water, at the head of which a four berth pier was built to add to the existing two-berth island loading wharf. Rows of pipes carry crude oil and refined products to the waiting ships while huge freight trailers carry drums for bulk package loading. Each month 70-80 ocean vessels are alongside the wharves removing some 4½ million barrels of bulk exports and 60,000 drums of refined products and asphalt. The drums are made in the Sitra drum plant, manned entirely by Bahrainis.

At present the activities of the company are carried out in four parts of Bahrain, at Awali, at the Jebal, at the Refinery and on Sitra Island.

At Awali are the offices and the homes of the European employees of BAPCO, while outside the fence is the Arab camp for the few Bahrainis who prefer to live there rather than in their own towns and villages. Near Awali's eastern gate is the Training School for Bahrainis, where something is done to equip them for higher posts in the company. This is a field of activity which the company is beginning to develop and it is very important that is should succeed.

South of Awali, in the desert around the Jebal ad-Dukhan, is the oil field, the *raison d'etre* of BAPCO, an unimpressive area with many little squares of cement decorated with taps and valves and surrounded by low fences, which are the oil wells, while here and there derricks mark the search for more oil which is always in progress.

After the Abadan Refinery the one on Bahrain is the largest in the Middle East and supplies large quantities of refined products to India, Pakistan, East Africa and other countries "East of Suez." During the day it would be difficult to describe the refinery as anything but a large and ugly mass of iron and steel, with the great Cat. Cracker rising above the squat silver tanks. The air is hot and dusty and in the summer the iron-work is so hot that to touch it raises blisters ; but in the evening the refinery takes on the appearance of a slightly shapeless but nevertheless well decorated Christmas Tree, covered in lights and set against a background of flares of burning gas which illuminate the sky like a lurid orange back-cloth.

The Sitra anchorage has at all times an appearance of feverish activity, it is being improved so that it will be possible to load ships and tankers round the clock. In order to do this the jetty is being floodlit with great arc lamps.

On low-lying Sitra Island all that can be seen from the sea are the storage tanks, it is only on approaching nearer that the island itself becomes visible. The Tank Farm spreads across the middle of Sitra, and as it expands it threatens to cut the island in two. To the south of the Tank Farm is a large group of buildings from which a crashing sound is continually heard ; this is the Drum Plant. Further evidence of this is present in the thousands of newly painted drums that are piled in huge rows near the plant.

The oil industry is directed from the main office in Awali, where from air-conditioned coolness in the summer and air-conditioned warmth in the winter instructions go out to all parts of Bahrain where BAPCO has its installations. Bahrain is well situated for an oil industry. The oil wells are about eight miles from the Refinery, which itself is scarcely more than half that distance from the Pier and Tank Farm, while from Awali it is possible to see on a clear day both the Refinery and the Field. The radio-telephone and the aeroplane used in other Middle Eastern fields have no place in Bahrain where phones and cars are quite sufficent.

Of the 7,749 workers employed by BAPCO at the end of 1951, 4,937 were Bahrainis and 1,035 were British, American and other

464 Europeans. For the latter the company provides many amenities. In the town of Awali there is a cinema, a club and other recreational facilities. There is a Commissary for the supply of foods and goods unobtainable elsewhere in Bahrain; a school for American and European children with qualified teachers and hospitals for the various nationalities employed by BAPCO. A cinema, swimming bath and mosque are also being constructed in the Arab Camp, and a swimming bath and cinema in the Indian and Pakistani camp at Rifaa. The company also maintains dispensaries in some of the villages and has built three schools for the Bahrain Government. There is cordial co-operation between the Bahrain Government and BAPCO in all fields of social service and although it may seem strange that an oil company should be encouraged to occupy itself with so many activities not directly connected with the production of oil, yet it is now recognised in the Middle East that it is an obligation of oil companies not only to work for their shareholders but also for the benefit of the people of the country from which they derive their profits.

471 In 1940 a Supplementary Agreement was signed between the Ruler and the Bahrain Petroleum Company in which the latter received an extension to its concession including all lands, shoals, reefs, waters and submerged lands of "the present and future domains" of the Ruler of Bahrain.

315 It is a comparatively rare thing for people visiting Bahrain to see the actual oil which has made the Islands famous, gone are the days when to "strike oil" meant that a huge gusher of oil would leap skywards covering everything about it with what is termed, in the hackneyed phrase of the journalist, "black gold." Today the drilling of a well is normally a tidy process ; when oil is struck the drillers have complete control over its flow and quickly cap the well with a "Christmas Tree," the nickname for the mass of taps and valves which are placed over the well head. From the well the oil is piped to the Refinery and then to the storage tanks at Sitra. But in every part of its processing little is seen of the oil except by the workers in the laboratories.

133 The oil industry today is the most important factor in Bahrain's economy and is recognised as such by the Government and the people of the country.

## CHAPTER VI

## JEWELS OF THE DEEP

228 Pearl diving is probably the oldest industry in Bahrain and has been the reason why an otherwise small and comparatively unproductive group of islands has been the scene of so many bitter wars and has been over-run by so many invading armies. From earliest times Bahrain has been famous for its pearls ; in an Assyrian inscription of some 20[illegible] B.C. a parcel of "fish eyes" from Dilmun is believed to be

there is a deep depression surrounded by large blocks of stone which was once a great spring said to have irrigated much of north-western Bahrain. This spring, known as Ain Sejour, is traditionally associated with the name of the Caliph Abd al-Malik (685-705) who is reputed to have come to Bahrain with an army to chastise the people who had given refuge to politico-religious refugees from Iraq. According to local histories the Bahrainis worsted the invaders in a war by a clever use of the underground water channels and a truce was signed. Later the Caliph is said to have murdered the Bahraini leaders and to have filled in this well "to reduce the pride of the people of Bahrain," since then it has been dry and the land around it has reverted to desert. It seems unlikely that the Caliph himself came to Bahrain, he probably sent one of his generals and later tradition ascribed the leadership to the Caliph himself. 172

Several well-to-do families own houses in Diraz, and when pearling flourished its people were important nakhudas (captains) and pearl merchants. Many of the villagers are still divers and keep their boats on the shore near the little mosque north of Budaiya Garden. For use in these boats the villagers weave their own sail-cloth on local looms. 228 288 554

JESRA

On the edge of the open plain about 4 miles south of Budaiya is Jesra, the point where the pipeline from Arabia crosses to Bahrain, here also is a village whose Arab inhabitants are mainly retainers of the Ruling Family. Several Shaikhs have also built substantial houses in the village, as well as gardens irrigated from artesian wells. Another road leads from Jesra to Rifaa al-Gharbi, following the route of the pipeline across the desert. 315 361 491

MALAKIYA

Four miles south of Jesra the road, after passing through the villages of Karzakan and Dumistan, enters the little village of Malakiya, set in the centre of thriving date gardens, some of which belong to merchants in Manama. The only claim to interest in this village is a large tomb which is held in great veneration by the Shia community of Bahrain and is visited by pilgrims from all parts of the Islands. The tomb is of a certain Amir Zaid, but there is some difference of opinion about his identity. Some contend that he was Zaid bin Sohan, one of the Companions of the Prophet, but according to other local authorities he was a certain Amir Zaid bin Umaira al-Abdi who witnessed a covenant of truce made between the people of the Islands and al-Mua'lla bin al-Hadrami, the Moslem conqueror of Bahrain. A third version is that the worthy Amir was the leader of the people of Bahrain in a war that took place between them and the Caliph Abd al-Malik (See paragraph on Diraz). It has not yet been decided which of these versions is in fact the true one, but this does not deter Shia pilgrims from visiting Malakiya. 361 778

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

439 In 1944 U. S. imports from Bahrein amounted to $30,859, most of which was classified in Group 9 (Miscellaneous) by the Department of Commerce. Of the total imports the New York Customs District received $27,551, or almost 90%. The total of the exports to Bahrein from the United States in the same year was $12,369,647, of which lend-lease materials accounted for $293,786.

The following table shows the principal articles which Bahrein imported from the United States for the year 1944.

Table 7. IMPORTS FROM UNITED STATES—1944

| Item | Value (in U.S. Dollars) |
|---|---|
| Animals and Animal products | 323,846 |
| Vegetables and Vegetable beverages | 320,318 |
| Vegetable products (except Wood and Fibers) | 155,188 |
| Textile fibers and manufactures | 104,808 |
| Non-metallic minerals | 545,221 |
| Metals and manufactures (except Machinery) | 3,823,521 |
| Machinery and Vehicles (Electric pumps, Engines) | 5,434,105 |
| Chemicals and Related products | 1,023,226 |
| Miscellaneous | 188,129 |

## OIL

471 The oil concession on Bahrein Island is held by the Bahrein Petroleum Company, which is Canadian registered but owned by American companies, 50% by Standard Oil of California and 50% by The Texas Company.[1]

35 After a geological survey the company began drilling in 1931 in the Jabal Dukhān region, and oil was discovered in June 1932 at a depth of 2,009 feet.

382 By 1935 there were sixteen producing wells and six more drilling. At that time more than 10,000 acres had been proved oil bearing and potential production was estimated at 20,000

1. For a detailed account of the history of oil development in the Persian Gulf, see History, p. 103.

8: Qubain S-5 (1952-53) MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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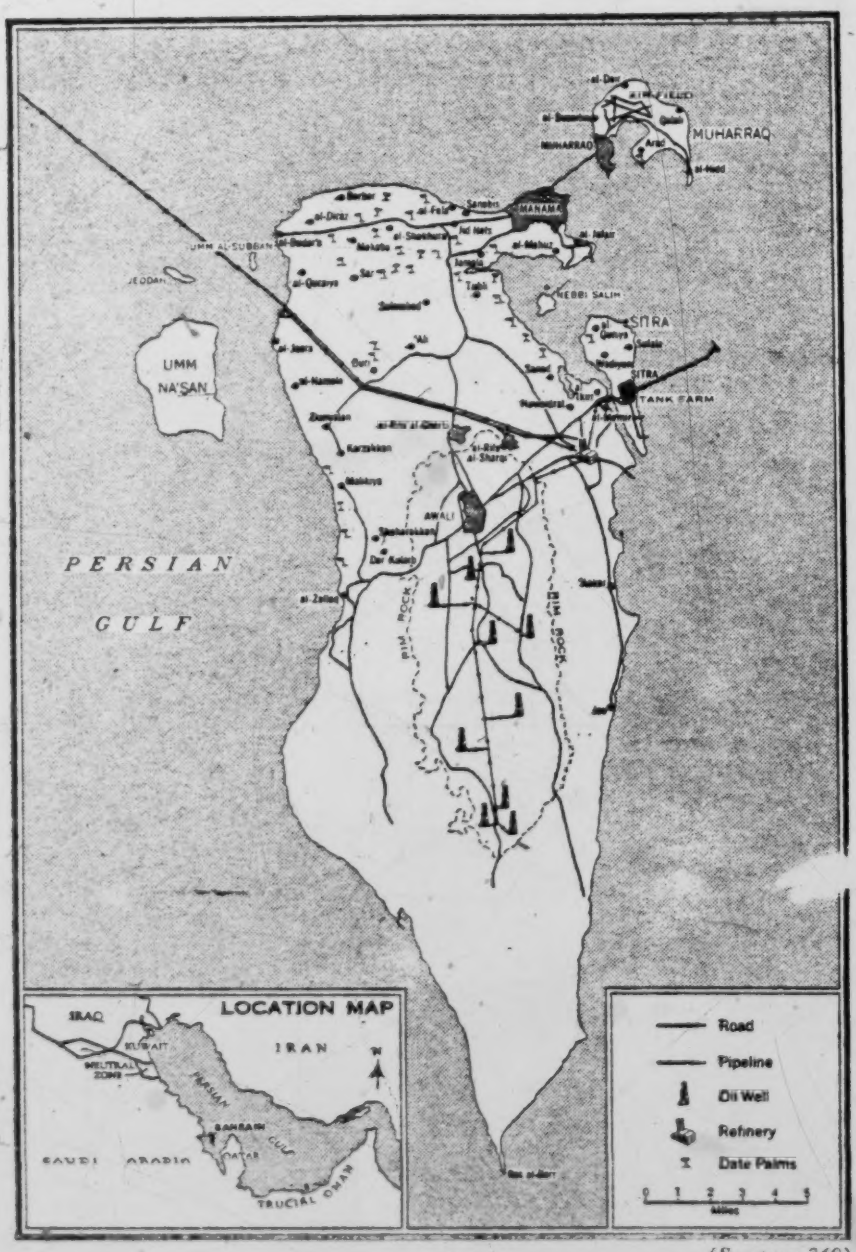


(See page 269)

*The Shaykhdom of Bahrain*

facing p. 239

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M 2 2



called 'Red Line' agreement of 1928,[1] was unable to agree to conditions that IPC was in a position to dictate; it therefore sold its option to the Standard Oil Company of California. After negotiations in which the British Government and the American State Department both took a hand, the Bahrain Petroleum Company (BAPCO), a subsidiary of Standard Oil, registered in Canada, was allowed to take up the concession provided that, to conform to Britain's prior agreements with the Shaikh, it employed a considerable number of British subjects. In 1936 the Texas Company acquired a 50 per cent interest in BAPCO. These details are given to explain why the present company is Canadian by nationality and American by management, and employs a large proportion of British staff. The two American companies concerned are two of the four participants in Aramco.

Oil was first discovered in Bahrain in 1932 and first exported in 1934. Production was suspended during the Second World War, but since then it has risen to a steady level of 11 million barrels per year. A refinery was erected before the war, and has (since the Abadan refinery ceased to put through its daily 550,000 barrels) been stepped up to a throughput of over 200,000 barrels per day; it includes a catalytic cracking unit for high octane fuel. It is fed both with BAPCO's own production of oil from the Bahrain field and by a 12-inch under-sea pipeline from Aramco's wells in Saudi Arabia. The jetty for loading tankers lies off Sitra Island on the seaward side of Bahrain Island itself.

Originally, the Shaikh enjoyed the same royalty rate as his neighbour in Kuwait—3 rupees and 4 annas a ton, or 14 cents a barrel. In 1951 reports of the new agreements reached by his neighbours caused him to ask for equality of treatment. In 1952, therefore, he signed a new agreement with the company which established the fifty-fifty profit-sharing arrangement now universal on the Gulf. He also enjoys a payment on each ton of Saudi Arabian oil passing through his territory to the refinery. His revenue has risen relatively less than that of his neighbours because the volume of oil produced in Bahrain has for some years been virtually stationary; nevertheless earnings from oil have risen from $1·4 million in 1948 to $3·8 million in 1951 and $6·3 million in 1952, and three-fourths of Bahrain's national income is now derived from petroleum activities. The social and economic changes brought about by this increased wealth are not so spectacular in Bahrain as elsewhere because

[1] See R. F. Mikesell and H. B. Chenery, *Arabian Oil* (Chapel Hill, University of N. Carolina Press, 1949).

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN MZ2

132 The climate is typical of the Persian Gulf region, with intense heat and high humidity for 6 months of the year. According to observations for the 10-year period 1942-51, the maximum temperatures averaged 107° to 109° F. in July and August; the minimum temperatures, 83° to 85° F. Corresponding temperatures for January, the coolest month, were 70° F. and 50° F., respectively. The rainfall, which is normally around 3 inches a year, is distributed irregularly between November and May, with the maximum precipitation from December through February. Sand-laden winds, known locally as the *shamal*, often blow with con-

[102
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133]

p. 255 (B)

THE COMPANY ALSO OPERATES A
refinery on the eastern side of the island, 315
opposite Sitra. It was expanded in 1945, and 382
80 to 85 per cent of the crude oil processed
is now obtained by pipeline from Saudi
Arabia. The refined petroleum products are
pumped to storage tanks on Sitra Island,
and subsequently to a deep-water loading
terminal 3 miles offshore. Over 6,000 Bah- 464
rainis, as well as some 1,600 British and 651
Americans, are employed in different 185
branches of the industry. Two thirds of the
royalties accrue to the Bahrain government,
half of which are utilized for capital ex-
penditures designed to raise the standards
of living of the people. Reports for 1951
indicate that 68 per cent of the government
income was derived from oil revenues, as
against 26 per cent from customs receipts.

The renewed prosperity of the islands and 471
the concurrent growth in population have
stimulated private enterprise and the
growth of small factories to supply current
needs, particularly as regards building ma- 228
terials. Fishing is an important seasonal 241
occupation of many villagers, and pre- 312
served fish, fish oils and other fish products
are items of export. Agriculture plays a
minor role. Barely 5 to 10 per cent of the
total land area is under cultivation, and
further expansion is restricted by the nature
of the terrain, the concentration of water
supply in limited areas and a feudalistic 241
system of land tenure. Date gardens flourish 654
in oases on Bahrain, Muharraq and Sitra
Islands, but the supply equals less than one
quarter of the local requirements. The gov-
ernment is endeavoring to promote the in-
troduction of other crops, and maintains an
experiment station at Budaiya.

The sea approaches to the archipelago are 504
shallow, making it necessary for ocean ves- 505
sels and oil tankers to anchor 2 to 4 miles
from the shore. Bahrain and Muharraq,
however, have good harbors which accom-
modate dhows and other shallow-draft ves-
sels. Manama is an active trading center: 505
coastal traffic is more or less continuous,
while frequent steamer services are avail-
able to the northern Gulf ports and to India
AND PAKISTAN.

occurred intermittently in the past, chiefly in Manama and Muharraq. The islands are exposed to the introduction of the disease from neighboring territories, but the enforcement of quarantine regulations has prevented its establishment for several decades.

**Other Infections.** Although a mild degree of louse infestation occurs among the inhabitants in some congested areas, louse-borne typhus is rarely, if ever, reported. Imported cases of cutaneous leishmaniasis, or Oriental sore, and filariasis are occasionally treated in the local medical institutions, but the insect vectors are not known to be present, and indigenous infections have not been recorded. Guinea worm infection is sometimes seen among persons from Iran, but it is not found in the resident population.

### Nutritional Diseases

The standards of nutrition have improved materially in the last few years. Undernutrition is common, but serious defects are seen primarily among the inhabitants of outlying villages and the families of workers from the mainland. Poverty, traditional dietary customs and intestinal parasitism are contributory factors. Subclinical deficiencies in vitamin C are widespread, and scurvy is observed from time to time. Rickets is frequent among the children in the towns. Anemia is prevalent, and hemoglobin levels of 25 to 30 per cent are not unusual among the women.

## SUMMARY

Bahrain is an independent sheikhdom which consists of an archipelago of 5 main islands situated in the Persian Gulf near the coast of Arabia. It has long been famous as a pearl fishing center, and, since 1932, has enjoyed prosperity as an oil-producing area. It has a heterogeneous population which numbered 109,650 in 1950, including 18,471 foreigners. The people are predominantly of mixed Arab and Persian origin, and about 96 per cent are Moslems.

p. 264(B)

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrein MZ.24



In 1910 geologists of the British Indian Survey discovered seepages of oil in Bahrein. Coming as it did after the successful discovery of oil in Persia and the organization of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, there was apparently considerable discussion of oil possibilities in Bahrein. The British pressed the Sheikh for a definite commitment not to permit the exploitation of oil by non-British concerns. On May 14, 1914 the Sheikh wrote the British Political Agent in Bahrein that he would not himself embark on the exploitation of oil in his territory, nor would he entertain overtures regarding such exploitation from any quarters without consulting the British Political Agent and without the approval of the British Government.[2]

Oil, however, was not discovered. In the early 'twenties Major Frank Holmes, representing the Eastern and General Syndicate, was seeking oil concessions in the Persian Gulf area, and as noted above, succeeded in 1924 in obtaining a concession from Ibn Saud in the al Hasa province. On December 2, 1925 Holmes acquired from the Sheikh of Bahrein for his British syndicate an exclusive oil exploitation concession over an area of about 100,000 acres. It was provided that if the concession rights were not exercised within four years, it would lapse. The Syndicate tried to interest British concerns in the concession, but without success.[3] At the end of November 1927 the Eastern Gulf Oil Company, a subsidiary of the American Gulf Oil Corporation, entered into an option contract to purchase the Syndicate's rights in Bahrein, and was given until January 1, 1929 to exercise its option. Gulf, at the time a member of the American group in the Turkish Petroleum Company, had in the meanwhile signed the Red Line Agreement which covered the Bahrein islands, and the Board of Directors of the Turkish Petroleum Company ruled that for Gulf to exercise its option would be a violation of Article 10 of the Agreement.[4] On December 21, 1928 Gulf, with the con-

[2] *Ibid.*, 124.

[3] The following comments from two different directions are interesting: British—"American interests were first engaged almost fortuitously when oil was struck on the Manama Island of Bahrein, after British prospects had failed. The successful company is the one which has subsequently extended its activities to the great Saudi Arabian oil fields." "The Persian Gulf—A Romance," *The Round Table*, XXXIX, 134, Mar., 1949. American—"It was our good luck that the British failed to discover oil which we later found in great abundance." Harold L. Ickes, "We're Running Out of Oil," *The American*, 84, Jan., 1944.

[4] See above, Chap. XI.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East

Bahrein MZ 2

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p. 372

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrein MZ21



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Negotiations between the Colonial Office and the Syndicate were carried on for about a year and a half. On June 12, 1930 the Syndicate signed an agreement with the Sheikh, and transferred it to the Bahrein Petroleum Company, a Canadian subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company of California. The major provisions of the agreement were: The Bahrein Petroleum Company must remain a British company; one of the directors must be a British subject and *persona grata* to the British Government; the Company's chief local representative must be approved by the British Government and all communications with the Sheikh must be through him and the Political Agent; as many of the employees as was consistent with efficiency must be subjects of Britain and Bahrein.[7]

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Standard of California immediately sent out geologists and drillers. On May 31, 1932 the first commercially-producing well was brought in. Drilling was continued, tanks were built, and in December 1934 the first tanker load of Bahrein oil entered the world market. By 1935 there were sixteen producing wells.

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Standard of California, searching for markets for its increased production of crude, and with the anticipated output from Saudi Arabia, sold one-half of its Bahrein concession to the Texas Oil Company for a half share in the latter's numerous marketing facilities east of Suez. A new company registered in the Bahamas, the California-Texas Company (Caltex), was organized for the purpose of conducting Bahrein's marketing operations.[8]

In June 1940 the Bahrein Petroleum Company (Bapco) received an extension of its concession covering all the lands and other areas under the jurisdiction of the Sheikh, an area of some 1,644,000 acres,[9] for a period of fifty-five years from June 19, 1944.

[7] DeGolyer, *loc. cit.*, 77-79; *Foreign Relations 1932*, II, 5. The British backed down from some of their previous demands but insisted on some of the others. The State Department apparently considered this achievement a victory for American interests and claimed credit for it. In its memorandum to the Senate Special Committee Investigating Petroleum Resources, the Department declared: "Here again the prompt and positive action of the State Department has secured results favorable to an American-owned company. By securing the entry of American oil interests into Bahrein, the way was paved for some American interests to obtain concessions in nearby Arabia." U. S. Senate, *American Petroleum Interests in Foreign Countries*, 23-24.

[8] U. S. Senate, *International Petroleum Cartel*, 79; Chap. XI above.

[9] Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 111; Sanger, *The Arabian Peninsula*, 147. DeGolyer was of the opinion that the Sheikh delayed granting the extended concession because of the efforts of Holmes in 1937, when he reappeared in Bahrein

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2



### *Production*

From 1936 production progressed rapidly, reaching the 20,000 barrel per day mark in 1939. During the years 1942-1944 some wells were shut in as a war measure, and production was reduced by some 2,000 barrels per day. By 1951 there were 67 producing wells, with an average per well output of 430 barrels per day. The following table gives production in tons and barrels:

Table XII. *Bahrein Oil Production 1933-1954*

| *Year* | *In Tons* | *In Barrels* |
|---|---|---|
| 1933 | 4,000 | 31,000 |
| 1934 | 39,008 | 285,000 |
| 1935 | 173,052 | 1,265,000 |
| 1936 | 635,555 | 4,645,000 |
| 1937 | 1,058,511 | 7,762,000 |
| 1938 | 1,138,000 | 8,298,000 |
| 1939 | 1,041,000 | 7,589,000 |
| 1940 | 971,000 | 7,074,000 |
| 1941 | 932,000 | 6,794,000 |
| 1942 | 856,000 | 6,241,000 |
| 1943 | 902,000 | 6,572,000 |
| 1944 | 921,000 | 6,714,000 |
| 1945 | 1,003,000 | 7,309,000 |
| 1946 | 1,099,000 | 8,010,000 |
| 1947 | 1,291,000 | 9,410,710 |
| 1948 | 1,496,000 | 10,915,000 |
| 1949 | 1,508,000 | 10,985,484 |
| 1950 | 1,512,000 | 11,016,000 |
| 1951 | 1,508,000 | 11,008,000 |
| 1952 | 1,510,000 | 11,004,000 |
| 1953 | 1,506,000 | 10,978,380 |
| 1954[10] | 1,570,000 | 10,994,000[11] |

and attempted to get a concession for the additional area. For suddenly, in the spring of 1937, the Sheikh halted all negotiations with Bapco for one year. "He finally granted it to the Bahrein Petroleum Company on June 19, 1940, but the British officials distilling the last drop of advantage that could be obtained hooked on a political agreement of June 29, 1940." DeGolyer, *loc. cit.*, 79. "The 'Bahrain unallotted area,' being the difference between the 100,000 acres and the whole extent of the Shaikh's dominions, was from 1934 to 1940 the subject of lengthy negotiations between the Shaikh, Bapco, and another candidate, the Iraq Petroleum Company." Longrigg, *Oil in the Middle East*, 104.

[10] United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs, *Review of Economic Conditions in the Middle East 1949-1950*, 60, henceforth cited U.N., *Review* or *Summary*, and year;—*Review 1951-1952*, 55;—*Summary 1952-1953*, 47; Economic Cooperation Administration, Special Mission to the United Kingdom, *The Sterling Area. An American Analysis*, (London, 1951), 418; *World Petroleum*, X, 43, July, 1939.

[11] United States Senate, *Petroleum Requirements—Postwar. Hearings Before A*

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 Ml Middle East
Bahrein M22



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The nature of the Bahrein islands as the commercial port of the Saudi Arabian coast and the Qatar peninsula made it an ideal location for a refinery, and as soon as oil was discovered in commercial quantities in Bahrein and the prospects for Saudi Arabia looked promising, Bapco built a refinery which went into operation in July, 1935. Increased production and the demand for oil for war needs made it necessary to expand the refinery and by 1945 the Company had spent about $27.5 million. By 1951 the refinery had a capacity of 155,000 barrels daily. Most of the crude came from the Saudi Arabian mainland as the maximum of local production was only 30,000 barrels per day. At first the oil was brought by tanker, later it came by way of a 12-inch 34-mile long pipeline, two-thirds of which was submarine. During 1947 another 12-inch pipeline was laid, bringing the total capacity of the pipeline to 126,000 barrels per day.[15] By 1949 about 85 per cent of the refinery's throughput was coming from Saudi Arabia. The output in 1950 was 56,059,000 barrels; in 1951, 8,040,000 tons; in 1952, 8,621,000 tons; and in 1953, 10,408,000 tons. It has been estimated that the parent companies have invested about $75 million in the Bahrein undertaking.[16]

### *Reserves*

Of all the major oil-producing areas of the Middle East, Bahrein was the least promising as regards reserves. From the very beginning the reserve estimates were generally static. In January 1949 they were estimated as 170 million barrels; two years later Faroughy gave them as 200 million barrels; at the end of 1954 they were estimated at 235 million barrels. The United Nations experts estimated the reserves as 40,900,000 tons in 1951 and the same in 1953. Compared to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, the Bahrein reserves are considered of little significance.[17]

*Summary 1950-51*, 37-38;—*Review 1951-52*, 58-59; "Oil and Social Change," *The Economist*, 8, July 2, 1955.

[15] For a Company description of the pipeline and the refinery, see "Submarine Pipeline," *Oil Lifestream of Progress*, III, 20, Oct., 1955.

[16] U.N., *Summary 1950-51*, 24; "Oil and Bahrein," *The World Today*, VII, 78, Feb., 1951; Sanger, *The Arabian Peninsula*, 145; Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 44-45; *Le Commerce du Levant*, Oct. 15, 1954.

[17] U. S. Senate, *International Petroleum Cartel*, 6; U.N., *Review 1951-52*, 53;—*Summary 1952-53*, 40; Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 111; *World Oil*, CXL, 205, Feb. 15, 1955.

the most logical is that of H. R. P. Dickson, who says in his *The Arab of the Desert* that the name is derived from the Indian boat called "Gallevat" which is in turn derived from the Portuguese "Galeote" or Galley. 501 396

The type of craft most used for pearling in Bahrain is the Sambuq, which has a long finely curved bow and a square stern. It has two masts and is usually fully decked. Another boat of the same type is the Shu'ai, which only differs from the Sambuq in the shape of the stem piece. A second boat with Portuguese connections is the Baghala, a large craft with a comparatively short curved stem-piece. The Baghala has a distinctive square stern set with windows, which, although often false, give the stern the appearance of an old fashioned European man-of-war. The largest boat now being built is the Boom, which can be identified by its long straight stem-piece and its stern, set about 10° from the vertical.

Boats are not built on the scale of former days, for the decline of the pearling industry and the development of the fast launch have reduced the demand for the large old-fashioned sailing boats. Launches need a smaller crew, they are more useful for work between steamers and the shore and over short distances, and are now in many other ways a more satisfactory investment than sailing boats.

Many small types of boats are used around the shores of Bahrain for fishing and for carrying passengers between the islands. Some of these are built like miniature sambuq, while others have the vertical bow of the jalibut. There is also the huri, a primitive canoe hollowed out of the trunk of a tree and imported from Africa for use as a ship's dinghy. An entirely local product is the huwairiyah, a craft built of date stems tightly tied together with date fibre and soaked in fish oil. These little boats, which if well made are entirely water-proof, can carry a man or two boys and are used for fishing and ferrying.

A question that always confuses visitors to Bahrain is the word "dhow" ; this name, originally unknown to the Arabs, is used by Europeans to include all Persian Gulf sailing boats, and has become so general that Arabs, finding the word useful, are now beginning to use it themselves.

The craftsmen who make the boats of Bahrain have an interesting sideline, they make perfect miniature models of the large sailing boats, not only of the ones at present in use but also of the obsolete types, and these can be purchased from them and make interesting ornaments in the house or souvenirs of Bahrain. [523]

### JUS

"Jus," the Arabic for gypsum, has always been used for building purposes in Bahrain ; the pre-historic tombs are lined with it and it was used for the construction of the 10th century mosque at the Suq al-Khamis. It is found in slabs below the ground and is collected in many places in Bahrain, in Lozi, from the desert north of Awali and from the Howar Islands. The gypsum is often prepared on the spot where it 316 339

316 339 is quarried, lorry loads of wood are brought out, and, as in the manufacture of lime, layers of gypsum are interspersed with layers of wood and the pile fired. The slabs of gypsum are then removed and beaten into a fine powder which, when mixed with water, acts like cement. It has the advantage of being quick setting and is still used by those who cannot afford to buy imported cement.

### WEAVING

288 438 291 [697] Weaving is carried on in some of the villages of Bahrain, in Abu Saiba, south of the Budaiya Road and elsewhere. "Awzars," simple garments worn by the villagers around their waists in the summer, are woven from imported cotton, while in many coastal villages the sailors spend the winters weaving sail-cloth. The prisoners on Jidda Island are also employed in weaving, on imported Irish looms, but their activities can hardly be classed as a local industry.

## CHAPTER VIII

## THE ANTIQUITIES OF BAHRAIN

### THE WORLD'S LARGEST GRAVEYARD

172 764 THE tumuli of Bahrain have never been counted, but their number has been estimated at 50,000. In these tumuli Bahrain possesses one of the unsolved mysteries of archaeology, for despite the numerous expeditions that have been made to discover their origin, this is still in dispute.

There are three groups of tumuli in Bahrain. The largest group is that which lies on the plain between Aali and the Rifaas. The second group is to the far north of Bahrain, on each side of the Manama-Budaiya Road between Jidhafs and Diraz. The third group, consisting of a few dozen graves, is in the clearing to the north of the Suq al-Khamis Mosque.

The first group of tombs is daily passed by hundreds of people travelling between Manama and Awali, but the best examples of tumuli in this group are not along the main road but are near the village of Aali. These mounds are the largest in Bahrain and while some of them are used by the villagers for baking their pottery, the majority are just as they were left after their opening by various archaeologists. Most of these tombs face south-west and P. B. Cornwall[1] has suggested that the reason for this is that the builders of the mounds worshipped the Evening Star, Venus, which at sunset lies to the south-west. The majority of the tumuli have two storeys and, in the chamber tombs, there are niches cut into the sides of the passages. The sides and roofs of the graves themselves are of local stone and were originally covered with a layer of gypsum. Some of the tumuli are surrounded by low walls of mud and gravel. Finds in these tumuli have included the bones of men and animals, ivory statues, pieces of circular boxes, golden ornaments and earthenware vessels decorated with black stripes.

There is little agreement among the experts as to the origin and dating of these burials and each has drawn his own deductions from the

of the Egg," a small village with many seafaring inhabitants. To the north of Sitra there is a very pleasant sandy beach looking towards Umm a-Hasan where there is excellent bathing; the view also includes Nabih Salih and Jaziyra. There is deep water to the north of Sitra, and it is here that the Bahrain Government is building the new Port of Manama with a pier running into deep water from the shore between Umm al-Hasan and Jufair. 361 [504]

JIDDA

This island is about 2½ miles from Budaiya. It is small and rocky and in appearance unlike any of the other Bahrain Islands. Its high cliffs rise abruptly from the water and a few fort-like buildings are silhouetted against the sky-line. On the south side of the island there is a level strip of land which is extensively cultivated. Jidda is Bahrain's penal settlement; here all long term prisoners are detained, spending their time cutting stone, weaving and working in the gardens. There is a small house on the top of the cliffs above the jetty which catches all the wind in the summer and which is used by the Adviser to the Bahrain Government. Being a prison island, Jidda is forbidden to general visitors. 101 133 697 [486]

The stone quarries at Jidda are of great age and it is likely that the large stones which line the graves in the burial mounds were cut here. There is an Arabic inscription roughly cut on one of the cliffs which reads as follows : 316

"During the month of Shaban in the year 968 (April/May, 1561) there was completed the cutting of the 100,000th rock for the mending of the tower of the Bahrain fort in the wazirate of the Great Wazir Jilal ad-Din Murad Mahmud by the hand of the slave . . . " (a few words after this are unreadable).

UMM AN-NASAAN

This, the second largest of the Bahrain islands, lies a few miles across the shallow water to the south of Jidda. It is sandy and flat, with the exception of two small limestone hills towards its centre which break the monotony of its shape. At the north end of the island there are several natural springs and artesian wells from which extensive date gardens are irrigated; they were planted by the late Ruler of Bahrain, H.H. Shaikh Hamed, who also established on the island a herd of black buck and gazelle, the former being imported from India and the latter from the mainland of Bahrain. 101 133 312 [136]

There is evidence of ancient habitations on Umm an-Nasan, foundations of many old houses are visible and sherds of pottery can be picked up. Local legend has it that Nasaan, after whom the island is named, was one of the early rulers of Bahrain, but this legend has not been substantiated by historical research. 172

The products of Aali are simple in the extreme, pots, bowls, water jars and dishes, utensils which have always been used by the people of Bahrain and which still find a ready market though the increased prosperity of the people enables them to buy cheap imported goods. It is not necessary to go to Aali itself to see the products of the potteries for at the Suq al-Araba in Manama on Wednesday mornings and at the Suq al-Khamis market on Thursday mornings the people of Aali bring their goods for sale.

At Aali the photographer will find many subjects for his camera. The potters in their workshops with the sun shining on the damp yellow clay, the symmetrical stacks of jars drying in the sun, the small boys in bright clothes running up and down the steep sides of the tumuli with objects to be baked and finally the removal of the finished articles, all these scenes provide fascinating pictures.

## NURA (LIME)

Aali, as well as being the centre of the Bahrain pottery industry, is the principal place where lime is produced. Stone for the purpose is hewn from the ground in many parts of Bahrain, especially near Rifaa, and is taken in lorries or in donkey carts to Aali. Here the blocks of limestone are arranged on layers of wood, usually date palm trunks, and the wood is then fired. Men with large wooden flails stand round the piles of lime-stone and beat it into powder, chanting as they work and timing the singing to the down strokes of the threshers. When the lime becomes fine powder it is sieved and then placed in sacks. The produce of Aali commands a ready sale, for all the white-wash used in Bahrain is made there or in the neighbourhood and with the present building activities the people of the country have their work cut out to supply the local demand.

There is also in Bahrain a lime factory, owned by a member of the Ruling Family, where lime is produced by modern methods.

## FISHING

Fish and fish oil are used for many purposes in Bahrain. The former is one of the staple items of food among the poorer classes, it is used for manure in gardens and for feeding cows and donkeys. Fish oil is used for oiling wooden boats to make them seaworthy. The fact that Bahrain cows are fed on fish, together with dates, date stones, lucerne and bran, leads people to expect that the local milk will taste unusual. This is not true despite the reports of journalists, who hear about the fishy diet without tasting the milk and describe its flavour as unpleasant. Milk from Bahrain cows, if they receive a balanced diet, is unusually good and has a higher average fat content than the milk of ordinary English cows. The use of fish oil on the boats along the shore has little to commend itself to visitors, the smell is extremely disagreeable and drives the people who live in houses near the sea to shut all their windows when the boats are being treated.

228 656 178 The Bahrain Government has tried hard to encourage the diving industry, by the remittance of the registration fees on diving boats, by customs concessions and by other means, but it is certain that the industry will never return to its palmy days when so many of the people of Bahrain were connected with it or depended on it.

228 431 609 Visitors to the pearl banks are advised to set out at about midnight from Bahrain. Launches can be hired in Manama or Muharraq and if they leave at twelve midnight, the banks will be reached at two or three in the morning. The remainder of the night can be spent lying at anchor and in the early morning the opening of the shells can be watched, followed by the preparations for the day's work and the actual diving. The divers have no objection to being photographed at their work and welcome foreigners on board their boats, they do, however, appreciate a present from visitors and it is a good plan to take out some fresh dates or other fruit, for the boats, particularly at the end of the season, are usually low in fresh provisions and such a gift is very welcome.

## CHAPTER VII

## LOCAL INDUSTRIES

### THE POTTERIES

323 [438] PEARLING is not the only ancient industry in Bahrain, for the presence in many parts of the islands of pottery sherds indicates that pottery has been made here for many centuries. Today this industry is restricted to the village of Aali whose inhabitants work in the same way as did their forefathers, scorning modern innovations.

[472] From the hills around Rifaa the clay is brought to Aali, brown and red clay for the coarser objects and white clay for finer work. The raw clay is beaten and then mixed with water until it is ready for throwing by the younger members of the potter's family, for each pottery is a separate family concern. All the processes which go into the making of pottery take place in small sheds, in each one a potter can be seen at work, his feet in a pit working the wheel which is on a level with his waist. Rapidly he flings lumps of clay on to the spinning wheel and with deft fingers works the shapeless mud into graceful jars, bowls and other utensils. When each piece is completed it is set in the sun to dry before being taken to the oven. Most of the ovens [172] are built in the prehistoric tumuli south of the village, which have been excavated. A hole is made in the roof of the tomb and another at the side; in the former the objects to be baked are placed and the latter is filled with firewood. When the fires are lit the tombs become miniature volcanoes with thick smoke belching from their peaks, slowly the fires die down, the smoke clears and the baked pottery is removed and the ovens are prepared for the next baking.

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1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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The Ruler's Palace at Rifaa al-Gharbi. Photo : National Art Studio.

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An Ash potter making jar tops.

A hunting falcon on the hand of one of the Ruler's retainers. Photo : Sir Charles Belgrave.

1; Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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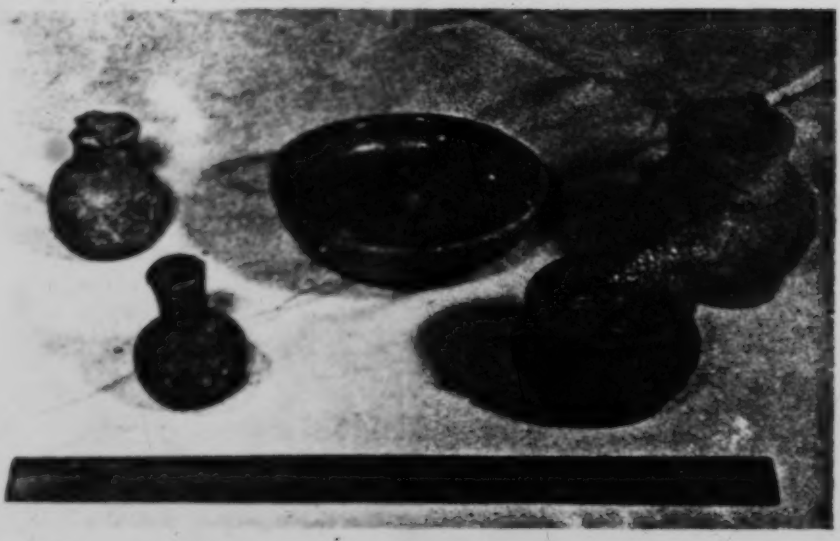

A bowl and some jars found in a tumulus on the Budeiya Road. Photo : General Stores

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The Ruins of the Suq al-Khamis Mosque. Photo : The Author.

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the most logical is that of H. R. P. Dickson, who says in his *The Arab of the Desert* that the name is derived from the Indian boat called "Gallevat" which is in turn derived from the Portuguese "Galeote" or Galley. 501 396

The type of craft most used for pearling in Bahrain is the Sambuq, which has a long finely curved bow and a square stern. It has two masts and is usually fully decked. Another boat of the same type is the Shu'ai, which only differs from the Sambuq in the shape of the stem piece. A second boat with Portuguese connections is the Baghala, a large craft with a comparatively short curved stem-piece. The Baghala has a distinctive square stern set with windows, which, although often false, give the stern the appearance of an old fashioned European man-of-war. The largest boat now being built is the Boom, which can be identified by its long straight stem-piece and its stern, set about 10° from the vertical.

Boats are not built on the scale of former days, for the decline of the pearling industry and the development of the fast launch have reduced the demand for the large old-fashioned sailing boats. Launches need a smaller crew, they are more useful for work between steamers and the shore and over short distances, and are now in many other ways a more satisfactory investment than sailing boats.

Many small types of boats are used around the shores of Bahrain for fishing and for carrying passengers between the islands. Some of these are built like miniature sambuq, while others have the vertical bow of the jalibut. There is also the huri, a primitive canoe hollowed out of the trunk of a tree and imported from Africa for use as a ship's dinghy. An entirely local product is the huwairiyah, a craft built of date stems tightly tied together with date fibre and soaked in fish oil. These little boats, which if well made are entirely water-proof, can carry a man or two boys and are used for fishing and ferrying.

A question that always confuses visitors to Bahrain is the word "dhow"; this name, originally unknown to the Arabs, is used by Europeans to include all Persian Gulf sailing boats, and has become so general that Arabs, finding the word useful, are now beginning to use it themselves.

The craftsmen who make the boats of Bahrain have an interesting sideline, they make perfect miniature models of the large sailing boats, not only of the ones at present in use but also of the obsolete types, and these can be purchased from them and make interesting ornaments in the house or souvenirs of Bahrain. [523]

### JUS

"Jus," the Arabic for gypsum, has always been used for building purposes in Bahrain; the pre-historic tombs are lined with it and it was used for the construction of the 10th century mosque at the Suq al-Khamis. It is found in slabs below the ground and is collected in many places in Bahrain, in Lozi, from the desert north of Awali and from the Howar Islands. The gypsum is often prepared on the spot where it 316 339

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is quarried, lorry loads of wood are brought out, and, as in the manufacture of lime, layers of gypsum are interspersed with layers of wood and the pile fired. The slabs of gypsum are then removed and beaten into a fine powder which, when mixed with water, acts like cement. It has the advantage of being quick setting and is still used by those who cannot afford to buy imported cement.

### WEAVING

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Weaving is carried on in some of the villages of Bahrain, in Abu Saiba, south of the Budaiya Road and elsewhere. "Awzars," simple garments worn by the villagers around their waists in the summer, are woven from imported cotton, while in many coastal villages the sailors spend the winters weaving sail-cloth. The prisoners on Jidda Island are also employed in weaving, on imported Irish looms, but their activities can hardly be classed as a local industry.

## CHAPTER VIII

## THE ANTIQUITIES OF BAHRAIN

### THE WORLD'S LARGEST GRAVEYARD

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THE tumuli of Bahrain have never been counted, but their number has been estimated at 50,000. In these tumuli Bahrain possesses one of the unsolved mysteries of archaeology, for despite the numerous expeditions that have been made to discover their origin, this is still in dispute.

There are three groups of tumuli in Bahrain. The largest group is that which lies on the plain between Aali and the Rifaas. The second group is to the far north of Bahrain, on each side of the Manama-Budaiya Road between Jidhafs and Diraz. The third group, consisting of a few dozen graves, is in the clearing to the north of the Suq al-Khamis Mosque.

The first group of tombs is daily passed by hundreds of people travelling between Manama and Awali, but the best examples of tumuli in this group are not along the main road but are near the village of Aali. These mounds are the largest in Bahrain and while some of them are used by the villagers for baking their pottery, the majority are just as they were left after their opening by various archaeologists. Most of these tombs face south-west and P. B. Cornwall[1] has suggested that the reason for this is that the builders of the mounds worshipped the Evening Star, Venus, which at sunset lies to the south-west. The majority of the tumuli have two storeys and, in the chamber tombs, there are niches cut into the sides of the passages. The sides and roofs of the graves themselves are of local stone and were originally covered with a layer of gypsum. Some of the tumuli are surrounded by low walls of mud and gravel. Finds in these tumuli have included the bones of men and animals, ivory statues, pieces of circular boxes, golden ornaments and earthenware vessels decorated with black stripes.

There is little agreement among the experts as to the origin and dating of these burials and each has drawn his own deductions from the

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

658 In addition to these major works, a number of smaller buildings have been made, such as garages, dispensaries, extensions to existing buildings, quarantine station, small country schools, bridges, and water channels.

[339] In all buildings, local material is almost entirely employed. All buildings are made of coral stone, which is cut from the bed of the sea and brought to the shore in boats. Gutch plaster is obtained locally, and also lime, and the wood, although imported, is purchased from local merchants. Steel beams are bought in Europe, and latterly metal fittings have been imported direct from England.

**Jufair Naval Base.** At the request of the naval authorities the Bahrain Government undertook the construction of the Naval base at Jufair. The work lasted from May 1935 till May 1936. The most important buildings were a pier on the southern side of the point, 600 yards long and 10 feet wide, a canteen building with two billiard rooms, an officers' building, clerk-in-charge's house, store, Indian staff quarters, etc., etc. The Bahrain Government, in addition to the building, installed a complete water supply and drainage system; this part of the work was done by the State Engineer. All the houses were built in the usual style, of stone and cement, but tiles, imported from Busra, were used for flooring.

The cost of the most important buildings was approximately as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Pier ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | Rs 12,800/- |
| Canteen ... ... ... ... ... ... | 23,200/- |
| Clerk-in-Charge's house ... ... ... ... ... | 11,400/- |
| Officers' building ... ... ... ... ... | 18,800/- |

The above figures do not include the cost of electric and water supply installation.

653 491 **Manamah-Muharraq Road.** For many years it had been the wish of His Highness Shaikh Hamad to build a road across the sea, connecting the towns of Manamah and Muharraq, which are separated by a mile and 1,166 yards of sea, much of which is dry at low tide. In the past, connection between the two islands was only possible by boats, and on some occasions, during very low tides or in abnormally rough weather, it was almost impossible to cross the gap. Muharraq town is almost as large as Manamah, and the island contains a number of villages as well as the town of Hedd, which is the third largest town in Bahrain. When Muharraq was used as an aerodrome, the need for easier communication between the two islands became more necessary. When the project of building a road across the sea with some sort of bridge over the deep channel was first discussed, many people considered and said that it was an impossible proposition.

In 1348 the causeway was begun. It was estimated that the cost of completing it, not including the bridge, would be Rs 6,00,000/-. It was built of coral stone, with outside walls of murubaa stone and a centre filling of fisht stone surfaced with sand, and provided with culverts at every 100 yards. The width of the road is 32 feet, and the maximum height from the sea bed at the deepest place is 13 feet.

The causeway, without the bridge, was completed and opened for motor traffic at the end of 1936. Work on the road has not been carried out continuously, but during the seven years of its construction when money has been available the work has been continued, and only at times other than the diving season, when much unemployment existed. The total cost of the road from Manamah to the edge of the deep channel and from Muharraq to the channel is Rs 1,99,800/-. Of this amount, Rs 4,000/- was subscribed by a merchant of Muharraq as a contribution from 'thilth.'

It is now possible to reach Muharraq in less than ten minutes, at all times of the day or night and in all weather conditions. There are motor bus services to and from the end of the causeway, and when arrangements have been made for crossing the channel, which are now under consideration, there will be a bus service to Muharraq, Hedd, and other villages on Muharraq island. Already the road has caused an improvement in property values in Muharraq, and people working in

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# Part III.—AROUND BAHRAIN.

## MANAMA

361 THE capital of Bahrain, Manama, with a population, in 1950, of 39,648, is situated on the low lying coast at the north end of Bahrain Island. Most parts of the town are only two or three feet above sea level and close below the ground there is brackish water which accounts for the excessive humidity during the summer. The town extends for 1½ miles along the northern shore and about the same distance down the east coast. Although Manama, which means "The Place of Sleeping," is known to have existed in the 15th century and is mentioned by the Portuguese, it contains no ancient buildings, and possibly the oldest relic of the past is the tomb of Shaikh Ahmed al-Khalifah, who conquered Bahrain in 1782, situated near the Awal Cinema.

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The most attractive view of Manama is from the sea. Approaching the port from Saudi Arabia one sees a long line of tall, white houses with deep-shadowed verandahs, rising above the brilliantly coloured water. Around the Customs Pier, which extends for a quarter of a mile into the sea, there are usually 70 or 80 local sailing craft and launches whose crews and cargoes fill the pier to overflowing. The skyline of the town is broken by two or three minarets, the tallest being that of the Juma Mosque, while on the shore to the east of the town can be seen the graceful wind-towers which were used to catch the breeze before the days of electric fans and air-conditioning.

342 Most of the houses are built from coral stone, quarried from the bed of the sea at low tide, plastered and painted white. A noticeable feature of Bahrain architecture is the use of large flat sheets of coral stone set between masonry pillars in the walls of the houses. In some districts of the town there are still numbers of "barastis", huts made of palm branches, but these are rapidly being replaced by stone and cement houses.

361 The centre of the town is Shaikh Sulman Square with, on the north,
344 the Pier and the Customs premises and on the south "Bab al-Bahrain," the Gate of Bahrain, a large block of Government offices with an archway in the centre leading through to the principal street in the bazaar. In the centre of the Square is a circular garden, the walls of which are made from cement panels decorated with traditional Bahraini designs, arabesques, of pleasing appearance. The bazaar extends for some
366 distance on each side of Barrett Road, the main street. To its west
443 are the Municipal Buildings and an open market where, on Wednesday mornings, the people of the villages bring their produce to sell.

The Manama bazaar rightly claims to be the emporium of the Gulf, it contains both narrow streets of picturesque little shops, full

361 when the date pickers descend on the village and put up their barastis.
295 Lower Sehlah is reached by a bridge across the water channel that borders the Manama-Awali Road. This village is surrounded by date gardens and can also be reached by a footpath from Adari. The gardens in the neighbourhood of the two villages are among the best and most thriving in Bahrain, and the date groves are locally described as the hump of Bahrain, not because they rise above the surrounding lands but on account of their being the richest and most fertile in the islands.

### AALI

361 After leaving the palm belt and entering the plain north of Rifaa, thick smoke can usually be seen rising from among some date gardens to the west, this is the village of Aali, one of the largest in Bahrain. It lies on the western edge of the plain which extends from the end of the date gardens at the bridge of Radhm al-Qawari to the Rifaa hills, and is close to a group of the largest tumuli in Bahrain which are a conspicuous feature of the landscape of Bahrain island. The largest mounds in the Aali group are over 80 feet high and 100 feet in diameter.
[491] The best road to Aali is the one indicated by the sign-post on Awal
[542] Road, a short distance from Radhm al-Qawari. The houses of this village are better than in most of the Bahrain villages; they are large and airy and some of them have blocks of stone from the tombs in their walls. As in the case of so many Bahrain villages, Aali stands on a slight elevation surrounded by date gardens.

### RIFAA AL-GHARBI

644 Straddling Awal Road on the edge of the rim-rock is the town of
361 West Rifaa, the winter residence of H.H. The Ruler of Bahrain as well as of many of his family and retainers. This settlement is comparatively modern, having been built by the present Ruler before he succeeded in 1942. Constructed in the traditional Arab pattern, the Palace is in the centre of the town and the other houses are widely scattered about it. The Ruler's love of gardens has caused the road to be lined with trees, and it is a pleasant surprise on coming across the desert surrounding the town to pass through a shady green avenue. During the three months of the Summer the Ruler lives in Manama, but as soon as the cool weather returns a long procession of cars and lorries moves slowly out of Rifaa, the lights go on, and overnight the appearance of West Rifaa is changed from a deserted town to a scene of much activity.

### RIFAA ASH-SHARQI

361 This is the fourth largest town in Bahrain and has a population
712 of about 3,000. East Rifaa is without doubt the most picturesque of Bahrain's towns and villages. When approached from the west, from the plain near Awali, the fortress, which domin.tes the valley, presents a most romantic appearance and carries one's thoughts back

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

laughter comes from the Club House Swimming Bath and in the evenings sports of all kinds take place inside the camp. Today Awali is a town of some 400 houses inhabited by 2,000 Europeans and Americans. Shady trees line the roads and in fact there is little to suggest the presence of oil. The roads are surfaced with it, but otherwise it is not visible, though oil is the *raison d'etre* of this town set in such an inhospitable situation, to which water has to be piped from miles away and where to plant a tree a pneumatic drill is required to pierce the rock on which the town is built.

### SAKHIR

Driving from Awali to Zellaq the traveller will notice a group of large buildings on the south of the road near the foot of the Jebal. This is Sakhir, founded by Shaikh Muhammad bin Khalifa (1843-67, d. 1890), but the majority of buildings which exist today were built by the late Ruler of Bahrain. The present Ruler makes little use of Sakhir, and the attractive mosques, balconied dwelling houses and high roofed rooms are now deserted ; the only human beings who remain are the Bedouin in charge of the horses and camels which are still kept there. The climate of Sakhir is excellent and in the spring there are fields of grass which provide grazing both for domestic animals, gazelle and hare. When Sakhir was occupied Saluqis were much in evidence, Shaikh Hamed was a great lover of this fine breed of dogs and his favourite hound, Housha, followed him wherever he went. It should be remembered that Sakhir is the private property of the Ruler, from whom permission must be obtained before it is visited.

### JEBAL AD-DUKHAN

The "Mountain" of Bahrain has already been mentioned in the Introduction, but it deserves further notice. From its peak, which is marked by a trigonometry marker, it is possible to see, on a clear day, the entire area of Bahrain from Manama and Muharraq on the north to Ras al-Barr, while on the east and west the sea is even nearer. From the peak an excellent bird's eye view of Awali can be seen, and, at night, the flares at Dhahran and at Dukhan in Qatar are visible. The strange formation of the island, with the rim-rock and the central depression can be seen from the Jebal. At the head of a wadi facing towards Awali is the Jebal cave, some 15 × 35 × 6 ft., which is hollowed out of the rock, probably by water erosion for the fantastic patterns on the walls would seem to point to nature's rather than man's handiwork.

### JAW AND DOUR (DAR AL-MANADI.)

On the east coast of Bahrain about a mile south of the highest peak of the Jebal are the villages of Dour and Jaw, similar in character and appearance and the southernmost inhabited villages on the east coast of Bahrain. The villages are about a mile apart and both are on the shore, they consist of a poor type of stone and gypsum hut inhabited

two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya. It was the home of the Dawasir tribe who came to Bahrain shortly after it was conquered by the al-Khalifah and established themselves here. The tribe acquired great wealth and prestige, owning many pearling dhows, and by degrees they became so powerful that they were able to raid with impunity the neighbouring Bahrana villages. They even challenged the authority of the al-Khalifah, but Shaikh Hamed, on becoming Deputy Ruler in 1924, threatened to punish them if they did not behave. This they considered as an infringement of their liberties and they therefore announced to the Ruler that if he prevented them behaving as they were accustomed, they would leave Bahrain and settle in Saudi Arabia. Shaikh Hamed refused to give way and the Dawasir left Bahrain. This, however, was not the last of them, for during many years it was believed that they were preparing to invade Bahrain. To prevent this a force was maintained in the Islands. However, the scare eventually died down and Budaiya after lying deserted, was later partly re-occupied by other Bahrainis, while some of the Dawasir gradually returned, many of them settling in Manama and Muharraq.

The ruins of great houses and mosques still remain, while scattered between them are the houses of the new inhabitants, who do much fishing in the prolific waters near the town, and also work in Manama and Awali. Before reaching the Police Post that marks the entrance to Budaiya the road passes through the Government Experimental Garden where new agricultural methods are tried and where cows and sheep, kept under scientific conditions, are studied for their productivity. From the Budaiya Pier launches go to Jidda, the prison island, many of whose inmates come over daily to work in the Budaiya Garden. The Pier is also used by the Ruler when he visits his island of Umm an-Nasaan.

The small Government school at Budaiya just south of the Government gardens, in addition to teaching the usual Primary School subjects gives lessons in agriculture for many of the boys' fathers own or work in gardens in the neighbourhood.

DIRAZ

Diraz is a village about half a mile north of the Budaiya Road and about 1½ miles from Budaiya itself. It consists mainly of stone houses, many of which are two-storied. The village stands on high ground among the sand dunes and is very similar to Beni Jumra which faces it a little way off on the opposite side of the road. It is so surrounded by clumps of date palms that its size is not appreciated from the road. A feature noticeable here, as well as in many other parts of Bahrain, is that date palms grow in groups at the bottom of depressions in the sand and are not irrigated by water channels but obtain moisture from below the surface of the ground.

North-west of the village there are mounds which indicate the existence of a much larger settlement in the past and an extensive area of ground is covered with glass and pottery sherds. Among the ruins

### ZELLAQ

361 South again of Malakiya is Zellaq, the southernmost village on the
342 western Coast of Bahrain and approximately three miles west of Sakhir. A road runs from Zellaq to Awali and is much used by BAPCO employees coming to swim at the former place. The houses of Zellaq village, which are of stone, are built along the shore and many of them are large and spacious. As a result of the activities of BAPCO, Zellaq village has increased in size and prosperity and now contains a number of substantial white stone buildings which are conspicuous from a long distance across the flat and sandy plain that surrounds it.

162 The inhabitants of Zellaq are Sunni Arabs; some are from the Dawasir tribe, and many of them are dependents of the Ruling Family.
311 North of the village there are a number of large gardens, irrigated by innumerable artesian wells, which are owned by members of the Ruling Family and by their servants; these gardens form a green belt along the two miles of coast between Zellaq and Sedad.

512 The Bahrain Petroleum Company has a pump house at Zellaq which supplies Awali with much of its water and Zellaq was also once the discharging point for tankers bringing crude oil from Saudi
517 Arabia, before the submarine pipe-line was laid. Near the pumping station is the BAPCO Plage, the excellent bathing place which is much used by the employees of BAPCO, particularly in the Summer evenings.

### RAS AL-BARR

521 This, the southernmost point of the Bahrain islands, is a popular
481 place for summer picnics, but the approaches to it are difficult, and although never dangerous they can easily cause trouble to visitors by
191 the softness of the sand. It is best to travel in parties with not less than two cars, so that one can come to the help of the other if necessary, and care should be taken to keep to the tracks, however faintly indicated rather than to carve out new roads in the desert. The road to Ras al-Barr from Zellaq first passes through Mutalla, the Ruler's hunting lodge, while that from Awali past the Jebel passes another hunting lodge at Rumaitha before joining the Western road at Akala. From here the road goes south, past the swamps on the coast and along the narrow strip of sand which marks the end of the island.

136 In certain seasons of the year the shores along this part of Bahrain
262 are covered with the eggs of sea-birds, and many Arab dhows anchor off the coast while the crews remove the eggs for food. If one is lucky, while driving down the coast, hare and gazelle may be seen, as well as rose-tinted flamingoes on the shore.

## MUHARRAQ ISLAND

### MUHARRAQ

491 The visitor from Manama approaches Muharraq by crossing the
486 1½ mile long causeway and Shaikh Hamed Bridge, completed in 1942,

which opens at 11 a.m. and at midnight, for an hour, to allow the passage of vessels through the deep channel between the two islands. There is a toll gate at the bridge and cars coming from Muharraq to Manama are charged 4 annas. Beyond the bridge, around a group of white buildings, the Customs House, Police Station and Municipal Office, there is always a scene of much activity. Here boats unload their cargoes and buses fill with passengers bound for all parts of the Islands. The sea road continues along the water front until it turns inland towards the airport. Much of the ground inside the sea road has not yet been reclaimed and at high tide the sea forms little squares of still water where children sail home-made boats. On Muharraq sea front there are several important buildings, a government dispensary, a large school and, at the northern corner, a block of flats.

Another road, opposite the causeway, runs up into the town passing through the bazaars, which branch off to the north and south. The Muharraq shops are of the old fashioned type, with neither plate glass nor fixed prices. There are antique dealers and carpet sellers and all the usual traders found in Arab towns. Ships chandlers are numerous as Muharraq has always been a sea faring centre. Arab chests, carved or brass bound, carpets, worked leather sandals, divers' equipment and goods of interest to tourists can be bought here at prices lower after judicious bargaining, than those in Manama.

Today Muharraq is still a typically Arab town, a fact of which its inhabitants are proud. Most of the shops are owned by Arabs and are not occupied by Indians or Persians as in Manama. The town, although it was once the capital of Bahrain, the centre of the pearl industry and the focus of trade (a fact that its inhabitants remember with pride) has developed more slowly than Manama. There are few modern buildings, only one cinema and no large European style shops, but its climate is said to be pleasanter than Manama and it is not so humid in the summer. Muharraq was once a walled town but no traces of the walls now remain. The high old houses which line the narrow streets have changed little during the last century, except where corners have been cut away to make passages for large American cars. Many of the larger houses belong to the Ruling Family. They are built around courtyards and in some cases a big house contains three or four such courtyards, surrounded by high walls with few outward-looking windows in them to screen the house from prying eyes.

Muharraq has a telephone service, electric light, a Post Office and a filling station, but no main water supply, apart from artesian wells. As in the case of Manama, the affairs of the town are controlled by an elected Municipal Council presided over by a member of the Ruling Family.

The sea surrounds the town on three sides but at the northern end a new residential area is developing on land which is being sold by the Municipality for building purposes. East of the town is the bay of Arad, the ancient name for Muharraq at the time of Alexander,

## LITERACY

212 An effort was made to ascertain the number of literates.
162 In addition to people who were educated at Government and private schools those who had learned to read and write at Quran schools were counted as literate. The first Government school was opened in 1919 and during the last twenty years the number of schools for boys and girls has steadily increased. Persons registered as literate amounted to 14,057. If Europeans and Indians were deducted from this total there remain about 10,000 literates among the local population of 105,000, approximately 10% of the indigenous population being literate. This percentage, for Bahrain, is not low.

## HOUSES

362 All occupied houses were numbered and counted; in some cases a "house" consisted of one small hut, in other cases it was a building occupied by thirty or forty members and hangers-on of one family. Empty houses, of which there were none in Manamah and few in Muharraq, were not included. The number of houses in Manamah was 8,703 and in Muharraq 3,790; in the first census the numbers were 4,051 and 3,155 respectively. In nine years 1,600 new houses have been built in Manamah and 800 in Muharraq. In both towns the proportion of stone houses has increased considerably. The figures for houses in the villages are less accurate, it was often difficult to determine where one dwelling, consisting of a group of huts in a compound, ended and the next dwelling began. The census showed 6,232 houses in the villages and islands as against 5,575 in 1941. Taking the whole population and the number of houses, the average number of persons occupying one house was 6½.

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## REVIEW OF 1372

000 The two most important events during the year were the conclusion of a new oil agreement between the Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company and His Highness Shaikh Sulman's first visit to Europe to attend the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth.

471 651 439 The new oil agreement was on a 50—50 basis on the same lines as other agreements which have recently been made between governments and oil companies in the Middle East, it also provided for a payment to the State on oil imported into Bahrain for refining. As a result of this agreement the total revenue for the year under review was 373½ lakhs of rupees, approximately £2,800,000, though the new scale of payments was not in operation throughout the whole of 1372.

652 657 Expenditure was higher than in 1371. Excluding the one third of the oil revenue, which is paid to the Privy Purse, 48 per cent. of the State's expenditure was on social and public services; Education, Public Health, Public Protection and grants to Municipalities absorbed 18½ per cent., 15-3/8 per cent., 10-4/5 per cent., and 3 per cent. respectively, including capital expenditure on new schools, dispensaries and police quarters. The demand for more schools and hospitals is continuous and insistent but few Bahrain people realise the heavy recurrent cost of medical and education services which can be maintained on the present scale only as long as the present revenue continues.

651 511 342 471 Trade flourished and the revenue from customs was higher than in the previous year; during recent years customs collections have risen annually. Local prosperity was apparent from what might be described as a building boom. Many new houses and shops were built in the towns and suburbs by private enterprise. The type of house varied from European style bungalows and blocks of flats, built by merchants and shaikhs for letting, to small stone houses which are gradually replacing barastis, palm branch huts. Several serious fires in barasti areas, which destroyed many dwellings, gave an impetus to building. Working men who owned pieces of ground built small houses and the Government received hundreds of applications from people who wished to buy building plots. Unfortunately the Government owns very little land in and around the towns, much of it having been given away or sold cheaply many years ago.

511 167 161 The standard of living in Bahrain is very much higher than it was a few years ago and the health of the people is noticeably better than it used to be. For these reasons and owing to a steady influx of foreigners, mostly from Oman and the Trucial Coast, who come to Bahrain to work, it is believed that there has been a substantial increase in the population which at the time of the last census, in 1950, was found to be 110,000.

578 The state of public security was good in spite of the presence of large a number of foreigners who are not as naturally law abiding as the people of Bahrain. There were no political or labour disturbances.

648 439 Relations with Quatar deteriorated owing to incidents connected with the visit of a party of Bahrain schoolboys and school teachers to Zubara during the Spring holiday. The commercial development of Qatar tended to reduce Bahrain's transit trade and deprived some of the Bahrain merchants of agencies which used to include both Bahrain and Qatar. Relations with Saudi Arabia and Iraq were friendly, a deputation headed by Shaikh Isa bin Sulman, His Highness's eldest son, represented Bahrain at the coronation of King Faisal in Baghdad.

## MUNICIPALITIES

### MANAMA MUNICIPALITY

(From the report of Mr. Mohamed Saleh Shater, Secretary of the Manama Municipality)

633 795 At the beginning of the year, owing to sectarian differences between Sunni and Shia members in 1371/A which caused the resignation of the Shia members, Municipal affairs were being dealt with by a committee of Sunnis. This was the situation until the middle of the year when the Government succeeded in persuading the Shia members to resume their duties on the Council. They returned on the understanding that they would serve for only one year after which an election should be held.

During the latter part of the year the Council functioned in a more or less normal manner; by shelving all matters which might cause controversy between the sects the Council succeeded in performing its duties without serious differences. The situation, however, was not satisfactory.

633 **Finance.** The Financial Committee which drew up the budget was formed from the temporary Sunni committee. Estimated revenue for 1372 was Rs. 7,04,000 and expenditure was assessed at the same figure. The actual revenue exceeded the estimate by Rs. 1,16,000, the expenditure was Rs. 61,000 more than was expected and at the end of the year a surplus of revenue over expenditure amounting to Rs. 61,000 was added to the Reserve which was then Rs. 2,83,000.

651 427 The increase in revenue was due to a great extent to higher receipts from house and shop taxes. There were many new buildings in the town and higher rents were charged for existing buildings, both for houses and shops. House taxes and shop taxes on buildings which are leased are charged on a percentage basis of the rent. Taxation on houses which are occupied by their owners is extremely low in comparison with that of rented premises. A large proportion of the rented houses are occupied by foreigners and most of the houses in which the owners live are occupied by people of the country.

425 653 368 During the year the Municipality sold land to the public at the price of Rs. 35,200 and it purchased a new fire engine for Rs. 48,000. The Government presented to the Municipality a motor-driven trailer fire pump and jeep, a rubbish carrying vehicle and a gully emptying vehicle.

364 **Municipal activities.** Town cleaning was effected during the year by two trucks and 30 donkey carts, town rubbish was utilised to reclaim a large portion of sea on the shore at Hora, opposite Cable and Wireless premises. The method of employing donkey carts to carry town refuse is not a satisfactory one. An order was placed in England during the summer for small rubbish-carrying vehicles which can be used in narrow streets.

368 A number of roads in the town were metalled, the area dealt with was about 300,000 square feet on which was used 480,000 cubic feet of stone and 105,000 cubic feet of sand, the whole costing approximately Rs. 1,76,000.

363 247 Some progress was made in widening streets in the bazaar area, 112 new street lights were installed and more trees were planted on the roads, unfortunately each year a number of trees are destroyed, by wind or sometimes by rain which when it falls strongly seems to kill both plants and trees.

362 427 There was much building activity both in the town and on the outskirts of the town, numbers of small houses were built for occupation by their owners and more European style bungalows and flats were built for letting. House rents are excessively high, landlords expect to recover the cost of their property in less than ten years, so building houses for letting is at present a profitable investment. However, so many houses are now being built that it seems possible that in a short time there may be more houses than tenants.

633 342 During the year permits for new buildings were issued by the Municipality for 144 stone houses and 100 barasti huts and permits for repairs and additions to 186 shops and 717 houses were also granted.

1 [AD 1951-52 -- Analyst]

[Muharraq Municipality]

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There was a small increase in house tax collections but the sum of Rs. 3,370/-, owing to the Municipality, was written off as most of the 853 persons who were indebted had left Bahrain, which suggests some laxity on the part of tax collectors. Shop taxes, including market tax, produced less than in 1371. Shops are divided into two categories and pay Rs. 2/- and Rs. 1/8 per month, which is a very low rate, they should be assessed according to the rentals.

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The total expenditure was Rs. 3,23,600, it was Rs. 66,000 less than the estimated expenditure but exceeded the previous year's expenditure by Rs. 83,000. The largest item of expenditure was on widening roads and most of this amount was spent on compensating house owners for cutting part of their property.

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**Municipal Activities.** Two roads were surfaced with cold patch and another road was metalled and surfaced by the P.W.D., 58 new street lights were installed. The usual town cleaning services were effectively carried out and Municipal Officials were active in supervising the sale of fresh fruit and in inspecting animals in the slaughterhouse.

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During the year 16 new stone houses were built and 1,500 permits were issued for repairing stone houses and shops. Only 53 permits were issued for building or repairing baristis, as against 200 in the previous year. There were 285 unoccupied houses and compounds.

There was some building activity on the northern edge of the town where building plots have been bought from the Government and from the Municipality by persons wishing to build stone houses.

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On his return from England His Highness decided that a public garden should be made on the north side of Muharraq on a large triangular piece of land which was reclaimed from the sea shore by being filled with town rubbish.

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The Finance Committee at the end of the year again submitted a budget showing an anticipated deficit of Rs. 86,000.

## STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE. 1372

| Revenue | | | | Expenditure | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| House Tax | Rs. 41,169 | 3 | 9 | Staff Salaries | Rs. 72,698 | 3 | 6 |
| Shop Tax | 23,860 | 9 | 0 | Office Expenditure | 3,450 | 0 | 0 |
| Government Grant | 1,00,000 | 0 | 0 | Transport | 41,010 | 0 | 6 |
| H.H. Grant* | 1,00,000 | 0 | 0 | Upkeep of Roads | 55,874 | 7 | 0 |
| Wood, Char and Sheep Tax | 26,673 | 3 | 6 | Widening of Roads | 91,834 | 4 | 0 |
| Rent of Municipal property | 20,731 | 5 | 0 | Town Cleaning | 43,050 | 8 | 6 |
| Building and Matoc fees | 3,928 | 8 | 0 | Town Lighting | 4,531 | 1 | 0 |
| Miscellaneous Taxes and Fees | 9,248 | 7 | 0 | Upkeep of Public Wells | 2,180 | 6 | 0 |
| Water Rent | 1,699 | 0 | 0 | Pauper Burials | 5,104 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | Miscellaneous Fees | 3,190 | 3 | 0 |
| | | | | Upkeep of Municipal Property | 373 | 12 | 0 |
| | | | | Poor Relief | 381 | 2 | 0 |
| | | | | | Rs. 3,23,678 | 0 | 6 |
| | | | | Surplus of Revenue | 3,632 | 3 | 9 |
| | Rs. 3,27,310 | 4 | 3 | | Rs. 3,27,310 | 4 | 3 |

*Rs. 70,859/- was paid direct to the Government to settle its outstanding account.

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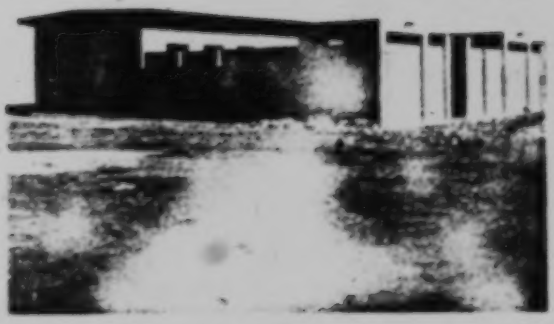

A workman's house built by Government.

"Barasti" dwellings

facing page 52

653 As usual, the activities of the Department[1] were diverse and far-reaching. The chief "new" construction works consisted of the completion of flats for investment at Muharraq and Rafaa Road ; offices in Barrett Road ; quarters for masters over the Technical School Workshop ; new private wards at the Hospital, the carrying on of work to the new Palace and additional quarters for masters over the Technical School itself, and the starting of a block of Staff Quarters at Quarantine site, Quadabiya. Very extensive works were also carried out for Customs ; four more stores sheds being erected, a large area of sea reclaimed, and a new jetty for local craft being started. For this Department, several other smaller, but important, works were also done. A larger amount than usual of simple construction work was let to contractors, including 36 workmen's houses, 43 houses for the Police, and various village dispensaries. It is argueable if the results are really satisfactory, and although money may be saved, it is possible only at the expense of a good standard of work. As usual, much work was done for the Electricity Department ; and agricultural development was greatly assisted. The amount of maintenance and decorating was, needless to say, higher than ever before ; and it has to be admitted that over this the Department failed, to some extent, to give a really good service. Fair service was given, but often the quality of work was indifferent. The construction of new roads and pavements, and the maintenance of those existing was energetically carried on. The main water supply was operated very successfully. A much larger amount of water was supplied—both to paying and non-paying consumers—and the accounts of the Water Supply Department (given later) are really encouraging.

653 177 ● 34d Every year the Department tackles a few jobs of unusual character. Of chief interest this year may be mentioned the two large roofs of the new Palace. These are of Mansard design, each 90 feet long, and with a clear span of 32 feet. Sixteen timber trusses were made, hoisted, and placed in position, 26 feet above ground, thanks to the invaluable assistance of the Bahrain Petroleum Company who kindly loaned a mobile crane with a 70 feet jib. The actual time spent on hoisting and fixing was just over twelve hours. Purlins and common rafters were fixed, and the roofs were then close-boarded, felted, counter-battened and battened. Later, green glazed pantiles were fixed. This was the first roofing job of its kind ever done in Bahrain; and it was gratifying to note how quickly the local tradesmen learned to tackle the work. The trusses were well and accurately made ; and the tiling—although done during Ramadhan and in very hot weather—took rather less than three weeks, and the result compares well with tiled roofs constructed anywhere.

000 In conclusion, 1372 has been a year of fair progress, but with some disappointing features. Much was satisfactorily accomplished ; but some results fell short of what is desirable. The very rapid expansion of the Department in the preceding five years is beginning to put a big and increasing strain on its organisation. Such success as there has been this year is largely due to excellent work done by Mr. L. Harris, Assistant to Officer-in-Charge, P.W.D. (who not only ran the Water Supply Department so well but also took charge of P.W.D. for three months at the end of the year) ; Mr. Ahmed Darwish, Office Superintendent (deservedly upgraded from Head Clerk during the year) ; a small number of hard working overseers, foremen, storekeepers and clerks and a nucleus of well proved tradesmen of long service.

Further commitments for P.W.D. are obviously bigger than ever before. To assist in meeting these, some addition to British personnel has been arranged. Extensions to the offices were built late in the year, to provide accommodation and to relieve the congestion in the old office. It is hoped that with the new staff and as a result of more local men taking courses in England, the Department will still prove capable of meeting its obligations and maintaining its tradition for good work and efficient service; and that it will continue to set an example of good workmanship and decent and appropriate design.

1 [The Public Works Department -- Analyst]

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Modern Villa in Manamah

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Street in Manamah

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Municipal Garden, Manamah

[facing p. 46B]

5: Bahrain G-5 (192/ -1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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in the case of the younger generation, who have passed through the schools. This generation has grown up under a regime of settled government and accepts as a matter of course the existence of regular law courts, regulations, schools, municipalities, and other governmental institutions, though many of the comparatively recent innovations are still resented and occasionally opposed by the old conservative element, which looks back regretfully to the days of the past when, by a little influence with important people and a little judicious expenditure, they would usually get their own way and do as they liked. Education, facilities for easier travel, contact with foreigners, both at home and abroad, and the effect of newspapers, books, and broadcasting, which stimulate an interest in foreign affairs, are some of the chief causes of the changes among the people of Bahrain. Most of the changes are for the better, but the sudden influx of large numbers of Europeans belonging to the Oil Company, many of whom are unaccustomed to Eastern countries, has had minor but unfortunate results. Beggars, who in the past were comparatively unobtrusive, now throng the bazaars and thrive on the misplaced generosity of white people; and the Arab children in the streets of Manamah, who used to be well-behaved, now follow Europeans about the bazaars and make impudent remarks to them in English.

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To-day, most of the young men in Manamah wear at least one article of European dress, usually a coat, and European shoes are rapidly taking the place of sandals; socks are universally worn, and the more advanced young Arabs wear complete suits of European style, but retain their Arab headdress. Importers of second-hand clothes, ranging from tail-coats to Central European military uniforms, do a good trade. To-day, a young man wearing entirely Arab dress is usually a foreigner or one of the Shaikhs' retainers. Labourers in the oil field who work near machinery are compelled to wear shirts and trousers, and this has contributed to a large extent to the change in dress. Even among the women, there is a tendency to wear articles of European clothing, especially stockings and shoes.

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Although there is still much poverty and unemployment in Bahrain, the general standard of living has improved, and the older men often complain that their sons are no longer content with the frugal diet of fish, rice, dates and, occasionally, meat, which was good enough for them when they were young. Bread is eaten much more than it used to be, and cheap tinned fruits and biscuits have become almost part of the regular diet in the houses of the middle and wealthy classes. The decrease in food prices has made it possible for poorer people to buy more food and to enjoy more variety. Ten years ago a bag of rice cost Rs 15.-; to-day it can be bought for Rs 11/-. The price of dates has fallen almost 50%, and the public can now buy cheap vegetable ghee instead of expensive clarified butter, which used only to be used by the wealthy classes. Before artesian wells were sunk, all water had to be bought, but to-day there is an artesian well in each district of the big towns, and women of the lower classes fetch their own water from the taps and cisterns. The water supply has encouraged cleanliness, as in the past, when all water had to be bought, there was little washing or bathing except by men in the sea during the summer.

The municipalities have done much to improve conditions, both by cleaning the streets, passing regulations affecting public health, and by building markets where meat, fish, and vegetables are sold under the supervision of municipal inspectors, who are also responsible for inspecting the abattoir. These officials visit the coffee shops and 'hotels' and report cases of the sale of bad meat or stale food to the public.

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**Houses.** In Manamah there has been a great improvement in the style of buildings. A number of small, sanitary, and well-ventilated houses have been built by private persons for letting purposes. Though the rooms are smaller than those in the old-fashioned houses, the construction is better, the importance of proper foundations is appreciated, and cement and steel beams are universally used. A few years ago the use of steel beams was considered, locally, extremely dangerous. Most of the new houses are equipped with electric light and have adequate sanitary arrangements. By degrees the 'barasti' type of house, built of palm branches, is decreasing, and its place is being taken by stone houses which are more permanent, more healthy, and less liable to catch fire or to collapse during storms.

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Houses are more elaborately equipped. Formerly a few mats and one or two carpets were sufficient furnishing for the Meglis of a merchant, but now, in most middle-class houses, there

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

The economic status of the divers is as desperate as their physical hardships. Their houses are huts which they build for themselves of woven palm leaves. Wages are paid in advance through the ship owners and financed by merchants who take profits in advance of ten or twenty per cent, according to the season. In the best diving season—from June to September—the divers have little more than enough for the barest necessities; but in the winter months when cold weather and high winds seriously impede and eventually halt their work, in order to keep alive the men have to resort to borrowing at high rates of interest, and so never get out of debt. As a consequence, condemned to a difficult, unhealthy and probably short life, the pearl diver is an inveterate gambler.

Since the abolition of the ancient Tribunal of Salifah in 1926, the captain of the boats has been required by law to keep an account of expenses and of the advances made to the divers, the taxes on which are fixed. The divers do not receive set wages, but after expenses have been deducted and the captain has taken his share of twenty per cent, the remainder is divided among the crew. The diver (*gawās*) receives twice as much as the hauler (*sib*) since his work is more dangerous. The second in command of the boat receives three parts of the profits (i.e. an amount equal to that of one diver and one hauler). He is called the Thursday, from a Persian word, probably because he is in charge of the boat on Thursdays, the captain's day off.

A comparatively recent traveler in the Near East has stated that there are occasional strikes for higher pay, though not the kind to which we are accustomed. It is the Sheik who declares the strike—and pockets the proceeds.

The diving season starts the middle of April and ends the middle of October. It is divided into five periods, the first of which, the *Ghaus al Bard*, begins the middle of April and lasts about a month. Deep sea fishing is not attempted and the divers relieve each other every half hour or so on account of the cold. The workers' share of the profits for this period is divided equally among the divers and the haulers because the latter have to

and Pakistan. Regular air communications are maintained to Iraq and Arabia, and the airport on Muharraq Island also serves international airlines with terminals in Europe, the Middle East and the Far East. Motor roads connect the towns and the villages on the different islands, and extend across causeways from Bahrain to Muharraq and Sitra. The local transport facilities are well developed, and motor bus routes link most of the population centers.

### Food and Nutrition

The food habits of the diverse racial groups are varied, but serious undernutrition is seldom encountered, except among the migratory laborers from the mainland and the Baharna and Arabs in the agricultural and the fishing villages. The islands are dependent upon imports for a large proportion of their food supply. The government controls certain essential foodstuffs, as wheat, rice and sugar, and regulates prices through a system of rationing.

The diet of the average Bahraini consists of dates, bread, rice and fish, supplemented by native vegetables in season and limited amounts of meat and milk. Goats are raised in many villages, though their milk is usually scanty and poor in quality. Most of the meat is imported from Iran, and is correspondingly expensive. An assortment of fruits and vegetables is generally obtainable in Manama markets by those who are able to purchase them.

### Housing

Manama is a cosmopolitan town, and the changes which have come about within the last two decades are reflected in the construction of increasing numbers of modern-type dwellings. Muharraq, in contrast, is a distinctly Arab community. Coral blocks, coral slabs and plaster are the usual building materials in the older houses, while cement is used extensively in the newer buildings. The typical Arab-style homes are built around inner courts and have utilitarian

p. 258(A)

63;Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN MEZ

342 flat roofs, surrounded by parapets. Those with two or more stories sometimes have broad balconies.

342 571 In the towns, the poorer people often occupy multifamily houses in the older, congested districts or live in hut settlements on the outskirts. The huts, known locally as *barastis*, are made of bamboo or date-stick poles interwoven with palm leaves, and roofed with palm-leaf matting. They are frequently grouped within pole and matting stockades, the individual huts being separated by narrow alleys. Of the 5,703 houses 342 counted in the town of Manama at the time 511 of the 1930 census, 2,608 were of palm-leaf 361 construction. Although the standards of living have improved among the laboring classes within recent years, most of the rural inhabitants dwell under primitive conditions, as did their forefathers. Palm-leaf huts predominate in the date garden and the fishing villages. They are admirably adapted to the heat of summer, but afford poor protection against the occasional cold winds.

186 361 663 342 The rural Baharna and Arabs live apart in segregated villages, and even in the towns there is a tendency for the different racial and religious groups to form distinct communities. The Bahrain Petroleum Company has created a self-sufficient modern settlement for its British and American employees at Awali, on the edge of the oil field area. The development of modern housing projects is also being promoted by the government, and plans are under consideration for the demolition of certain slum areas and the erection of low-rental dwellings.

## ENVIRONMENT AND SANITATION

### Water Supplies

312 The fame of the sweet-water springs of Bahrain stems from ancient times, and undoubtedly contributed to the early development of Manama as a trading center. No only do abundant sources of water exist in the oases along the northern end of Bahrain

Bahrain Government receives 50% of the profits of the oil industry. 652
The Eastern Bank, since it was established in 1919, has served as the State's Treasury and a Budget is published every year showing the revenue and expenditure of the State.

The Customs Directorate is in the centre of the Manama sea front 651
and there are subsidiary offices in Muharraq Town, at the Airport 439
and at Sitra. All goods of any kind which are imported or exported 504
must pass through the customs. The Customs Pier at Manama, which was originally built in 1917, has frequently been lengthened and enlarged and now extends for a quarter of a mile out to sea. Owing to shallow water, vessels in the Manama harbour have to anchor some three miles from the shore and passengers and cargo are conveyed to and from the steamers by launches, barges and sailing dhows. The port and storage facilities in Bahrain are better than elsewhere in the Gulf and importers are allowed to retain their goods in the customs premises for ninety days before re-exporting them. There are usually about 90-100 sailing vessels and launches alongside and anchored off the pier, these come from other Gulf ports, from the west coast of India and from the Red Sea. Walking down the customs pier one sees many interesting types of vessels and sea-faring Arabs from all parts of the Gulf and beyond it.

On the west of the entrance to the Pier is the Passport Office. 486
Passport Officials go aboard all passenger vessels and are present at the Airport when aircraft arrive. Bahrain has had its own passports since 1929.

On the south side of the Square, which has a little garden in the 344
centre of it, is the "Bab al-Bahrain," the Gateway of Bahrain, consisting of two large blocks of office buildings with an archway in the centre. On the south side of the western block there is a fine old Arab door and on the balconies of the buildings as well as around the garden in the Square there are cement panels containing Arabesque patterns copied from old buildings in Bahrain.

The Bab al-Bahrain contains the finance and accounts department 344
where all payments to the Government for electricity, water, etc., etc., 655
are made, the Land Department which deals with sales and registration 423
of property and questions about boundaries and ownership of land, the registration of sales being compulsory, and several other government offices. His Highness has a reception room overlooking the 643
square on the first floor of the building where he sits on Wednesday mornings. Here he receives any visitors who wish to call on him and sees people who present petitions. On Monday mornings he visits the Municipal Buildings at Muharraq where he holds a similar reception.

East of the Customs, on the sea front, is the Law Courts Building 692
which contains a number of different courts including religious courts presided over by the Qadis of the Sunni and Shia sects. Certain foreigners, including British, Americans, Pakistanis and Indians are under the judicial authority of H.B.M.'s Political Agent. In mixed

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1952 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# Part III.—AROUND BAHRAIN.

## MANAMA

361 The capital of Bahrain, Manama, with a population, in 1950, of 39,648, is situated on the low lying coast at the north end of Bahrain Island. Most parts of the town are only two or three feet above sea level and close below the ground there is brackish water which accounts for the excessive humidity during the summer. The town extends for 1½ miles along the northern shore and about the same distance down the east coast. Although Manama, which means "The Place of Sleeping," is known to have existed in the 15th century and is mentioned by the Portuguese, it contains no ancient buildings, and possibly the oldest relic of the past is the tomb of Shaikh Ahmed al-Khalifah, who conquered Bahrain in 1782, situated near the Awal Cinema. [103]

The most attractive view of Manama is from the sea. Approaching the port from Saudi Arabia one sees a long line of tall, white houses with deep-shadowed verandahs, rising above the brilliantly coloured water. Around the Customs Pier, which extends for a quarter of a mile into the sea, there are usually 70 or 80 local sailing craft and launches whose crews and cargoes fill the pier to overflowing. The skyline of the town is broken by two or three minarets, the tallest being that of the Juma Mosque, while on the shore to the east of the town can be seen the graceful wind-towers which were used to catch the breeze before the days of electric fans and air-conditioning.

342 Most of the houses are built from coral stone, quarried from the bed of the sea at low tide, plastered and painted white. A noticeable feature of Bahrain architecture is the use of large flat sheets of coral stone set between masonry pillars in the walls of the houses. In some districts of the town there are still numbers of "barastis", huts made of palm branches, but these are rapidly being replaced by stone and cement houses.

361 The centre of the town is Shaikh Sulman Square with, on the north, the Pier and the Customs premises and on the south "Bab al-Bahrain," 344 the Gate of Bahrain, a large block of Government offices with an archway in the centre leading through to the principal street in the bazaar. In the centre of the Square is a circular garden, the walls of which are made from cement panels decorated with traditional Bahraini designs, arabesques, of pleasing appearance. The bazaar extends for some 366 443 distance on each side of Barrett Road, the main street. To its west are the Municipal Buildings and an open market where, on Wednesday mornings, the people of the villages bring their produce to sell.

The Manama bazaar rightly claims to be the emporium of the Gulf, it contains both narrow streets of picturesque little shops, full

Sheikh Sulman Square and the Bab al-Bahrain. Photo : K. P. Narayan.

Bahrain Government Students' Hostel. Photo : Sir Charles Belgrave.

The Suq al-Khamis Market with the Mosque in the background. Photo : The Author.

J. Belgrave F-3 (80 date) 1953 MEC Bahrain MEC

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3rd

which opens at 11 a.m. and at midnight, for an hour, to allow the passage of vessels through the deep channel between the two islands. There is a toll gate at the bridge and cars coming from Muharraq to Manama are charged 4 annas. Beyond the bridge, around a group of white buildings, the Customs House, Police Station and Municipal Office, there is always a scene of much activity. Here boats unload their cargoes and buses fill with passengers bound for all parts of the Islands. The sea road continues along the water front until it turns inland towards the airport. Much of the ground inside the sea road has not yet been reclaimed and at high tide the sea forms little squares of still water where children sail home-made boats. On Muharraq sea front there are several important buildings, a government dispensary, a large school and, at the northern corner, a block of flats.

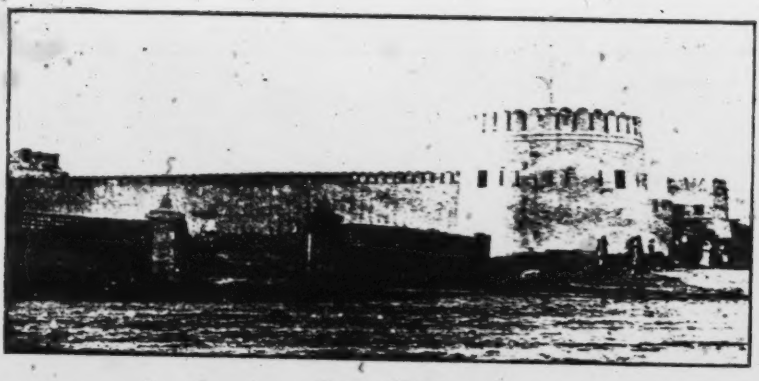
Another road, opposite the causeway, runs up into the town passing through the bazaars, which branch off to the north and south. The Muharraq shops are of the old fashioned type, with neither plate glass nor fixed prices. There are antique dealers and carpet sellers and all the usual traders found in Arab towns. Ships chandlers are numerous as Muharraq has always been a sea faring centre. Arab chests, carved of brass bound, carpets, worked leather sandals, divers' equipment and goods of interest to tourists can be bought here at prices lower after judicious bargaining, than those in Manama.

Today Muharraq is still a typically Arab town, a fact of which its inhabitants are proud. Most of the shops are owned by Arabs and are not occupied by Indians or Persians as in Manama. The town, although it was once the capital of Bahrain, the centre of the pearl industry and the focus of trade (a fact that its inhabitants remember with pride) has developed more slowly than Manama. There are few modern buildings, only one cinema and no large European style shops, but its climate is said to be pleasanter than Manama and it is not so humid in the summer. Muharraq was once a walled town but no traces of the walls now remain. The high old houses which line the narrow streets have changed little during the last century, except where corners have been cut away to make passages for large American cars. Many of the larger houses belong to the Ruling Family. They are built around courtyards and in some cases a big house contains three or four such courtyards, surrounded by high walls with few outward-looking windows in them to screen the house from prying eyes.

Muharraq has a telephone service, electric light, a Post Office and a filling station, but no main water supply, apart from artesian wells. As in the case of Manama, the affairs of the town are controlled by an elected Municipal Council presided over by a member of the Ruling Family.

The sea surrounds the town on three sides but at the northern end a new residential area is developing on land which is being sold by the Municipality for building purposes. East of the town is the bay of Arad, the ancient name for Muharraq at the time of Alexander,

344



Tower of Fort

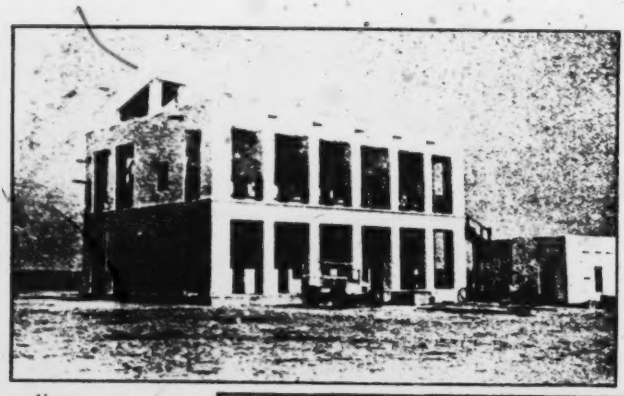
Prison Yard

[facing p 12]

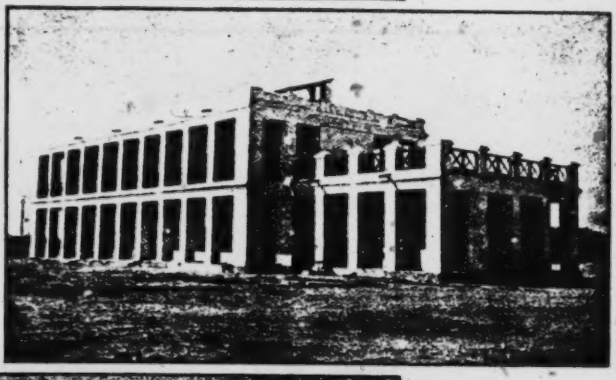
5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

• 344

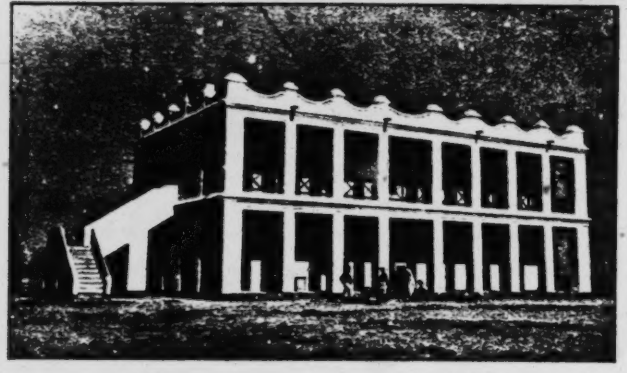
BUILDINGS CONSTRUCTED BY BAHRAIN GOVERNMENT AT NAVAL BASE, JUFAIR



*Above*
Clerk in Charge's House



*Right*
Canteen



*Left*
Officer's Building

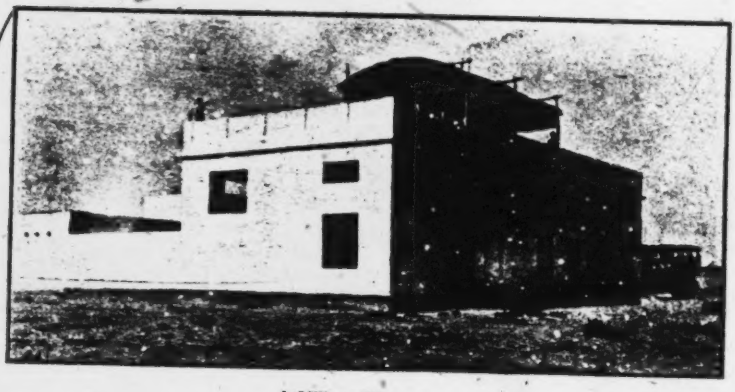
[facing P. 22 A]

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

346

Sooq Al Khamis Mosque

344



A Village Dispensary

[Facing p. 22B]

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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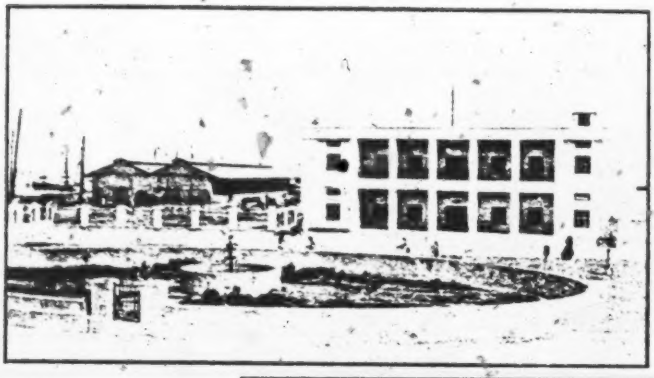


New Customs House and Round-about

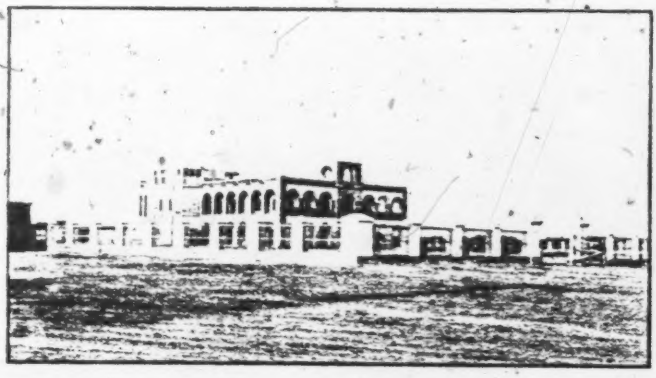
Government Shops

Women's Dispensary

[facing p. 24A]

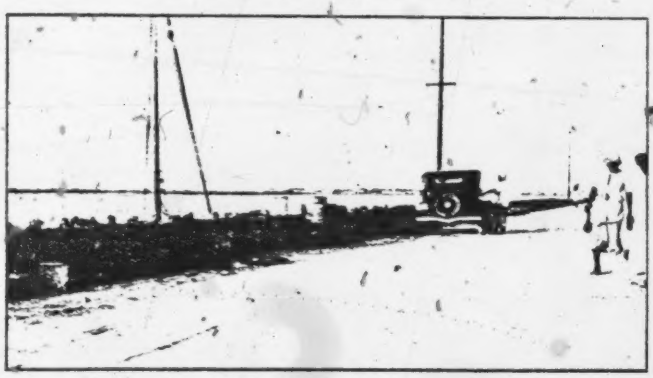
5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

344

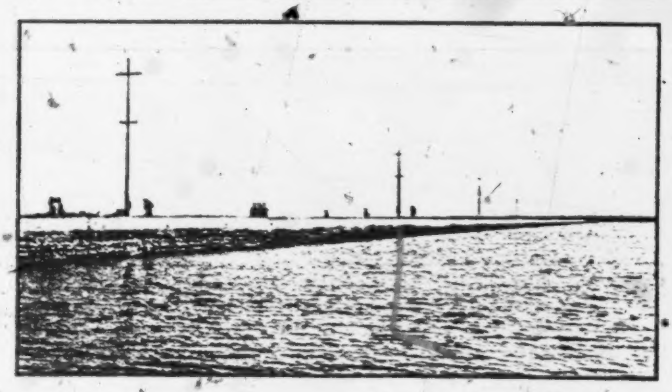


The Palace
Manamah.

491



Manamah
Muharraq
Sea Road



The Road
(From the Sea)

[facing p. 24B]

172 764 The tumuli on the Budaiya road are therefore as interesting as those to the south, in the Aali group, and are well worth a visit. Also on the north side of the road is a large mound believed to have been a temple of some sort; this can be distinguished by its large rooms and high protecting wall.

The third and smallest group of tombs is the group to the north of the Suq al-Khamis Mosque. While no detailed study has been made of these tumuli, the Manama Municipality, while collecting sand in this area, unearthed a tomb containing a small stone bowl with a simple circular design around the rim. According to the British Museum, this bowl dated from about 2500 B.C. and so it would seem that it has some connection with the granite bowl found near the Budaiya Road.

### THE SUQ AL-KHAMIS MOSQUE AND BILAD AL-QADIM

172 778 346 The oldest existing Moslem building in Bahrain and one of the most ancient Islamic relics in the Persian Gulf is the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, situated in the centre of the clearing about three miles from Manama on the road to Awali. Although its unusual twin minarets serve to identify it to the visitor, they are of comparatively recent construction and the ruined columns and walls within the low wall are all that remain of the ancient structure.

For many years the mosque has been slowly decaying, but in 1950 the Bahrain Government carried out some restoration work and the blocks and columns which for many years had lain in the sand were restored to their original position, the floor was cleared of the scrub growing there and it is now possible to obtain a better idea of the original shape and appearance of the mosque. Its former importance is shown by its careful construction from heavy columns and blocks hewn from Bahrain stone. There are few other ancient mosques in Bahrain which have been built with such care, most of them are simple erections of wood and mud, closely resembling the typical open mosques found, to this day, in Saudi Arabia.

The Suq al-Khamis Mosque differs from these other mosques in that it is of the more advanced courtyard type. The mosque itself is surrounded by an outer wall which was originally 27 by 30 yards but which is now slightly smaller. The interior of the mosque consists of three naves on each side of a central courtyard, the columns of the naves, which have been replaced by the Bahrain Government, are built from drum-shaped stones 1 ft. by 2 ft. and joined together with mortar. The pillar facades of the courtyard are still standing as they were built by the makers of the mosque. The Qibla (west) wall consists of broad pillars with half-column profiles and, according to Diez,[5] the strengthening wall of ragstone that can be seen at the base of the pillars and colums of the courtyard was erected when the mosque was rebuilt in the fifteenth century. The side walls of the courtyard are formed from double columns and the entrance or east wall of single columns. An interesting find that was made while the Bahrain Government was working on the mosque was of two graves below the east wall. The

graves were like those in the ancient graveyard nearby, they did not point towards Mecca as do Moslem graves, and so it would seem that the mosque was built on top of part of the ancient burial ground. The pillars and columns of the mosque were connected by keel-pointed arches and the ceiling was supported by two teak pillars 13 feet in height on the top of which rested a beam. The pillars and beam have been removed from the mosque and are in the possession of the Bahrain Government. It would seem that owing to the comparative weakness, of the pillars the roof can only have been made of some light material probably brushwood or palm-branches covered with earth. 172 778 346

Diez states that when he visited the mosque, early in the century, there was a long inscription in the Qibla wall of the courtyard which showed that the mosque in its latest form was built in the year 740 A.H. (1339/40 A.D.). This tablet, together with some inscribed blocks which used to be above the Qibla wall, have fallen from their place and while some pieces of them are still in the possession of the Bahrain Government many have disappeared. These inscriptions and the square inscribed stone over the door of the western minaret are all of the same period, but it seems probable that the shorter inscription near the door of the minaret dates from the eleventh century A.D. At the feet of the pillars of the west wall of the courtyard are the remains of two Qibla stones. These have also fallen into disrepair since the visit of Diez, the top half of each stone has disappeared and the writer has been unable to trace them. The presence of these Qibla stones is unusual, only in the mosques of Ibn Tulun in Cairo and of the Prophet at Medina are they present. Qibla stones were used before the introduction of the mihrab niche to indicate the direction of prayer. 172 778 346 212

The two Qibla stones bear inscriptions that show them to be of Shiite origin and so the mosque in its present form is a Shiite one. The inscription on a wooden pillar which once supported the roof and which has also disappeared, was of the same period and bore a similar inscription. The wooden pillars formerly in the mosque led Diez to ascribe the original mosque to the tenth or eleventh centuries A.D. It is interesting to note that wooden pillars of the same style and with the same ornamentation were found in the mosque at Samarra, in Iraq, which was founded by the Caliph al-Mu'tasim in 836 A.D. The mosque also had a school and a well attached to it, the traces of the latter can still be seen near the graves to the east of the mosque itself.

In the corner of Bilad al-Qadim nearest to the Suq al-Khamis mosque is another ancient inscription, in the mosque known as Masjid ar-Raf'ia. This is also a Qibla stone, set into the west wall of the mosque, but although it is in Kufic characters the work does not seem as fine as in the Kufic inscriptions in the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, possibly because this mosque was of less importance than the one at the Suq. The inscription bears the names of Muhammad, Ali, Fatima, Hussein and Hassan and is therefore also of Shiite origin. Bilad al-Qadim itself presents a sorry spectacle and with the exception of the

south-west corner the town is deserted and in ruins. Also on this plain is the Abu Zaidan Mosque, built over a spring of the same name. This mosque has recently been repaired by the Government and is much used by the Shia people of Manama, especially by the women during weddings.

To the north of the Budaiya Road is the ruined mosque of Abu Mahara, a strange little building with two storeys and a tall column in the centre of the spring. This mosque was built in the year 889 A.H. (1484 A.D.) as shown by an inscription to this effect in its west wall.

There are many other mosques in Bahrain, some of which contain inscriptions giving the date of their foundation, but they are of comparatively recent date and the mosques themselves are of no architectural interest.

## THE FORTS OF BAHRAIN

Portuguese and Persians, Arabs and Omanis, all these have at one time or another attacked and occupied Bahrain and have retained control of the islands by the construction and garrisoning of forts and castles. The oldest surviving fort in Bahrain is the Qalat al-Ajaj, built by the Portuguese some time after their occupation of Bahrain in 1521. This fort lies on the northern shore of Bahrain Island some three miles from Manama and the easiest way to visit it is by driving along the Manama-Budaiya Road and then by turning off to the north when the ruins of the fort can be seen through the date palms.

On the sea shore below the fort can be seen the steps by which the Portuguese entered their boats, but with the exception of these remains there are no relics of the Portuguese in Bahrain. A number of cannon have been found, but there is a surprising absence of inscriptions, coins or gravestones.

The exact date of the construction of the fort is not known, but the fort was repaired in 1562 and 1586, this need for continual repair was no doubt due to the many revolts which took place in Bahrain against the Portuguese. Shaikh Khalifah an-Nabhani, in his history of Bahrain, mentions that he visited the fort and saw this latter date inscribed in four places on the walls of the fort, but today there is no sign of these inscriptions.

Page 62 shows a map of north Bahrain Island and Muharraq taken from a Portuguese book of the seventeenth century. It is interesting to see that whereas the Portuguese fort, in fact, has five sides, with square towers at four corners and a turret at the fifth, in the map the fort appears as square in shape while the moat is five-sided. The fort is at present in such a bad state of repair that it is almost impossible to discover the purposes of the various towers and chambers found in it, but an idea can be obtained of the great skill and care that went into the making of the walls by an examination of the towers and wall on the west side of the fort. The moat is no longer filled by the sea due to its neglect, although after the expulsion of the Portuguese the fort continued to be used by the Persian garrison in Bahrain.

A further examination of the map reveals that in the time of the

to various points in the neighbourhood of Mecca connected with the life of the Prophet Muhammad and drinking the water of Zamzam Well. On the last day of the ceremony the pilgrims stand before Ararat, a small mountain near Mecca, and throw stones at various places to symbolise the stoning of the devil. On the 10th Day of Dhul Hajj a great feast takes place. The pilgrims remove their pilgrim's garb and throughout the Moslem world there is feasting and visiting.

In Bahrain, Eid al-Adhar is celebrated for three days, the 10th, 11th and 12th of Dhul Hajj. In former days there were very colourful scenes and ceremonies at this feast, the retainers of the Ruler used to perform war dances in front of the palace, discharging their ancient rifles into the air, and occasionally at an unlucky member of the audience. The divers, who returned home during the Eid, danced in huge groups for the entertainment of the people and were feasted in the houses which they visited, but today the Ruler has few casual retainers and the Bedouin, who were the mainstay of the dances, have settled down and become ordinary citizens. Arab dances are therefore a thing of the past and the men who used to perform in them now find their amusements in attending football matches and cinemas.

## MUHARRAM

The circumstances that brought about the division of the majority of Moslems into the Sunni and Shiite sects have been mentioned in Chapter II. The battle of Kerbela is still recognised by the Shia of Bahrain as a day of mourning for the martyrs who were killed.

During the first nine days of the month of Muharram, the first month in the Islamic year, there is a general mourning among the Shia for their loss. In the Bahrain martams, which are religious meeting houses not to be confused with the mosques, preachers tell the story of the growth of Islam and the way in which Ali and his family were set aside by those who became the early Caliphs. These mullas, many of whom come from the Holy Cities of Iraq for the purpose, are often so eloquent that they reduce their audience to tears and wailing for the mortifications inflicted on those whom they regard as the highest of mankind after the Prophet himself. Night and day the tale is unfolded as the mullas take it in turn to preach to the assembled crowds. During the day the martams are not so full but at sunset the congregation increases as men return from their daily work. In the villages and in the towns, in the yellow light of kerosene lamps and in the glare of electricity, the story is told of those events which happened over 12 centuries ago. Many people are introduced into the story, the Old Testament prophets, the Prophet Muhammad, his family and his enemies, angels and archangels and other religious figures.

As the days pass the orators and their audience get more carried away so that by the 10th of the month all are ready for the next act of what has been called the "Miracle Play of Hassan and Hussein." This is the public procession of the Shia which takes place every evening

The condition of school buildings varied, but in all cases overcrowding was common. The new schools are well built, lighted and ventilated and are provided with ample recreation space and adequate latrines and ablution facilities. Most of the others are reasonably good, but require improvements in lighting, ventilation, condition of floors and desks as the case may be. Samahij is, however, quite unsuitable and a new building is required. Some of the town schools are situated in congested areas and accordingly lack adequate playground space. All country schools must have good washing facilities and the pupils given routine baths. This would reduce their high incidence of disease resulting from dirt and uncleanliness.

The service has been well received by the teaching staff and has been given their full co-operation and help.

**Port and Quarantine.** The number of people entering Bahrain, their place of entry and the number arriving without valid certificates of vaccination were recorded as follows :—

| Number of arrivals. | Place of Entry. | Number without valid vaccination certificate. |
|---|---|---|
| 67,172 | Manama Jetty .. .. .. | 9,292 |
| 22,107 | Muharraq Airport .. .. | 721 |
| 2,112 | Muharraq Jetty .. .. | 684 |
| 2,344 | P. C. L. Jetty, Sitra .. .. | nil |
| 111 | Sitra Port .. .. .. | nil |
| Total 93,846 | | 10,697 |

This was an increase of 18,710 arrivals on last year's figures. Once again the heaviest traffic passed through Manama Jetty and also the largest number without vaccination certificates. This traffic was mostly local, coming from neighbouring Gulf ports by launch and dhow and necessitated a strict watch, but no quarantine measure other than vaccination was necessary.

Muharraq Airport still lacks adequate control arrangements for the segregation of passengers from the general public until they have passed through quarantine. To assist in this matter, a separate enclosure has now been provided for non-passengers, but due to lack of organisation it has not achieved its purpose.

The number of arrivals at Muharraq Jetty was small but important in that so many of them did not possess the necessary vaccination certificates.

Neither of the two remaining places of entry at Sitra presented any difficulty.

It was not necessary to place any person, ship or aircraft in quarantine and no case of quarantinable disease occurred during the year.

Medical attention was afforded to 1701 members of ships' crews, 1,258 attending the Port Health Dispensary at Sitra and the remaining 443 at the Public Health Dispensary in Manama. The Bahrain Government Hospital provided hospitalisation facilities and sick personnel from overseas tankers were accommodated in the Bahrain Petroleum Company's hospital. There were 36 heat cases with two deaths, otherwise illnesses were of a routine nature. Attention was again drawn to the inadequacy of arrangements on board many ships plying in the Persian Gulf in respect of insufficient supplies of cold drinking water, medicines, salt tablets, refrigeration, ventilation and air-conditioning facilities.

The Mecca Pilgrimage of the year 1372 Hegira (A.D. 1953). It is estimated that 2,578 pilgrims passed through Bahrain. All came by air, and a transit camp was established at the Airport. There was no case of infectious disease and all possessed the necessary certificates of vaccination against small-pox and cholera.

# EDUCATION

## Boys Schools

(From the report of Mr. Ahmed Umran, Director of Education).

**Schools.** Three new village schools, at Sanad, Tubli and Karzakan, were built and presented to the Government by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The schools were fully furnished and in each place there was space for a playground near the building. His Highness Shaikh Sulman was present at the opening of the Tubli school and His Excellency Shaikh Abdulla, Minister of Education, attended the openings of the other two schools. The gift of these three buildings was much appreciated by the Government and by the people of the villages for which the schools provided education.

A large new school, on the Muharraq sea front, for small boys, was opened at the beginning of the term, with this school and three new village schools, and some additional class rooms in existing schools, it was possible to increase the total number of boys in the state schools by 610.

The building of these three schools roused immediate demands from other villages for schools to be built in their districts. Some of these requests came from villages within easy walking distance from schools. The desire for schools and sometimes for dispensaries is not always governed by real need; the existence of a school now seems to confer on a village a certain cachet. It was decided by His Highness on his return from England that three more village schools should be built by the Government, at Jidhafs, Asker and Jaw, the last place being the most distant inhabited village on the western coast. Towards the end of the year work was begun on these schools.

The growth of schools in the villages has had some repercussions. In the past the Shia villages provided the tenants and labourers in the date gardens, most of which are owned by Sunni Arabs. Landlords now realise that when the village boys acquire education they will no longer be content to work in the gardens, or as fishermen, as their fathers did before them. There is already a shortage of local labour for the date gardens and little competition to lease them. The town-dwelling landlords therefore do not view with enthusiasm the spread of education in the villages.

**Staff.** Every year the expansion of education makes it necessary to employ more teachers; those who complete their training in Bahrain are insufficient and have not enough experience to fill all the posts so each term the number of foreign teachers increases. Among most people this is regarded with disfavour, although there is a tendency among some to assume that because a teacher comes from abroad he must necessarily be better than any local product. Again in 1372 more teachers were recruited from neighbouring countries. The Director of Education, with the valuable assistance of the British Council in Beirut, enlisted 22 Lebanese, Syrians and Palestinians and he obtained from Cairo 5 Egyptians teachers to fill vacancies made by retirements and to provide staff for larger schools. At the end of the year the number of teachers in the boys schools was as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Egyptians .. .. .. | 10 |
| Indians .. .. .. .. | 2 |
| Syrians .. .. .. .. | 6 |
| Lebanese .. .. .. | 24 |
| Palestinians .. .. .. | 23 |
| Others .. .. .. .. | 3 |
| Bahrainis .. .. .. | 136 |
| Total .. | 204 |

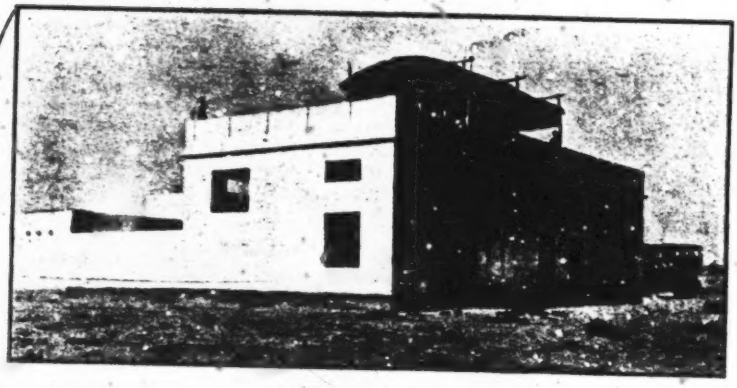
There was a continued improvement in the standard of English in the Secondary School, due principally to its being taught by a British teacher lent to the Government by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. This arrangement has proved extremely successful.

1/ [A.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst]

• 346

Souq Al Khamis Mosque

344



A Village Dispensary

[Facing p. 222]

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

653 491

In the last ten years several new roads have been made by the Government, linking up existing roads, such as the road from Sehlah to a point on the Budeya road opposite the Portuguese Fort and the road from the top of Rafaa hill to East Rafaa, which used to be inaccessible except from down in the valley.

There is still need for several more roads, especially for one connecting Aali with Manamah, which will take the donkey traffic which comes into Manamah from the villages around Aali. The main road to Radm al Koweri cannot be widened any more, except at great expense, as it is bordered on both sides by valuable date gardens, and the mixture of motor traffic and laden donkeys, which disregard all traffic rules, is a constant source of accidents. The country people themselves, through the Shia Wakf committee, have asked that a donkey track should be made so that they need not use the motor road.

653 491 346

**Buildings. Suk al Khamis Mosque.**

In 1346 (1927-28) the ancient mosque at Suk al Khamis, which was in a dangerously dilapidated condition, was restored by the Government, which at the same time straightened out the main road which previously made a wide detour. Earlier attempts to bring the road past the mosque had been opposed by the Shia villagers, but because they were pleased at the Government's action in repairing the mosque, no objections were made about the road.

This mosque was described by Von Ernst Diez, who visited it in 1914, as being a mosque of the year 740 H. (1339-40). The ornamentation of the wooden pillars and cross beams are of particular importance and interest. Over twenty years ago all the wood in the mosque disappeared. During the last few months I have found, and been able to recover from a neighbouring village, several of the beams and large pieces of wood containing the carvings which were described and illustrated by Diez and which he ascribed to the ninth or tenth century.

653 312

**Idari Water Channel and Mosque.**

During this and the following year the Government, at the request of the landowners whose property is irrigated from Idari spring, built a cement water channel from the main spring to the high road, a distance of about 1,200 yards. The cost of the work, Rs 21,000/-, was paid by the owners of the gardens. At the same time the Government built a small mosque, on the site of an older one, on the bank of the pool. During the last year, further improvements have been made at Idari, and a quantity of flowering trees and bushes have been planted there. The pool during the summer is visited by thousands of people, who bathe there.

653 346

**Manamah School and Workshop.**

The school was begun in 1347 (1928-29) and completed in the following year. The cost of the Manamah School, and a small school which was built at the same time at Suk al Khamis, was Rs 39,000/-. There are ten class-rooms in Manamah, capable of accommodating about three hundred boys, and a large hall which has on one occasion held six hundred people. The building is of stone and cement and is on one floor.

During the present year a workshop has been built close to the school on the opposite side of the road. This became necessary as the carpentry and engineering classes made so much noise when working in the main building that other classes were disturbed.

653

**Barracks, Police Station.**

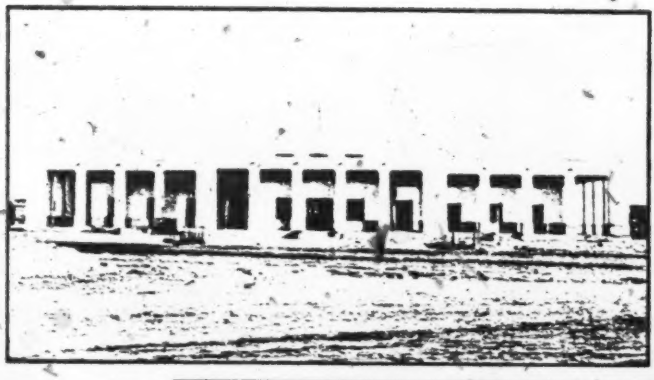
In 1353 (1934-35) a new barrack room was built in the Fort in place of some of the old rooms, which became uninhabitable. The original building was made of stones fastened together with mud, plaster, and covered with a thin coating of lime plaster. Every year for the last ten years portions of the main wall of the Fort have fallen down, and most of the old quarters inside the Fort are in a dangerous condition.

A second barrack room was built in 1936, and also a new armoury and three motor garages, and in 1937 the north-west tower, which had fallen in, was rebuilt and part of the walls were faced with cement and thoroughly repaired.

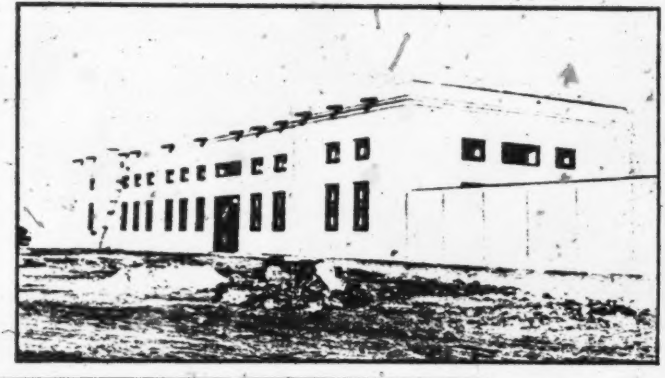
The larger of the two barrack rooms, which is 114 feet long and 22 feet wide, with three doors and fifteen windows, and also clere windows, accommodates forty men and cost Rs 7,300/-.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1928-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

346



Manama Boys' School



School Workshops

A Village School

[illegible]

In 1353 (1934-35) a police station was built at Hedd, with a small office, men's quarters, and a lock-up enclosed by a wall, and during the same year a similar police building was built at Budeya.

**New Customs House.** During 1937 several important works were carried out. A new customs house, with a flat above the offices, was built on the shore, immediately east of the pier. The building and the reclaiming of a large area of ground which was required to extend the customs wharves cost Rs 36,000/-.

The new offices are light, airy, and convenient, and the building has done much to improve the appearance of the water front.

In the customs square a round garden with a fountain in the centre has been made, where it is hoped eventually to grow evergreen shrubs, grass, and flowering bushes. The circular garden in the centre of the square was made partly as a means of ensuring the one-way traffic rule, which is necessary owing to the large amount of motor traffic in this neighbourhood, and partly for the purpose of improving the appearance of the square.

**Shops.** Three shops, which have been rented on a long lease as motor showrooms and office, were built behind the old customs house on the site of some tumble-down sheds on the west side of Barrett Street. The Import Yard shed, part of the customs premises, occupies most of one side of this street. This shed, since the construction of the pier shed about twelve years ago, is never filled to its capacity, and space along the road to contain a line of shops could be spared from the shed. As this is now the chief shopping centre in Bahrain, shops in the street are a profitable proposition.

**Palace Wall.** During 1936 a wall, stone base and pillars, with wooden railings, was built in front of the Palace, which has greatly improved its appearance as well as making it possible to keep out crowds from in front of the Palace on public occasions.

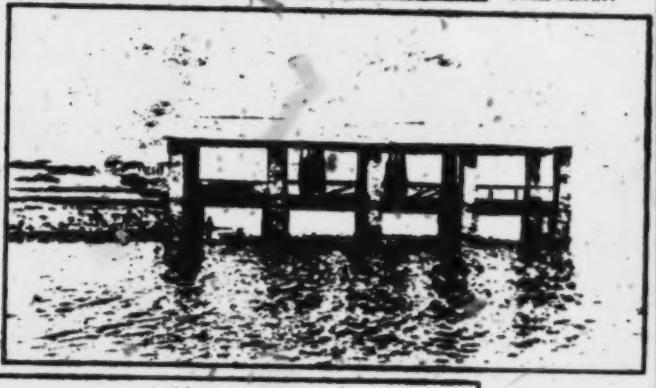
**Law Courts.** At the time of writing this report, the new Law Courts are in the course of construction. The building is on a piece of ground which has been reclaimed and which was until recently water, inside the Manamah sea road, between the properties of Kozaibi & Co. and Gray Mackenzie. The offices and courts are round three sides of an open courtyard, and when the building is completed all the different courts, with their records, will be housed in one place instead of being scattered in various parts of the town in Government buildings and in hired rooms. Each courtroom has a record room and office opening out of it.

**Bazaar Buildings.** In the winter of 1936 a serious fire occurred near the Manamah Municipal Buildings which entirely destroyed the 'Suk al Arbaa,' an extensive bazaar, including the vegetable market and a number of shops belonging to H.H. Shaihk Hamad. Although much damage was done, the fire was a blessing in disguise, as His Highness decided to abolish the dangerous and insanitary type of buildings and to build new markets and shops. This work was undertaken, at His Highness's expense, by the Bahrain Government. Stone shops were built, and three large iron sheds were erected which are to be used for selling fruits, vegetables, and lucerne. The new bazaar is sanitary and up-to-date, and a water supply has been laid down which makes it possible to sluice the floors of the sheds every day and to wash out the shops. A pipe has also been laid on to the meat market so that it, too, can be washed out daily. In addition to His Highness's shops and sheds, two of His Highness's sons, who owned land in the bazaar, have built lines of new shops in place of the matting sheds which were there previously.

Through the kindness of the Manager of the Bahrain Petroleum Company, one of the Company's English staff has been allowed to superintend the erection of the steel sheds, and worked on the job for some months. This new bazaar is one of the most noticeable improvements in Manamah which has occurred during recent years.

•347

Meat Market



Slaughter House

Mutal Vegetable Market (Under Construction)

[facing 46A]

351 Several types of local grass, if cultivated, can be used for lawns. The best method of planting a lawn is by "dubbing in" small clumps of grass about six inches apart from each other. In two or three months the grass will cover the ground. It requires liberal watering especially during the summer, in the winter time it lies dormant. After three or four years lawns are apt to become thin and patchy, the grass should then be dug up and a new lawn laid down. The best kind of grass for lawns is "Nejma" which means a star, so called owing to the star shaped seed pod which it produces and "Murani," both can be obtained easily from any cultivated ground.

244 137 Most European vegetables can be grown in Bahrain and if planted in October quite a small garden should provide vegetables for a household from December until the beginning of June. Gardeners, if left to their own devices, are apt to use old seed which they have collected from previous crops; this almost always results in failure. The following are the most easily grown vegetables, Beetroot, Cabbage, family Carrot, Celery, Leek, Lettuce, Onion, Parsley, Radish, Spinach, Turnip. Peas and Beans do not seem to thrive in Bahrain. Tomatoes are grown extensively in the country and can be bought cheaply in the bazaar, so unless one has plenty of space it is hardly worth cultivating them. They ripen in Bahrain before they ripen in Iraq and at the beginning of the season they are exported from Bahrain to Basra.

Asparagus, Artichoke (Jerusalem) and Brussel sprouts have been grown from seed with rather uncertain results. Sweet Basil (Mashmoom) and Dill are herbs which are found in almost every garden, Mint grows well and retains its perennial habit but most of the other English herbs are not successful.

In the summer only local and somewhat uninspiring vegetables are obtainable, the best of these are Aubergine, Cucumber, Ladies Fingers, Pumpkin, Marrow and Sweet Potatoes.

One of the problems in Bahrain is how to obtain sufficient fertiliser. Before so many people took an interest in gardening cow manure could be obtained by anyone who sent a cart to remove it from the owner's shed. Today it is a marketable commodity and has to be paid for.

247 In spite of all difficulties gardening in Bahrain is a popular hobby, not only among the Europeans but also among the Arabs.

## CHAPTER III

## MISCELLANEOUS

### AIR FARES

509 THE following air lines make scheduled stops at Bahrain :—

| | |
|---|---|
| British Overseas Airways Ltd. | Cyprus Airways, |
| Gulf Aviation Ltd., | Iraki Airways, |
| Djibouti Airways, | Middle East Airways, |
| | T.A.I. |

5: Bahrain G-5 (1920-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

369 178 in the case of the younger generation, who have passed through the schools. This generation has grown up under a regime of settled government and accepts as a matter of course the existence of regular law courts, regulations, schools, municipalities, and other governmental institutions, though many of the comparatively recent innovations are still resented and occasionally opposed by the old conservative element, which looks back regretfully to the days of the past when, by a little influence with important people and a little judicious expenditure, they would usually get their own way and do as they liked. Education, facilities for easier travel, contact with foreigners, both at home and abroad, and the effect of newspapers, books, and broadcasting, which stimulate an interest in foreign affairs, are some of the chief causes of the changes among the people of Bahrain. Most of the changes are for the better, but the sudden influx of large numbers of Europeans belonging to the Oil Company, many of whom are unaccustomed to Eastern countries, has had minor but unfortunate results. Beggars, who in the past were comparatively unobtrusive, now throng the bazaars and thrive on the misplaced generosity of white people; and the Arab children in the streets of Manamah, who used to be well-behaved, now follow Europeans about the bazaars and make impudent remarks to them in English.

291 177 To-day, most of the young men in Manamah wear at least one article of European dress, usually a coat, and European shoes are rapidly taking the place of sandals; socks are universally worn, and the more advanced young Arabs wear complete suits of European style, but retain their Arab headdress. Importers of second-hand clothes, ranging from tail-coats to Central European military uniforms, do a good trade. To-day, a young man wearing entirely Arab dress is usually a foreigner or one of the Shaikhs' retainers. Labourers in the oil field who work near machinery are compelled to wear shirts and trousers, and this has contributed to a large extent to the change in dress. Even among the women, there is a tendency to wear articles of European clothing, especially stockings and shoes.

511 Although there is still much poverty and unemployment in Bahrain, the general standard of living has improved, and the older men often complain that their sons are no longer content with the frugal diet of fish, rice, dates and, occasionally, meat, which was good enough for them when they were young. Bread is eaten much more than it used to be, and cheap tinned fruits and biscuits have become almost part of the regular diet in the houses of the middle and wealthy classes. The decrease in food prices has made it possible for poorer people to buy more food and to enjoy more variety. Ten years ago a bag of rice cost Rs 15/-; to-day it can be bought for Rs 11/-. The price of dates has fallen almost 50%, and the public can now buy cheap vegetable ghee instead of expensive clarified butter, which used only to be used by the wealthy classes. Before artesian wells were sunk, all water had to be bought, but to-day there is an artesian well in each district of the big towns, and women of the lower classes fetch their own water from the taps and cisterns. The water supply has encouraged cleanliness, as in the past, when all water had to be bought, there was little washing or bathing except by men in the sea during the summer.

The municipalities have done much to improve conditions, both by cleaning the streets, passing regulations affecting public health, and by building markets where meat, fish, and vegetables are sold under the supervision of municipal inspectors, who are also responsible for inspecting the abattoir. These officials visit the coffee shops and 'hotels' and report cases of the sale of bad meat or stale food to the public.

342 **Houses.** In Manamah there has been a great improvement in the style of buildings. A number of small, sanitary, and well-ventilated houses have been built by private persons for letting purposes. Though the rooms are smaller than those in the old-fashioned houses, the construction is better, the importance of proper foundations is appreciated, and cement and steel beams are universally used. A few years ago the use of steel beams was considered, locally, extremely dangerous. Most of the new houses are equipped with electric light and have adequate sanitary arrangements. By degrees the 'barasti' type of house, built of palm branches, is decreasing, and its place is being taken by stone houses which are more permanent, more healthy, and less liable to catch fire or to collapse during storms.

352 Houses are more elaborately equipped. Formerly a few mats and one or two carpets were sufficient furnishing for the Meglis of a merchant, but now, in most middle-class houses, there

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

are chairs, tables, window curtains, often framed pictures and photographs, and usually a gramophone; in the houses of the wealthier people there is often a wireless set. Coffee shops reflect the change in ways of living. They are important institutions in Bahrain and take the place of clubs or cafes in Europe. Each has its regular clientele, but the popularity of individual coffee shops varies according to fashion. Ten years ago, coffee shops were usually small shops inside the bazaar, furnished with a few rough benches, where little else than coffee could be obtained. To-day, most of the coffee shops are elaborately decorated and illuminated, provided with little tables and chairs, and a gramophone or a wireless set which plays loudly and incessantly, relaying Arabic programmes to the customers. Some of the coffee shops are divided into two parts: in one part only coffee and drinks are served, and in the other part regular meals can be obtained, including Indian and Persian dishes, bread, cakes, and ices in the summer. Most of the proprietors are foreigners—Indians, Persians, and Iraqi, who are more enterprising in these matters than the local people. The bigger coffee shops are now referred to by the public as 'otels.'

**Games.** The popularity of games is another recent development during the last ten years. Before this, nobody played games except the men of the Levy Corps, who were made to do so, which was regarded as a peculiarity of the Commanding Officer. To-day, there are half-a-dozen local football teams and several hockey teams, who play against each other or against teams of sailors or Europeans from the Bahrain Petroleum Company. They play well, and are very keen, and every match attracts a large and interested audience from the town. Many of the parents of the young men who play disapprove of hockey and football, which they consider dangerous and unnecessary, chiefly because they did not play themselves when they were young. There is an entire lack of class distinction in these games: the sons of shaikhs play side-by-side with policemen, clerks, and taxi drivers. Although games have improved the physique of those who play them, the use of motor cars instead of horses or donkeys has caused a great many people to become soft and flabby. Sons of wealthy fathers, especially the young members of the Ruling Family, have entirely left off taking any exercise. They use a car to go a few yards; they never walk, and the only occasion on which they ride a horse is during marriage celebration or on public holidays, such as the annual accession celebrations.

**Class Changes.** The depression in the pearl trade and the recent improvement in the bazaars has caused an upheaval in financial positions, and with it a certain change in the political importance of classes. This change is gradually, though unwillingly, being appreciated by the Ruling Family. In the days when the pearl trade was flourishing, pearl merchants and nakhudas were the monied classes, and their money gave them great power, which they did not scruple to use for their own benefit. To-day, the men who used to be worth lacs of rupees are, in many cases, almost bankrupt, and petty traders, shop-keepers, and men who happen to own property in Manamah, are becoming the monied class. The old powerful pearl merchants were, in many cases, self-made men who started life as divers, but their wealth made them important and, though most of them could neither read or write, they were the people who mattered in Bahrain. Many of these men have lost all their influence because their money has gone. The class which is now becoming prosperous is more progressive, more mixed, and better educated, but as a community it does not hang together because, unlike the case of the pearl industry, its prosperity does not depend upon one trade alone. One of the serious disadvantages of the change is that the pearl industry provided work, during part of the year, for many thousands of men, but the people who are now making money provide little employment for the people. At present, about five thousand divers are working in the oil field. They are making a great deal more money than they would normally make from diving and, besides earning money, they are paying back their debts to the nakhudas by regular monthly instalments, so both parties are satisfied; but this employment is not permanent and, when present construction work at the oil field is finished, there will be a sudden increase in unemployment which will have to be dealt with by the Government.

**The Ruling Family.** The life and outlook of the members of the Ruling Family, with a few notable exceptions, has changed less than that of any other community. Although there is a great difference between the outlook of the elder men and those who have grown up during the last ten years, the attitude of the family as a whole is

THE COMPANY ALSO OPERATES A
refinery on the eastern side of the island, 315
opposite Sitra. It was expanded in 1945, and 352 •
80 to 85 per cent of the crude oil processed
is now obtained by pipeline from Saudi
Arabia. The refined petroleum products are
pumped to storage tanks on Sitra Island,
and subsequently to a deep-water loading
terminal 3 miles offshore. Over 6,000 Bah- 464
rainis, as well as some 1,600 British and 651
Americans, are employed in different 185
branches of the industry. Two thirds of the
royalties accrue to the Bahrain government,
half of which are utilized for capital ex-
penditures designed to raise the standards
of living of the people. Reports for 1951
indicate that 68 per cent of the government
income was derived from oil revenues, as
against 26 per cent from customs receipts.

The renewed prosperity of the islands and 471
the concurrent growth in population have
stimulated private enterprise and the
growth of small factories to supply current
needs, particularly as regards building ma- 228
terials. Fishing is an important seasonal 241
occupation of many villagers, and pre- 312
served fish, fish oils and other fish products
are items of export. Agriculture plays a
minor role. Barely 5 to 10 per cent of the
total land area is under cultivation, and
further expansion is restricted by the nature
of the terrain, the concentration of water
supply in limited areas and a feudalistic 241
system of land tenure. Date gardens flourish 654
in oases on Bahrain, Muharraq and Sitra
Islands, but the supply equals less than one
quarter of the local requirements. The gov-
ernment is endeavoring to promote the in-
troduction of other crops, and maintains an
experiment station at Budaiya.

The sea approaches to the archipelago are 504
shallow, making it necessary for ocean ves- 503
sels and oil tankers to anchor 2 to 4 miles
from the shore. Bahrain and Muharraq,
however, have good harbors which accom-
modate dhows and other shallow-draft ves- 505
sels. Manama is an active trading center:
coastal traffic is more or less continuous,
while frequent steamer services are avail-
able to the northern Gulf ports and to India
AND PAKISTAN.

131 length and a mile wide. "Howar" means "Young Camel" and the island was so called because it is similar in shape though smaller than Bahrain, and so was described as its offspring.

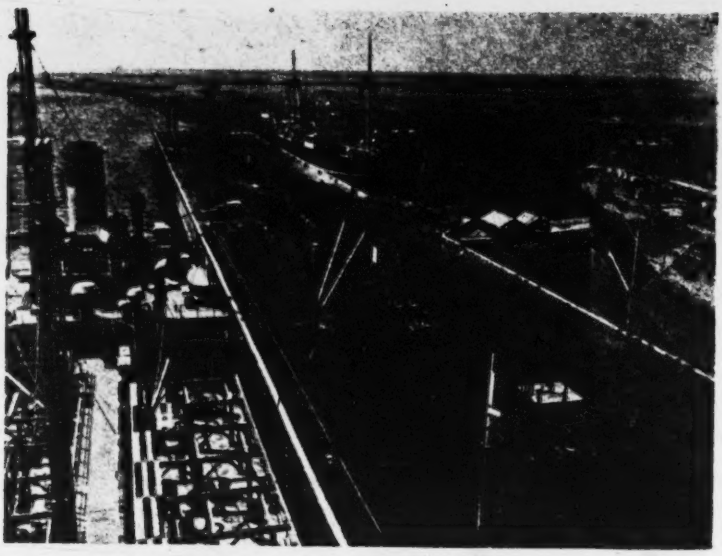
There are many other little islands in the Bahrain archipelago ; some contain small villages or fishermen's huts while others are deserted except during the occasional visits of migratory birds or pearl divers who come to the islands during the diving season to draw water from the freshwater springs.

311 Along the northern coast of Bahrain there is a narrow strip of land
137 some three miles wide which is under cultivation. The fertile gardens containing date and loz (Indian almond or Terminalia) pomegranate, banana and fig trees are irrigated from many natural springs and artesian wells. But in the waterless areas south of the cultivation, in the centre of the island, only sparse and hardy desert flora exists. Although this desert may seem bare to the eyes of a visitor accustomed to the lush greenness of Europe or the States, it is in fact covered with a great variety of desert plants which were found, in a recent survey, to include some 200 species.

133 Beyond the cultivated area the land is barren and the landscape consists of low rolling hills with numerous rocky cliffs and dry wadis. Most of the Islands of Bahrain are surfaced with hard limestone rock, covered in many places with sand dunes, and, in the case of the main island, with pre-historic tumuli. From the shore line the topography rises gradually towards the centre where it again drops off into a basin surrounded by steep cliffs. Towards the centre of the basin there is a very pronounced rocky promontory known as "Jebal ad-Dukhan," the "Mountain of Smoke," a name given to it because of the vague and hazy appearance it often presents, particularly during the hot summer months. The Jebal is only 450 feet above sea level and 250 feet above the surrounding plain but often, when mist surrounds its base, it gives the impression of being a considerable mountain.

Although Bahrain is a small country yet it displays a very varied
226 landscape and many surprising contrasts between old and new. It
228 is primarily a sea faring state. The brilliant blue and green waters, studded with white sails, which surround the islands provide the people of Bahrain with fish, which they catch from boats and in traps, fresh water, from the submarine springs, coral stone for building and pearls which made Bahrain such an important trading centre in the past.
361 The coastal towns have an attractive appearance. Manama's water front is lined with high white houses and beyond the town date gardens extend in an unbroken line down to the water's edge. Roads in the northern part of Bahrain pass through avenues of tall and stately date palms, bearing great bunches of golden, red and yellow fruit during
133 the summer months. The south of the island is a miniature desert and in the foothills around the Jebal there are many little wadis which
ooo after the rainy season are bright with desert flowers and shrubs. Even

504



Sitra Wharf. Photo : Bahrain Petroleum Company.

361

A scene in Awali. Photo : Bahrain Petroleum Company.

1: Belgrave

MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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361

The sections of the map facing page 42 are designated according to the plan below:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a | b | c | d | e |
| f | g | h | i | j |

1; Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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4 Arabs Club
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8 Bus Rank
9 BAPCO Bus Park
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11 Custom House
12 Passport Office
13 Firdausi Club
14 Gulistan Club
15 Municipal Offices
16 B.A.O.C. Office and Rest House
17 Qosaibi Travel Office
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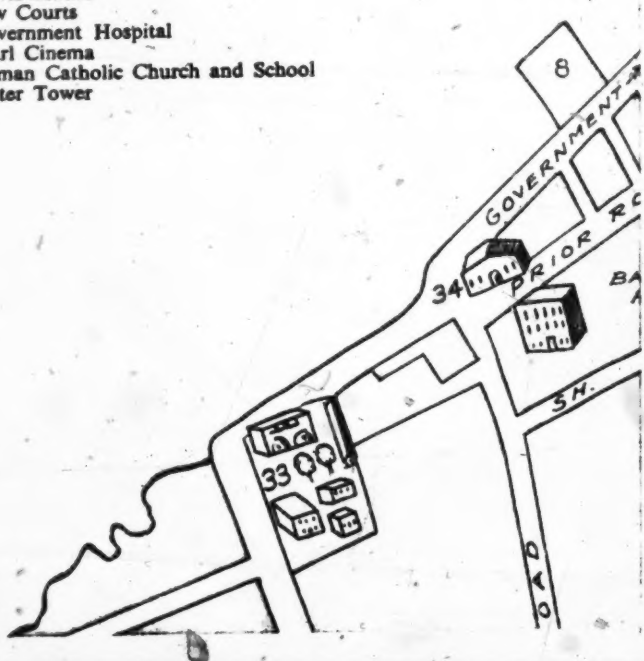
22 Chamber of Commerce
23 Residence and Office of BAPCO Government Relations Officer
24 R.A.F. Residence
25 Telephone Exchange and Cable Office
26 BAPCO Filling Station
27 Pakistan Club
28 Bahrain Sports Club
29 Adviserate
30 H.B.M.'s Political Agency
31 Power House
32 Law Courts
33 Government Hospital
34 Pearl Cinema
35 Roman Catholic Church and School
36 Water Tower



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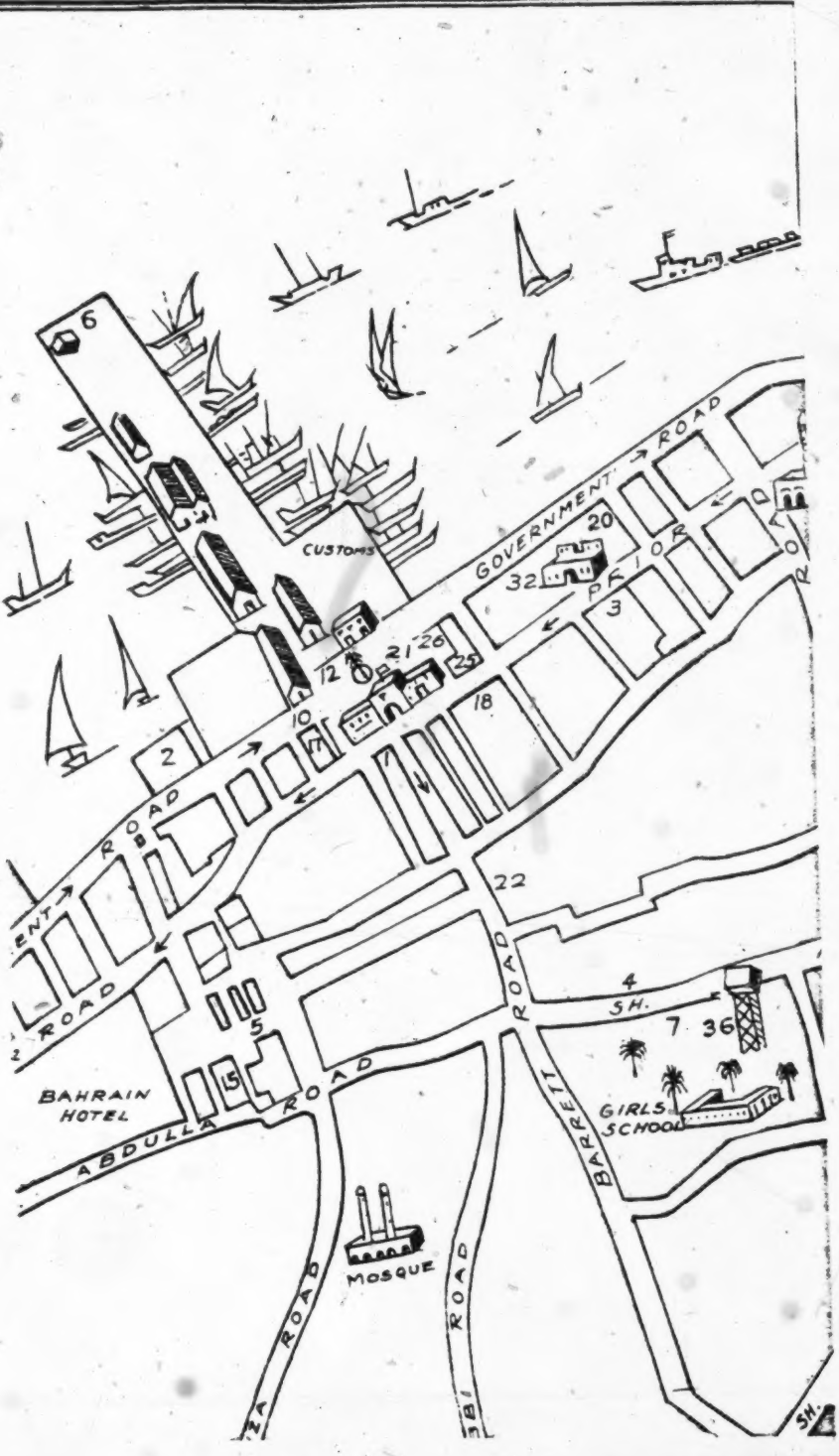

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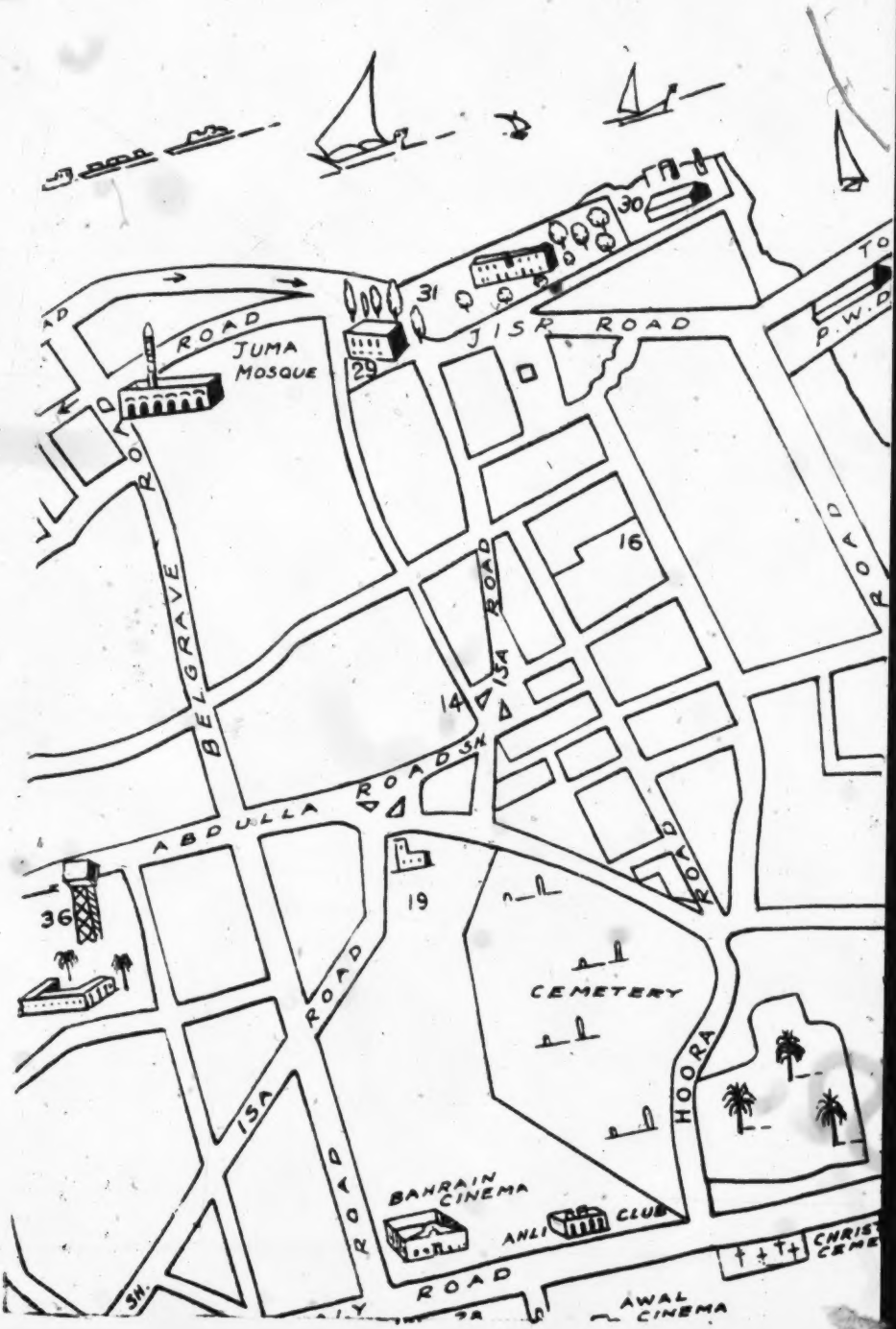

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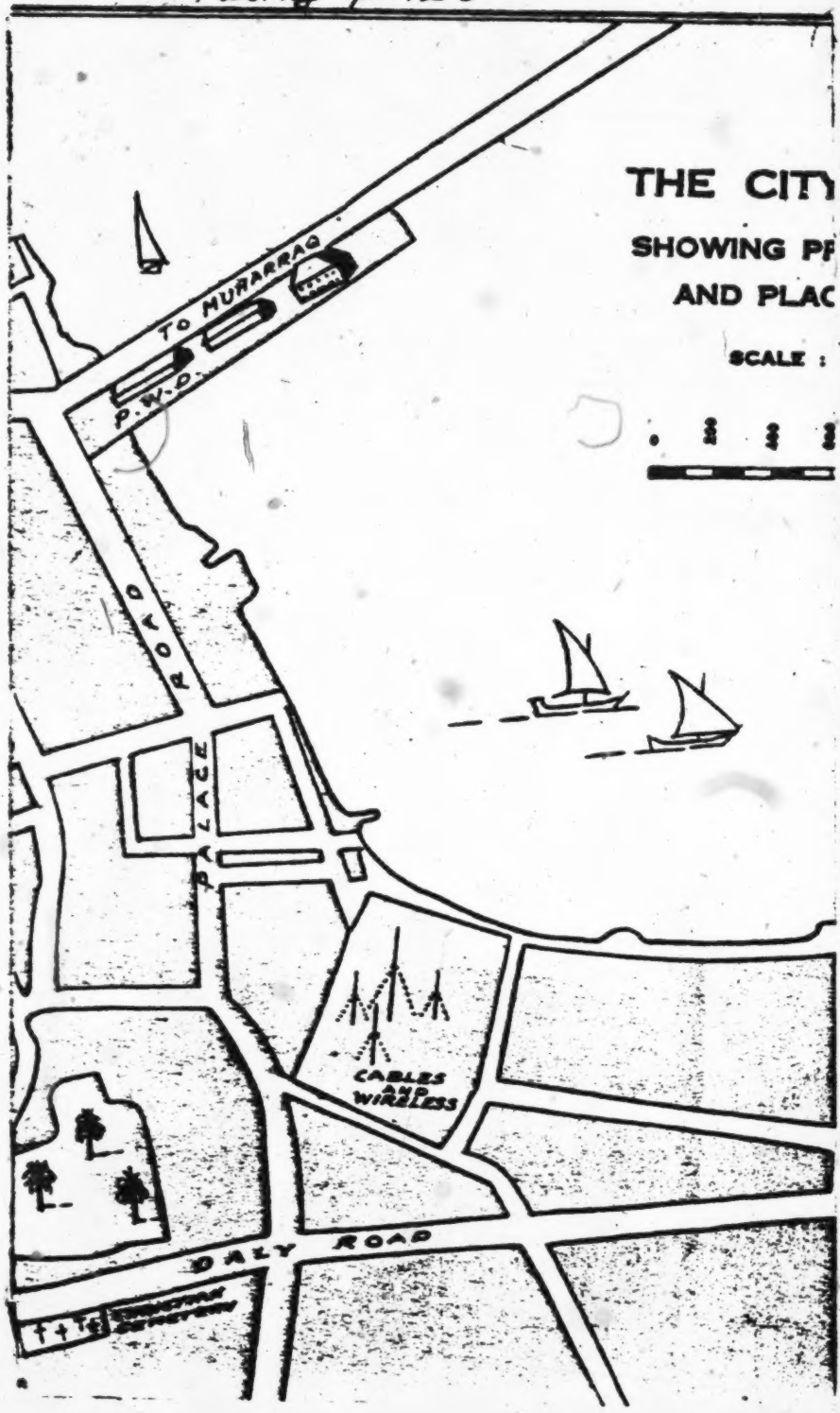

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# THE CITY OF MANAMA

## SHOWING PRINCIPAL BUILDINGS AND PLACES OF INTEREST

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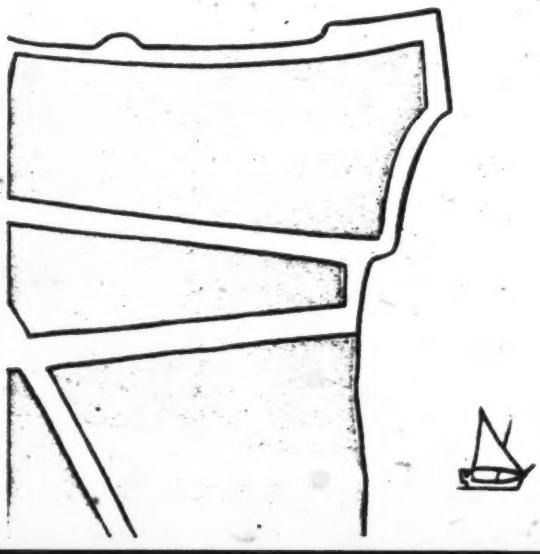

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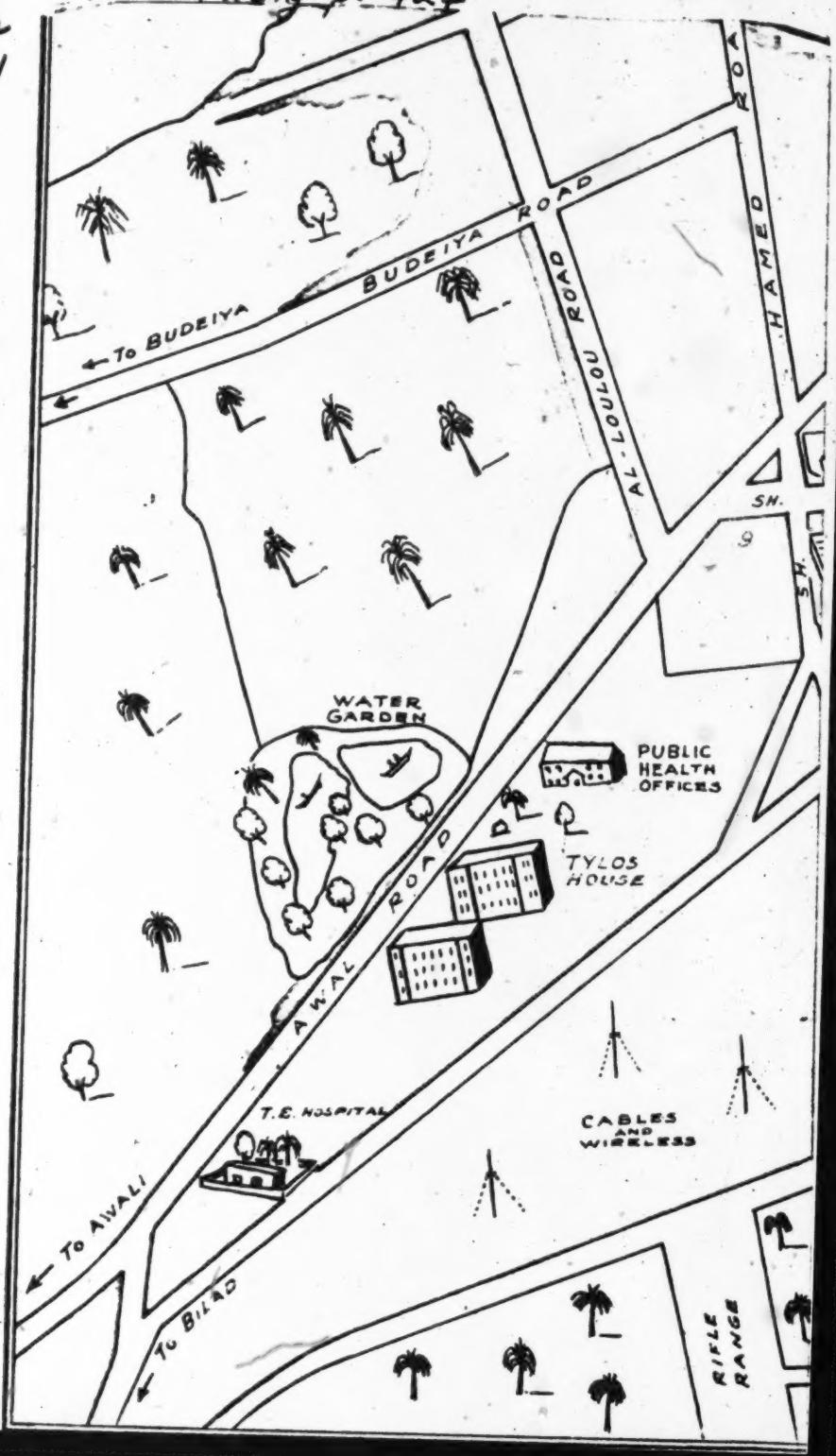

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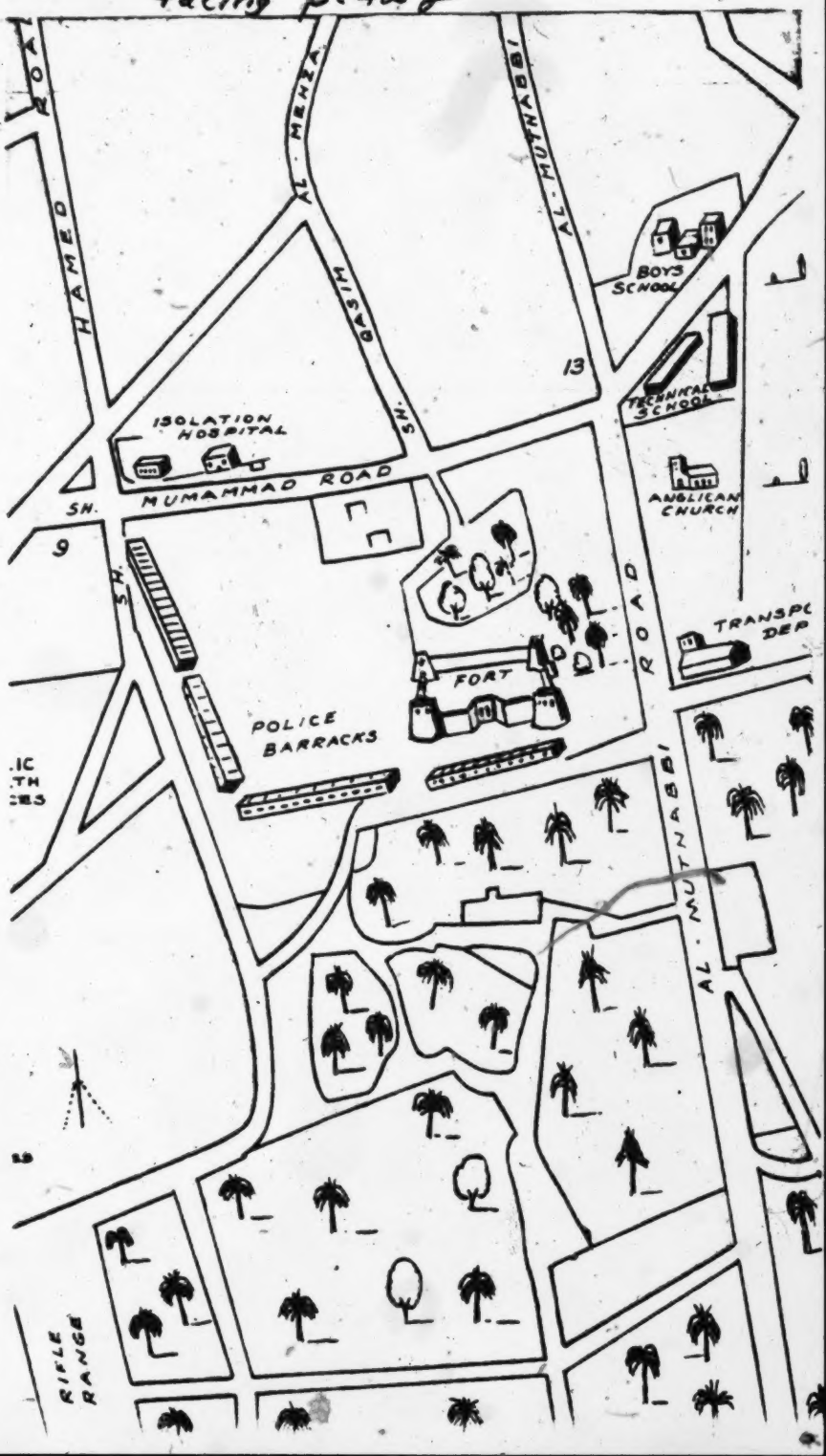

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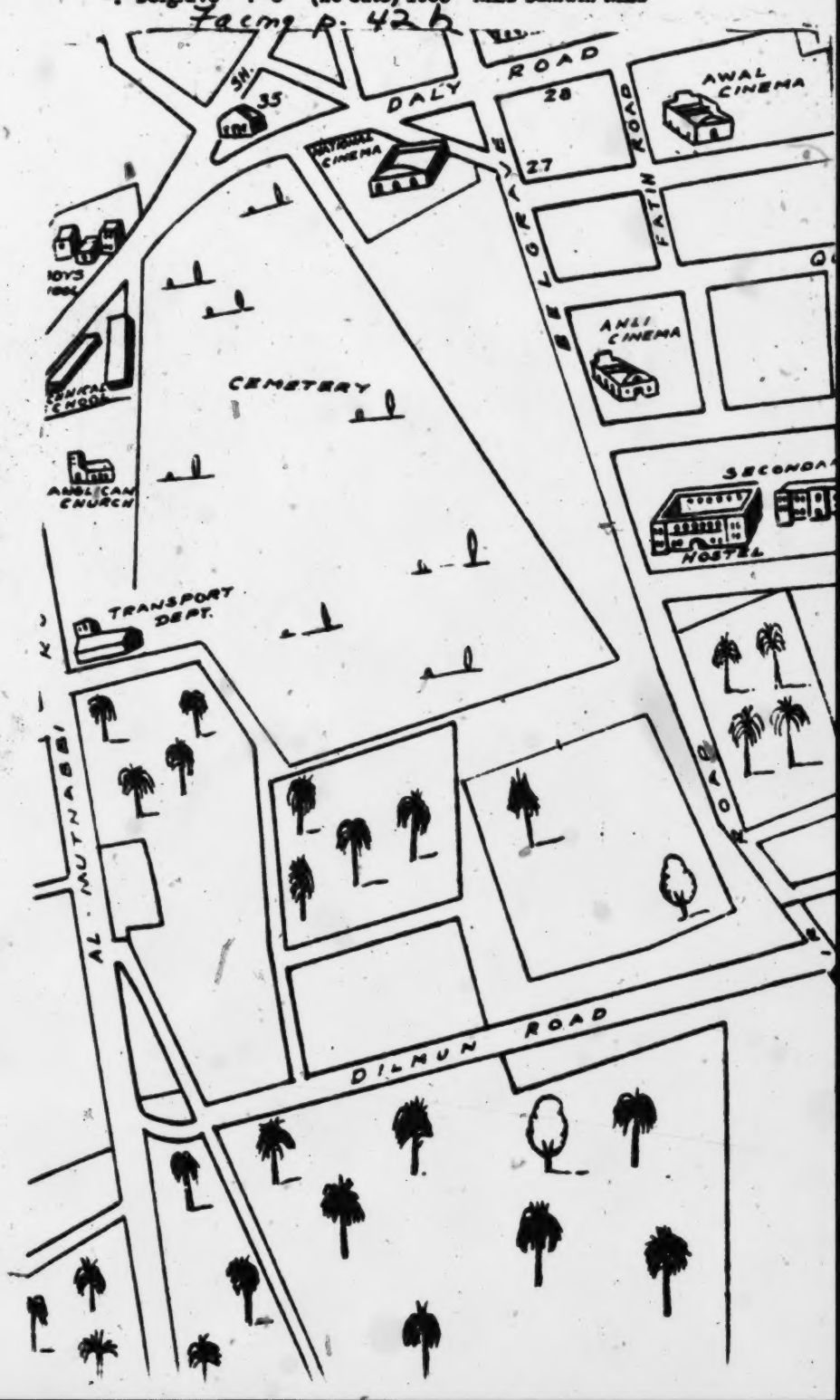

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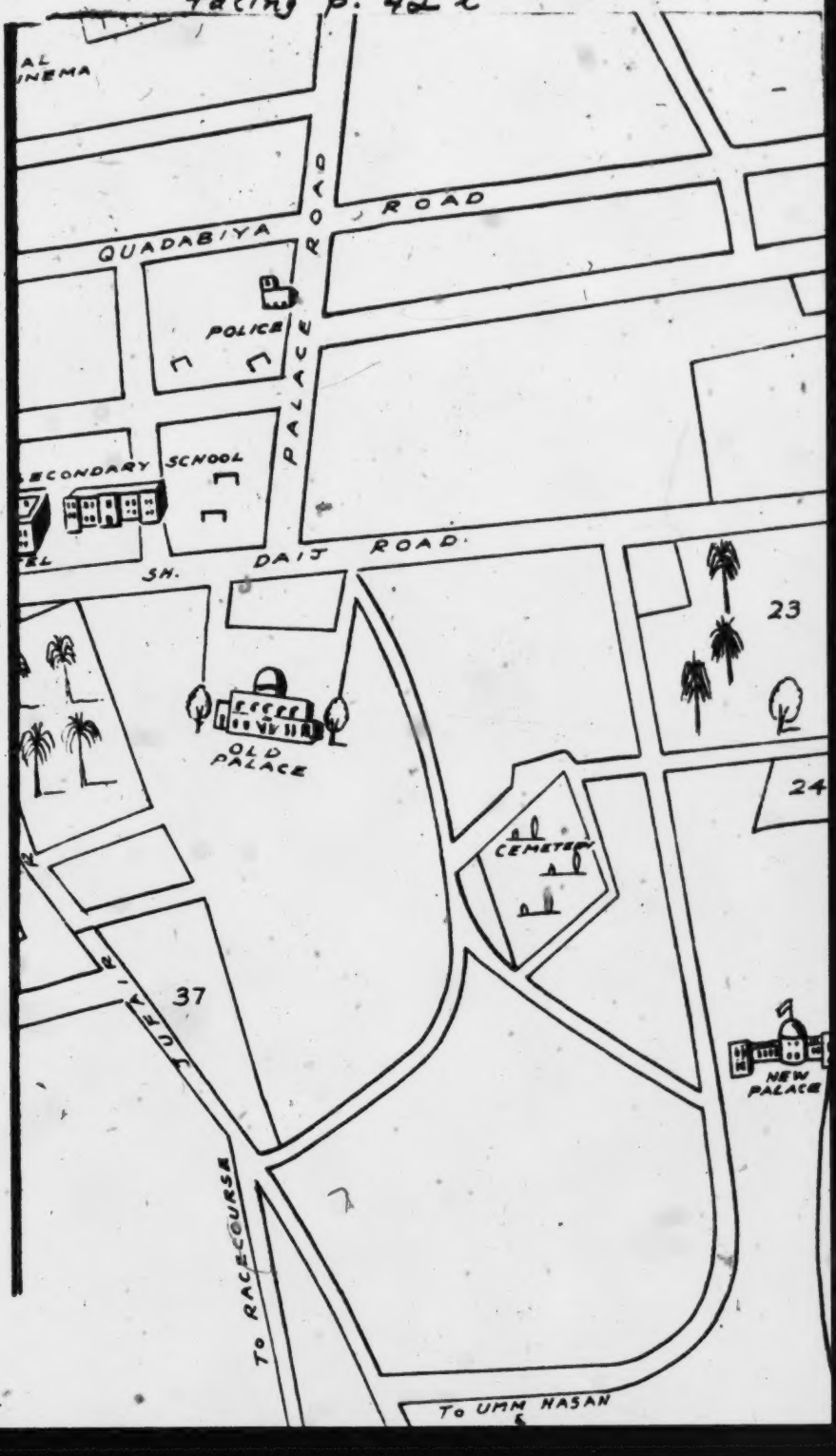

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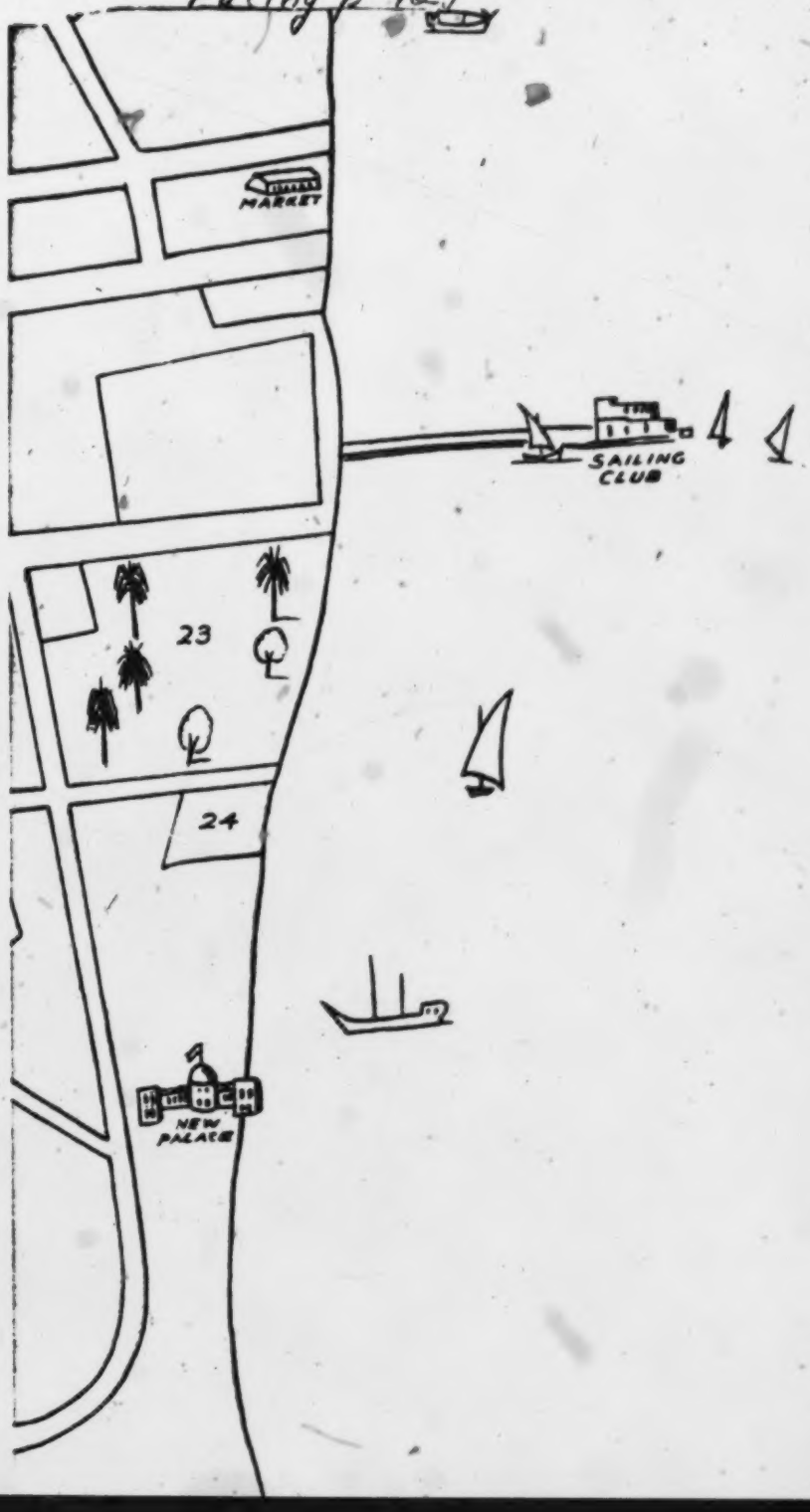

At Awali are the offices and the homes of the European employees of BAPCO, while outside the fence is the Arab camp for the few Bahrainis who prefer to live there rather than in their own towns and villages. Near Awali's eastern gate is the Training School for Bahrainis, where something is done to equip them for higher posts in the company. This is a field of activity which the company is beginning to develop and it is very important that is should succeed.

South of Awali, in the desert around the Jebal ad-Dukhan, is the oil field, the *raison d'etre* of BAPCO, an unimpressive area with many little squares of cement decorated with taps and valves and surrounded by low fences, which are the oil wells, while here and there derricks mark the search for more oil which is always in progress.

After the Abadan Refinery the one on Bahrain is the largest in the Middle East and supplies large quantities of refined products to India, Pakistan, East Africa and other countries "East of Suez." During the day it would be difficult to describe the refinery as anything but a large and ugly mass of iron and steel, with the great Cat. Cracker rising above the squat silver tanks. The air is hot and dusty and in the summer the iron-work is so hot that to touch it raises blisters; but in the evening the refinery takes on the appearance of a slightly shapeless but nevertheless well decorated Christmas Tree, covered in lights and set against a background of flares of burning gas which illuminate the sky like a lurid orange back-cloth.

The Sitra anchorage has at all times an appearance of feverish activity, it is being improved so that it will be possible to load ships and tankers round the clock. In order to do this the jetty is being floodlit with great arc lamps.

On low-lying Sitra Island all that can be seen from the sea are the storage tanks, it is only on approaching nearer that the island itself becomes visible. The Tank Farm spreads across the middle of Sitra, and as it expands it threatens to cut the island in two. To the south of the Tank Farm is a large group of buildings from which a crashing sound is continually heard; this is the Drum Plant. Further evidence of this is present in the thousands of newly painted drums that are piled in huge rows near the plant.

The oil industry is directed from the main office in Awali, where from air-conditioned coolness in the summer and air-conditioned warmth in the winter instructions go out to all parts of Bahrain where BAPCO has its installations. Bahrain is well situated for an oil industry. The oil wells are about eight miles from the Refinery, which itself is scarcely more than half that distance from the Pier and Tank Farm, while from Awali it is possible to see on a clear day both the Refinery and the Field. The radio-telephone and the aeroplane used in other Middle Eastern fields have no place in Bahrain where phones and cars are quite sufficent.

Of the 7,749 workers employed by BAPCO at the end of 1951, 4,937 were Bahrainis and 1,035 were British, American and other

Some twenty years ago a Danish scientific expedition paid two visits to the Persian Gulf to report on the fish found in it. They discovered that there were over 400 species.

## AGRICULTURE

Parts of Bahrain have always been fertile and very probably in ancient times more land was under cultivation than is being used today. The gardens of Bahrain are mentioned by many ancient visitors to the islands. The captains of Alexander's ships described Tylos, the ancient name of Bahrain, as "well-wooded and productive" while Idrisi, writing in the 12th century, says that the "capital of Awal (Bahrain Island) is Bahrain; this is a town well populated whose environs are fertile and produce corn and dates in abundance." It could be that the capital of Bahrain mentioned by Idrisi was Bilad al-Qadim, the description would seem to imply this.

Formerly the Bahrain gardens were irrigated from natural springs and surface wells, the water either flowing from the springs into the gardens or being lifted from wells to the level of the land by various forms of water scoops. The most commonly used is the Shaduf. A man stands near the edge of the well and draws up the water in a sheep skin bag attached by ropes to a counter-balanced pole. In larger wells donkeys or oxen are used, walking endlessly up and down a ramp pulling the water to the surface from where it runs down into irrigation channels. As the rainfall in Bahrain is almost negligible all agriculture depends upon irrigation.

In the 20's and 30's Major Frank Holmes drilled many artesian wells in Bahrain which completely changed Bahrain's system of irrigation. By introducing these wells into the island Major Holmes did much to increase the area of land which could be cultivated, but artesian wells turned out to be a mixed blessing, for in the following years so many wells were drilled that the water head went down and some of the gardens in the south of Bahrain dried up. Today this problem is being met by a government Water Committee which decides whether and under what conditions new wells may be drilled, it tries to ensure that the water resources of the islands are maintained at their present level or even increased by the utilisation of the many large springs of fresh water which lie under the sea around the shores of Bahrain.

The two commonest crops in Bahrain are dates and lucerne (alfalfa). the latter is often grown in the shade of the date palms where its vivid greenness provides a contrast to the brown and grey-green of the date palms. There is little good fruit in Bahrain although a certain number of fruit trees are cultivated, these include citrus, tamarind, pomegranate, fig, guava, terminalia (indian almond) mango, bananas, grapes and kanard (a small apple-like fruit). European vegetables are grown in the cold weather and other ground crops include sweet potatoes, melons, tomatoes, ladies fingers, egg plants, onions, garlic and pumpkins.

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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North Bahrain in 1635. A map taken from a Portuguese book on India (see *Chapter VIII*).

*Photo : Courtesy of Royal Egyptian Geographical Society.*

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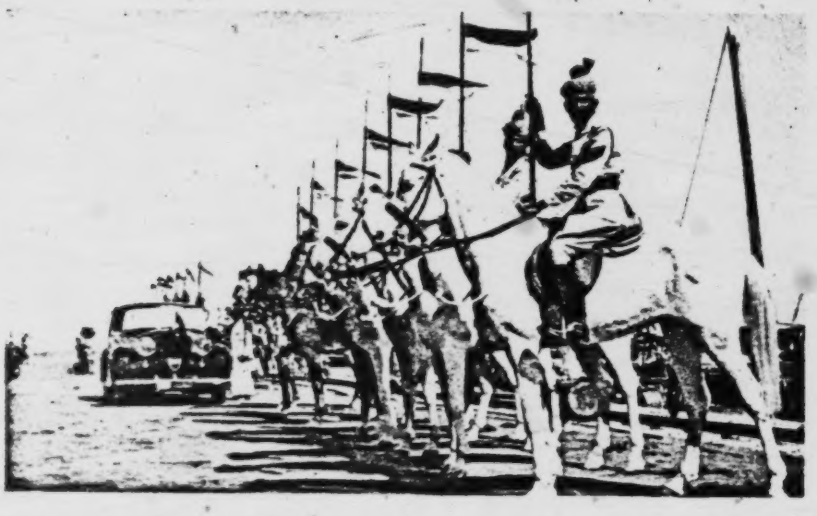


Bahrain State Police, Mounted Section.

*Photo : K. P. Narayan*

south-west corner the town is deserted and in ruins. Also on this plain is the Abu Zaidah Mosque, built over a spring of the same name. This mosque has recently been repaired by the Government and is much used by the Shia people of Manama, especially by the women during weddings.

To the north of the Budaiya Road is the ruined mosque of Abu Mahara, a strange little building with two storeys and a tall column in the centre of the spring. This mosque was built in the year 889 A.H. (1484 A.D.) as shown by an inscription to this effect in its west wall.

There are many other mosques in Bahrain, some of which contain inscriptions giving the date of their foundation, but they are of comparatively recent date and the mosques themselves are of no architectural interest.

### THE FORTS OF BAHRAIN

Portuguese and Persians, Arabs and Omanis, all these have at one time or another attacked and occupied Bahrain and have retained control of the islands by the construction and garrisoning of forts and castles. The oldest surviving fort in Bahrain is the Qalat al-Ajaj, built by the Portuguese some time after their occupation of Bahrain in 1521. This fort lies on the northern shore of Bahrain Island some three miles from Manama and the easiest way to visit it is by driving along the Manama-Budaiya Road and then by turning off to the north when the ruins of the fort can be seen through the date palms.

On the sea shore below the fort can be seen the steps by which the Portuguese entered their boats, but with the exception of these remains there are no relics of the Portuguese in Bahrain. A number of cannon have been found, but there is a surprising absence of inscriptions, coins or gravestones.

The exact date of the construction of the fort is not known, but the fort was repaired in 1562 and 1586, this need for continual repair was no doubt due to the many revolts which took place in Bahrain against the Portuguese. Shaikh Khalifah an-Nabhani, in his history of Bahrain, mentions that he visited the fort and saw this latter date inscribed in four places on the walls of the fort, but today there is no sign of these inscriptions.

Page 62 shows a map of north Bahrain Island and Muharraq taken from a Portuguese book of the seventeenth century. It is interesting to see that whereas the Portuguese fort, in fact, has five sides, with square towers at four corners and a turret at the fifth, in the map the fort appears as square in shape while the moat is five-sided. The fort is at present in such a bad state of repair that it is almost impossible to discover the purposes of the various towers and chambers found in it, but an idea can be obtained of the great skill and care that went into the making of the walls by an examination of the towers and wall on the west side of the fort. The moat is no longer filled by the sea due to its neglect, although after the expulsion of the Portuguese the fort continued to be used by the Persian garrison in Bahrain.

A further examination of the map reveals that in the time of the

Portuguese there was a church in Bahrain (bottom left-hand corner) and it is possible that the ruins that can be seen by the side of the road leading to the fort were once a church. Also in the map is a village of black-roofed houses with one tall minaret-like building, probably the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, whose twin minarets, as stated above, are of comparatively recent origin. The map also shows a number of small black houses facing on to a bay, these could represent the town of Manama, then a village, which is known to have existed in the time of the Portuguese. What is more surprising is the large two-storeyed fort on Muharraq Island ; this cannot be explained as easily as the other items, for there is to-day only one fort on Muharraq Island, that of Arad, which is known to have been built by the Omanis in 1800. It could be that they built their fort on the ruins of another older one, but it is also possible that this fort represents Muharraq town, which, until comparatively recently, was protected by a wall. On the map to the right of the fort is a small building with two flags, probably the tomb of some local notable, and to the left of the fort there is another group of houses representing either Muharraq or one of the coastal villages. Finally there is the island of Abu Mahir, whose fort is indicated by a small tower set in the sea to the left of Muharraq Island. The book from which this map is taken is in the Bibliothéque Nationale de Paris and the map is here reproduced by kindness of the Royal Geographical Society of Egypt.

361 172 712

Some miles south of the Jebal ad-Dukhan there is a hill called 'Amr and crowning it is a fort, a simple construction of loose stones, built, according to tradition, by Shaikh Jabbara, who became ruler of Bahrain about 1698 A.D. Far from gardens and fresh water, this fort was in fact in an ideal position from which to guard Bahrain against foreign enemies, for the sea is visible to the east and the west. The story of Shaikh Jabbara will be told in Part III.

172 712

The palace of Shaikh Farir is said to have been situated at Rifaa ash-Sharqi, overlooking the central plain of Bahrain island and, to-day, the oil town of Awali. The fort of Rifaa ash-Sharqi in its present form was built by Shaikh Sulman bin Ahmed al-Khalifah, one of the early Khalifah rulers, who started work on it in 1812. The wooden doors that he caused to be set up can still be seen at the entrance to the house of the Amir of Rifaa, the inscriptions that they bear, when the numerical values of the letters are added up, indicate that the fort was built in the above year.

Returning to Manama, we pass the Qalat ad-Diwan, to-day used as the H.Q. of the Bahrain State Police. Although this fort has been modernised, the main outline is still recognisable as it was built on the orders of Nadir Shah, after he seized Bahrain in 1739. This fort contained the Persian garrison in Bahrain till they were expelled by the Khalifah. Shaikh Isa (1869-1932) often used the Qalat ad-Diwan as his summer palace until it was taken over by the Police.

[625]

In Muharraq Island a rather comic toy-like fort sits on the sea-shore of Arad Bay facing Muharraq town. A simple construction of

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# Part III.—AROUND BAHRAIN.

## MANAMA

361 THE capital of Bahrain, Manama, with a population, in 1950, of 39,648, is situated on the low lying coast at the north end of Bahrain Island. Most parts of the town are only two or three feet above sea level and close below the ground there is brackish water which accounts for the excessive humidity during the summer. The town extends for 1½ miles along the northern shore and about the same distance down the east coast. Although Manama, which means "The Place of Sleeping." is known to have existed in the 15th century and is mentioned by the Portuguese, it contains no ancient buildings, and possibly the oldest relic of the past is the tomb of Shaikh Ahmed al-Khalifah, who conquered Bahrain in 1782, situated near the Awal Cinema.

[103]

The most attractive view of Manama is from the sea. Approaching the port from Saudi Arabia one sees a long line of tall, white houses with deep-shadowed verandahs, rising above the brilliantly coloured water. Around the Customs Pier, which extends for a quarter of a mile into the sea, there are usually 70 or 80 local sailing craft and launches whose crews and cargoes fill the pier to overflowing. The skyline of the town is broken by two or three minarets, the tallest being that of the Juma Mosque, while on the shore to the east of the town can be seen the graceful wind-towers which were used to catch the breeze before the days of electric fans and air-conditioning.

342 Most of the houses are built from coral stone, quarried from the bed of the sea at low tide, plastered and painted white. A noticeable feature of Bahrain architecture is the use of large flat sheets of coral stone set between masonry pillars in the walls of the houses. In some districts of the town there are still numbers of "barastis", huts made of palm branches, but these are rapidly being replaced by stone and cement houses.

361 344 The centre of the town is Shaikh Sulman Square with, on the north, the Pier and the Customs premises and on the south "Bab al-Bahrain," the Gate of Bahrain, a large block of Government offices with an archway in the centre leading through to the principal street in the bazaar. In the centre of the Square is a circular garden, the walls of which are made from cement panels decorated with traditional Bahraini designs, arabesques, of pleasing appearance. The bazaar extends for some distance on each side of Barrett Road, the main street. To its west are the Municipal Buildings and an open market where, on Wednesday mornings, the people of the villages bring their produce to sell.

366 443

The Manama bazaar rightly claims to be the emporium of the Gulf, it contains both narrow streets of picturesque little shops, full

of colour and Arab life, and large modern stores stocked with every type of goods from America, Europe and the East. The spice bazaar, the second-hand bazaar behind the Municipality and the shops of the metal workers are typically oriental ; the stores in the larger streets with plate glass windows and fixed prices stock a wide range of modern goods which are generally cheaper than elsewhere in the Gulf owing to the low customs duty. Apart from pearls, mother-of-pearl, gold and silver thread embroidery and model dhows there are few purely local products for visitors to buy. The best way to see the bazaar is on foot, it provides innumerable subjects for photos and neither here nor anywhere else in Bahrain is there any objection to the taking of photos. 366 443

To the south-west of the town is the Qalat ad-Diwan, beyond it, along Awal Road, is the Isolation Hospital, the Public Health Department and a number of blocks of flats. Opposite them is a large garden with two miniature lakes, known as the Water Garden ; this is a popular place during summer evenings. Beyond the flats is the Mental Hospital. It is probable that within the next few years this area will undergo extensive development. 361 517 368

To the south-east is the district of Manama known as Quadabiya, up to a few years ago an area of barren sand and swamp land where mosquitos bred but which today is rapidly developing into a residential and entertainment centre. Going along Belgrave Road one passes the Secondary School and Hostel, the Palace and, where the road joins Jufair Road, many houses and bungalows occupied by employees of European commercial firms. Jufair Road then passes the Race Course and Gymkhana Club and terminates in the suburbs of Umm a-Hasan and Jufair ; at the latter are the headquarters of the Senior British Naval Officer, Persian Gulf and H.B.M.'s Political Residency. 361 368

In the modern districts of Manama there are many wide and well surfaced roads, lined with tree-shaded pavements, while here and there in the town waste plots of land have been made into little gardens with benches, lawns and fountains. Along the water-front runs Sea Road, joining the Muharraq Causeway with the State Hospital at its western end. The Muharraq Causeway took ten years to build, for it served as a relief project when there was unemployment in Bahrain. The Shaikh Hamed Swing Bridge was completed in 1942 by Messrs. Holloways Bros. Many of the principal buildings and offices in Bahrain are on the Sea Road and Prior Road, which is an inland road running parallel to it. In former times the sea extended far into the town, south even of Prior Road, but during the past twenty-five years much of the sea-shore has been reclaimed. In Muharraq similar work can be seen in progress, but in an earlier stage of development. 363 [491] [653]

In the evenings, the busiest part of Manama is Belgrave Road and the part of Quadabiya to its east where there are four cinemas and many coffee-shops, as well as football fields. At sunset the people of the town can be seen strolling along the road to Jufair, or sitting on the benches that line the pavements, later returning to the cinemas 517 [368]

and coffee-shops. This activity continues until about eleven o'clock especially in the summer when it is pleasanter to be out in the open air than indoors.

Manama is supplied with electric light from the Government Power House, situated on the point at the north-east end of Manama. The town water supply, also a Government concern, comes from artesian wells in what used to be the Municipal Garden from where it is pumped into large tanks high above Manama and from there distributed by mains to all parts of the town and to numerous drinking fountains and public baths. This water system, which was installed by Holloway Bros., was completed in 1949, before this the water came from private and public artesian wells and was distributed by water carriers.

QASARI

It is logical in describing Bahrain to leave Manama by the main road, Awal Road, but a more interesting drive can be taken by following the 2nd class road which branches off from Awal Road beyond the Mental Hospital. After passing through a number of villages of comparatively little interest the road comes to a shaded lane bordered on one side by a lake. This is Ain al-Qasari, whose pool, although more extensive than that at Adari, is shallow and therefore unsuitable for swimming. Here there is a garden and a pleasant little house overlooking the pool, admittance to which is free, which is much frequented by picnicers. In the pool there are fish, some of which are as much as eighteen inches in length, as well as turtles. These are so accustomed to visitors that when people walk along the edge of the water or sit in the house, they swim lazily to the surface, waiting to be thrown pieces of bread or food. In a country consisting mostly of desert, and where a small and dirty pool usually constitutes the local water supply, the attractive appearance of Ain al-Qasari, particularly at sunset, is very agreeable.

There are in fact two springs called Qasari, the second, situated on Awal Road, is better known by the name of the "Dhobis Pool" on account of the large numbers of Indian washermen who mercilessly beat the dirty clothes on slabs of rock, and when they have finished hang them out to dry in long lines by the side of the road. It is a not unusual sight to round a corner of the road and to see before one lines of clothes, billowing in the breeze like wind-socks, and the frantic activity of the dhobis standing in the water in an odd array of clothing attempting to finish their task and dry the laundry before the sun sets.

BILAD AL-QADIM

A short way beyond Ain al-Qasari is Bilad al-Qadim, literally "The Old Town," formerly the capital of Bahrain, which lies between the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, whose twin minarets are a landmark for navigators, and the Khor Mukhtar inlet on the east coast. Bilad al-Qadim can also be approached from Awal Road opposite the Suq

al-Khamis Mosque and half a mile south of the village there is an inlet of the sea which can be crossed at low tide by a ford which leads to the village of Tubli. 361 ●

Bilad al-Qadim is a Shiite village and was the capital of Bahrain before the Arab conquest of the Islands. It is frequently referred to in local Shiite histories and is described but not named in a number of early Moslem writings. A large area of the town is now in ruins, but its walls and mounds show that it was once a place of considerable size and importance. According to local reports the sandy mound near the School opposite Suq al-Khamis Mosque is all that remains of the fort that protected the town, while the mosque itself was its Friday Mosque. The Thursday Market (Suq al-Khamis), after which the district takes its name, is probably a relic of the time when this was the capital of Bahrain and when goods were brought here from the country for sale, just as today the Wednesday Market serves the same purpose in Manama.

There are several well-known springs in the vicinity including Qasari, which has already been mentioned, the Dhobi Pool and Abu Zaidan. A relic of the old town still stands in the shape of Masjid ar-Rafia, a mosque built over a spring, which is on the west side of the town and contains an ancient Kufic inscription. Date groves and gardens surround the town but many of the inhabitants work in Manama, where some of them own shops. The white buildings in the clearing opposite the Suq al-Khamis Mosque are a Government Boys School and a dispensary. [312]

### ADARI

"The Lido of Bahrain" is a description which is often used for Ain Adari (The Virgin's Pool). It is especially applicable in the summer when every evening buses, cars, lorries and bicycles convey people from Manama to the deep, cool blue waters of the pool where they swim or sit about in the public garden or coffee-shop. Adari is the largest natural spring in Bahrain and the stream which flows from it irrigates many acres of gardens. 312 529

Adari was once a very messy pool where camels and donkeys were watered, but it has been developed by the government into a bathing place. The sides of the pool have been lined with cement and provided with steps, there is a mosque, a coffee shop, bathing huts and diving boards, and around the pool a flower garden where oleandar, bougainvillea and ponciana flourish. The road to Adari, which branches off Awal Road, is indicated by a sign-post about half a mile south of Suq al-Khamis. [491]

### UPPER AND LOWER SEHLAH

These are two villages on opposite sides of Awal Road. Upper Sehlah is a small village of stone and barasti houses built on a hill overlooking the surrounding gardens; in summer the village expands when the date pickers descend on the village and put up their barastis. 361 245 221

361 when the date pickers descend on the village and put up their barastis.
245 Lower Sehlah is reached by a bridge across the water channel that borders the Manama-Awali Road. This village is surrounded by date gardens and can also be reached by a footpath from Adari. The gardens in the neighbourhood of the two villages are among the best and most thriving in Bahrain, and the date groves are locally described as the hump of Bahrain, not because they rise above the surrounding lands but on account of their being the richest and most fertile in the islands.

### AALI

361 After leaving the palm belt and entering the plain north of Rifaa, thick smoke can usually be seen rising from among some date gardens to the west, this is the village of Aali, one of the largest in Bahrain. It lies on the western edge of the plain which extends from the end of the date gardens at the bridge of Radhm al-Qawari to the Rifaa hills, and is close to a group of the largest tumuli in Bahrain which are a conspicuous feature of the landscape of Bahrain island. The largest mounds in the Aali group are over 80 feet high and 100 feet in diameter.
[491] The best road to Aali is the one indicated by the sign-post on Awal
[542] Road, a short distance from Radhm al-Qawari. The houses of this village are better than in most of the Bahrain villages; they are large and airy and some of them have blocks of stone from the tombs in their walls. As in the case of so many Bahrain villages, Aali stands on a slight elevation surrounded by date gardens.

### RIFAA AL-GHARBI

644 Straddling Awal Road on the edge of the rim-rock is the town of
361 West Rifaa, the winter residence of H.H. The Ruler of Bahrain as well as of many of his family and retainers. This settlement is comparatively modern, having been built by the present Ruler before he succeeded in 1942. Constructed in the traditional Arab pattern, the Palace is in the centre of the town and the other houses are widely scattered about it. The Ruler's love of gardens has caused the road to be lined with trees, and it is a pleasant surprise on coming across the desert surrounding the town to pass through a shady green avenue. During the three months of the Summer the Ruler lives in Manama, but as soon as the cool weather returns a long procession of cars and lorries moves slowly out of Rifaa, the lights go on, and overnight the appearance of West Rifaa is changed from a deserted town to a scene of much activity.

### RIFAA ASH-SHARQI

361 This is the fourth largest town in Bahrain and has a population
712 of about 3,000. East Rifaa is without doubt the most picturesque of Bahrain's towns and villages. When approached from the west, from the plain near Awali, the fortress, which dominates the valley, presents a most romantic appearance and carries one's thoughts back

to the days when the Rulers of Bahrain lived here and ruled the Islands from the castle. Below the fortresss is the spring of Hanani, whose water is the best in Bahrain, and a plain where, in the rainy season, a small lake forms and on disappearing leaves in its place a bright lawn of grass. Rifaa has been expanding rapidly during recent years, the town is spreading to the south-east, and it now possesses boys' and girls' schools and a Municipality. Some members of the Ruling Family still live in the town which has expanded owing to the development of the oil industry, in which some 500 of its male inhabitants are working.

The situation of the town is ideal for strategical purposes, from it it is possible to see Manama, Muharraq and Sitra while the land around it is free of vegetation which could have served to hide the enemy. It has an excellent climate and is drier than Manama in the summer. To the north of the town are two small graves where members of the Khalifah family are buried; these fell in battle during a civil war which took place in the 19th century.

There is a tradition connected with the fortress of Rifaa. It is said to have been built in the 17th century by the Wazir of the then Ruler, a certain Shaikh Jabbara. For years the Ruler and his wazir worked together, but one day the Shaikh was told about the beauty of the wazir's wife, and he desired her. He was tricked into believing that he had visited her, though in fact he was entertained by her maid-servant. He was so angry at the deception, about which the wazir knew nothing, that he killed him. The Wazir's widow thereupon fled from Rifaa to the mainland, from where she wrote to the Shah of Persia sending him a minature palm tree of pearls and gold and saying that so rich was Bahrain that such a tree was given to a child as a toy. She succeeded in exciting the avarice of the Persian Shah, who sent an army to Bahrain, defeated and killed Shaikh Jabbara, and annexed the Islands to Persia, thus avenging the Wazir's wife. This same Shaikh Jabbara is said to have lived in the fort of Amr, south-east of the Jebel, which is mentioned in Chapter VIII.

There is a third Rifaa, a small community built by BAPCO for its Indian and Pakstani employees; this is mentioned in the Chapter on Bahrain's Oil.

### AWALI

Meaning "The High Places," this name was given by Shaikh Hamed, the late Ruler of Bahrain, to the oil camp when it was first established in its present location. Before the oil company arrived in Bahrain the site was deserted—for who would live in the middle of a waterless desert? But the company wanted to build their town near the oil field, and so the small, 240 foot, hill was chosen. Today Awali somewhat resembles a London surburb or a small American town. As in London, varied gardens and different coloured exteriors of the houses serve to disguise their basic similarity. In these gardens children play while their mothers chat to each other over the fences. Happy

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

361 382 [162] laughter comes from the Club House Swimming Bath and in the evenings sports of all kinds take place inside the camp. Today Awali is a town of some 400 houses inhabited by 2,000 Europeans and Americans. Shady trees line the roads and in fact there is little to suggest the presence of oil. The roads are surfaced with it, but otherwise it is not visible, though oil is the *raison d'etre* of this town set in such an inhospitable situation, to which water has to be piped from miles away and where to plant a tree a pneumatic drill is required to pierce the rock on which the town is built.

### SAKHIR

361 Driving from Awali to Zellaq the traveller will notice a group of large buildings on the south of the road near the foot of the Jebal. This is Sakhir, founded by Shaikh Muhammad bin Khalifa (1843-67, d. 1890), but the majority of buildings which exist today were built by the late Ruler of Bahrain. The present Ruler makes little use of Sakhir, and the attractive mosques, balconied dwelling houses and high roofed rooms are now deserted ; the only human beings who remain are the Bedouin in charge of the horses and camels which are still kept there. The climate of Sakhir is excellent and in the spring there are fields of grass which provide grazing both for domestic animals, gazelle and hare. When Sakhir was occupied Saluqis were much in evidence, Shaikh Hamed was a great lover of this fine breed of dogs and his favourite hound, Housha, followed him wherever he went. It should be remembered that Sakhir is the private property of the Ruler, from whom permission must be obtained before it is visited. [486]

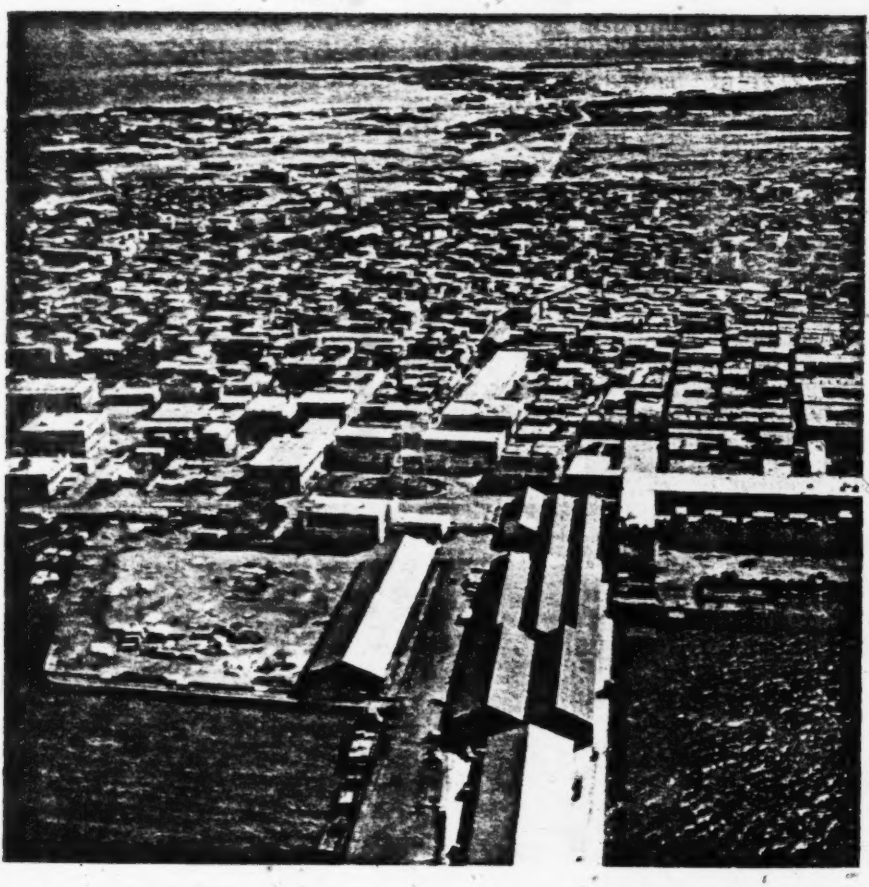
### JEBAL AD-DUKHAN

133 The "Mountain" of Bahrain has already been mentioned in the Introduction, but it deserves further notice. From its peak, which is marked by a trigonometry marker, it is possible to see, on a clear day, the entire area of Bahrain from Manama and Muharraq on the north to Ras al-Barr, while on the east and west the sea is even nearer. From the peak an excellent bird's eye view of Awali can be seen, and, at night, the flares at Dhahran and at Dukhan in Qatar are visible. The strange formation of the island, with the rim-rock and the central depression can be seen from the Jebal. At the head of a wadi facing towards Awali is the Jebal cave, some 15 × 35 × 6 ft., which is hollowed out of the rock, probably by water erosion for the fantastic patterns on the walls would seem to point to nature's rather than man's handiwork.

### JAW AND DOUR (DAR AL-MANADIL)

361 On the east coast of Bahrain about a mile south of the highest peak of the Jebal are the villages of Dour and Jaw, similar in character and appearance and the southernmost inhabited villages on the east coast of Bahrain. The villages are about a mile apart and both are on the shore, they consist of a poor type of stone and gypsum hut inhabited [342]

361



Aerial view of central Manama looking from the north. In the foreground is the Customs Pier, Shaikh Sulman Square and Bab al-Bahrain.

*Photo : Bahrain Government.*

by Sunni Arabs who were prosperous when the pearling industry flourished but who depend today upon fishing, the oil company and transporting jus from Hawar for their living. In the summer the heat and the shortage of water (for although Jaw has a well it is brackish and more to the taste of the date palms that grow around it than to the people) drive most of the inhabitants to migrate to Sitra. Jaw was once spread some distance along the shore, as can be seen from the ruins that surround it, and in addition to having been a pearling centre it was inhabited by the people of Zubara when they wanted to escape the tyrannical rule of the Wahhabis in the 19th century. Jaw is the point on Bahrain nearest to Zubara and the Qatar coast, and for that reason it was always garrisoned when there was a threat to Bahrain from the mainland, but today the Police Camel Corps, which is stationed there, is to prevent the smuggling into Bahrain of Arabs from the Trucial Coast who come seeking work.

North of Jaw on the road to the Refinery is Asker and opposite it the island of Mushaikha, where an old tomb is the centre of pilgrimage for one of the Moslem sects, the Buharas. The interior of the tomb is filled with bottles of rose water, brought by pilgrims as offerings. Asker itself is a village much like Jaw and Dour.

### JIDHAFS

We must now return to Manama and follow the other road that leads out of the town, this time in the direction of Budaiya. After passing through some miles of gardens the road reaches Jidhafs, a large village, which is also said to have been at one time the capital of Bahrain. Its inhabitants have a reputation for being enterprising and go-ahead, they have recently demonstrated this by deciding to build a club, the first in any of the villages, although in the towns there are many. Jidhafs contains one of the Shiite Juma Mosques and Friday Prayer is said there. It may seem strange that this should be a claim to fame, but according to Moslem custom only certain mosques are used for the Friday Prayers which is intended to encourage large congregations and to prevent the dispersal of the faithful in all the other mosques.

Like all the villagers, those of Jidhafs enjoy a visit to the town every now and then, and in the evenings bus loads of men and many cyclists can be seen coming in to town to enjoy themselves by going to the cinema or sitting gossiping with their friends in the coffee-shops to the blare of wireless music.

South of Jidhafs in the direction of Suq al-Khamis is the village of Ain al-Dar; although today it presents a quiet and peaceful appearance it was once the headquarters of a notorious gang of robbers who used a ruined house, inhabited by a lunatic, as a cache for storing their loot.

### BUDAIYA

This strange town, on the north-western tip of Bahrain Island, is connected with Manama by a good motor road which runs through the village of Jidhafs. Budaiya used to be a large town, divided into Two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya.

two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya. It[1] was the home of the Dawasir tribe who came to Bahrain shortly after it was conquered by the al-Khalifah and established themselves here. The tribe acquired great wealth and prestige, owning many pearling dhows, and by degrees they became so powerful that they were able to raid with impunity the neighbouring Bahrana villages. They even challenged the authority of the al-Khalifah, but Shaikh Hamed, on becoming Deputy Ruler in 1924, threatened to punish them if they did not behave. This they considered as an infringement of their liberties and they therefore announced to the Ruler that if he prevented them behaving as they were accustomed, they would leave Bahrain and settle in Saudi Arabia. Shaikh Hamed refused to give way and the Dawasir left Bahrain. This, however, was not the last of them, for during many years it was believed that they were preparing to invade Bahrain. To prevent this a force was maintained in the Islands. However, the scare eventually died down and Budaiya after lying deserted, was later partly re-occupied by other Bahrainis, while some of the Dawasir gradually returned, many of them settling in Manama and Muharraq.

The ruins of great houses and mosques still remain, while scattered between them are the houses of the new inhabitants, who do much fishing in the prolific waters near the town, and also work in Manama and Awali. Before reaching the Police Post that marks the entrance to Budaiya the road passes through the Government Experimental Garden where new agricultural methods are tried and where cows and sheep, kept under scientific conditions, are studied for their productivity. From the Budaiya Pier launches go to Jidda, the prison island, many of whose inmates come over daily to work in the Budaiya Garden. The Pier is also used by the Ruler when he visits his island of Umm an-Nasaan.

The small Government school at Budaiya just south of the Government gardens, in addition to teaching the usual Primary School subjects gives lessons in agriculture for many of the boys' fathers own or work in gardens in the neighbourhood.

### DIRAZ

Diraz is a village about half a mile north of the Budaiya Road and about 1½ miles from Budaiya itself. It consists mainly of stone houses, many of which are two-storied. The village stands on high ground among the sand dunes and is very similar to Beni Jumra which faces it a little way off on the opposite side of the road. It is so surrounded by clumps of date palms that its size is not appreciated from the road. A feature noticeable here, as well as in many other parts of Bahrain, is that date palms grow in groups at the bottom of depressions in the sand and are not irrigated by water channels but obtain moisture from below the surface of the ground.

North-west of the village there are mounds which indicate the existence of a much larger settlement in the past and an extensive area of ground is covered with glass and pottery sherds. Among the ruins



[1] [The town of Budaiya . . Analyst]

there is a deep depression surrounded by large blocks of stone which was once a great spring said to have irrigated much of north-western Bahrain. This spring, known as Ain Sejour, is traditionally associated with the name of the Caliph Abd al-Malik (685-705) who is reputed to have come to Bahrain with an army to chastise the people who had given refuge to politico-religious refugees from Iraq. According to local histories the Bahrainis worsted the invaders in a war by a clever use of the underground water channels and a truce was signed. Later the Caliph is said to have murdered the Bahraini leaders and to have filled in this well "to reduce the pride of the people of Bahrain," since then it has been dry and the land around it has reverted to desert. It seems unlikely that the Caliph himself came to Bahrain, he probably sent one of his generals and later tradition ascribed the leadership to the Caliph himself. 172

Several well-to-do families own houses in Diraz, and when pearling flourished its people were important nakhudas (captains) and pearl merchants. Many of the villagers are still divers and keep their boats on the shore near the little mosque north of Budaiya Garden. For use in these boats the villagers weave their own sail-cloth on local looms. 228 288 554

JESRA

On the edge of the open plain about 4 miles south of Budaiya is Jesra, the point where the pipeline from Arabia crosses to Bahrain, here also is a village whose Arab inhabitants are mainly retainers of the Ruling Family. Several Shaikhs have also built substantial houses in the village, as well as gardens irrigated from artesian wells. Another road leads from Jesra to Rifaa al-Gharbi, following the route of the pipeline across the desert. 315 361 491

MALAKIYA

Four miles south of Jesra the road, after passing through the villages of Karzakan and Dumistan, enters the little village of Malakiya, set in the centre of thriving date gardens, some of which belong to merchants in Manama. The only claim to interest in this village is a large tomb which is held in great veneration by the Shia community of Bahrain and is visited by pilgrims from all parts of the Islands. The tomb is of a certain Amir Zaid, but there is some difference of opinion about his identity. Some contend that he was Zaid bin Sohan, one of the Companions of the Prophet, but according to other local authorities he was a certain Amir Zaid bin Umaira al-Abdi who witnessed a covenant of truce made between the people of the Islands and al-Mua'lla bin al-Hadrami, the Moslem conqueror of Bahrain. A third version is that the worthy Amir was the leader of the people of Bahrain in a war that took place between them and the Caliph Abd al-Malik (See paragraph on Diraz). It has not yet been decided which of these versions is in fact the true one, but this does not deter Shia pilgrims from visiting Malakiya. 361 778

### ZELLAQ

361 South again of Malakiya is Zellaq, the southernmost village on the
342 western Coast of Bahrain and approximately three miles west of Sakhir. A road runs from Zellaq to Awali and is much used by BAPCO employees coming to swim at the former place. The houses of Zellaq village, which are of stone, are built along the shore and many of them are large and spacious. As a result of the activities of BAPCO, Zellaq village has increased in size and prosperity and now contains a number of substantial white stone buildings which are conspicuous from a long distance across the flat and sandy plain that surrounds it.

162 The inhabitants of Zellaq are Sunni Arabs; some are from the Dawasir tribe, and many of them are dependents of the Ruling Family.
311 North of the village there are a number of large gardens, irrigated by innumerable artesian wells, which are owned by members of the Ruling Family and by their servants; these gardens form a green belt along the two miles of coast between Zellaq and Sedad.

312 The Bahrain Petroleum Company has a pump house at Zellaq which supplies Awali with much of its water and Zellaq was also once the discharging point for tankers bringing crude oil from Saudi
517 Arabia, before the submarine pipe-line was laid. Near the pumping station is the BAPCO Plage, the excellent bathing place which is much used by the employees of BAPCO, particularly in the Summer evenings.

### RAS AL-BARR

521 This, the southernmost point of the Bahrain islands, is a popular
484 place for summer picnics, but the approaches to it are difficult, and although never dangerous they can easily cause trouble to visitors by
491 the softness of the sand. It is best to travel in parties with not less than two cars, so that one can come to the help of the other if necessary, and care should be taken to keep to the tracks, however faintly indicated rather than to carve out new roads in the desert. The road to Ras al-Barr from Zellaq first passes through Mutalla, the Ruler's hunting lodge, while that from Awali past the Jebel passes another hunting lodge at Rumaitha before joining the Western road at Akala. From here the road goes south, past the swamps on the coast and along the narrow strip of sand which marks the end of the island.

136 In certain seasons of the year the shores along this part of Bahrain
262 are covered with the eggs of sea-birds, and many Arab dhows anchor off the coast while the crews remove the eggs for food. If one is lucky, while driving down the coast, hare and gazelle may be seen, as well as rose-tinted flamingoes on the shore.

## MUHARRAQ ISLAND

### MUHARRAQ

491 The visitor from Manama approaches Muharraq by crossing the
486 1½ mile long causeway and Shaikh Hamed Bridge, completed in 1942,

which opens at 11 a.m. and at midnight, for an hour, to allow the passage of vessels through the deep channel between the two islands. There is a toll gate at the bridge and cars coming from Muharraq to Manama are charged 4 annas. Beyond the bridge, around a group of white buildings, the Customs House, Police Station and Municipal Office, there is always a scene of much activity. Here boats unload their cargoes and buses fill with passengers bound for all parts of the Islands. The sea road continues along the water front until it turns inland towards the airport. Much of the ground inside the sea road has not yet been reclaimed and at high tide the sea forms little squares of still water where children sail home-made boats. On Muharraq sea front there are several important buildings, a government dispensary, a large school and, at the northern corner, a block of flats.

Another road, opposite the causeway, runs up into the town passing through the bazaars, which branch off to the north and south. The Muharraq shops are of the old fashioned type, with neither plate glass nor fixed prices. There are antique dealers and carpet sellers and all the usual traders found in Arab towns. Ships chandlers are numerous as Muharraq has always been a sea faring centre. Arab chests, carved or brass bound, carpets, worked leather sandals, divers' equipment and goods of interest to tourists can be bought here at prices lower after judicious bargaining, than those in Manama.

Today Muharraq is still a typically Arab town, a fact of which its inhabitants are proud. Most of the shops are owned by Arabs and are not occupied by Indians or Persians as in Manama. The town, although it was once the capital of Bahrain, the centre of the pearl industry and the focus of trade (a fact that its inhabitants remember with pride) has developed more slowly than Manama. There are few modern buildings, only one cinema and no large European style shops, but its climate is said to be pleasanter than Manama and it is not so humid in the summer. Muharraq was once a walled town but no traces of the walls now remain. The high old houses which line the narrow streets have changed little during the last century, except where corners have been cut away to make passages for large American cars. Many of the larger houses belong to the Ruling Family. They are built around courtyards and in some cases a big house contains three or four such courtyards, surrounded by high walls with few outward-looking windows in them to screen the house from prying eyes.

Muharraq has a telephone service, electric light, a Post Office and a filling station, but no main water supply, apart from artesian wells. As in the case of Manama, the affairs of the town are controlled by an elected Municipal Council presided over by a member of the Ruling Family.

The sea surrounds the town on three sides but at the northern end a new residential area is developing on land which is being sold by the Municipality for building purposes. East of the town is the bay of Arad, the ancient name for Muharraq at the time of Alexander,

361 and on the shore there is an old deserted fort which was built by the Omanis during a short period when they occupied the Islands. A [504] ferry service of small sailing boats plies between Muharraq and Arad fort, but to drive round the bay to the fort by car takes less time than crossing by boat.

396 Boat building is one of the few local industries of Muharraq and is carried out along the shores of the town, especially on the eastern coast. Carpenters and shipwrights are apt to extend their work half across the road and when driving a car one often has to avoid sails which are pegged out for joining or for repairs, rope winders, men mending nets or carpenters working on big wooden water tanks for the pearling dhows.

361 Many visitors to Bahrain never enter Muharraq and by failing to do
178 so they miss the sight of a comparatively untouched Arab town, a sight that is rapidly becoming rarer in the oil rich Persian Gulf.

**HEDD**

361 Bahrain's number three town is Hedd. Long and narrow, it is built on a strip of land which juts out into the sea at the south-east end of Muharraq Island. The houses are closely packed together and extend right to the edge of the sea, one road, only just wide enough for motor vehicles, runs through the centre of the town and on each side a labyrinth of narrow lanes leads down to the shore. There are few barastis in Hedd and most of the people live in stone houses ; some of them are large, built by pearl merchants in the days when the pearl industry of which Hedd was an important centre, was flourishing. The bazaar is in the main street and it contains many shops which sell all manner of goods. Water is supplied to the town by several artesian wells.

[162] The population of Hedd is entirely Sunni and predominantly Arab, although a few of the shopkeepers are Persians. It includes Arabs of the Bin Ali, Saada, Mesedem and Musallam tribes who used to be very influential in Bahrain ; the last were once the rulers of Qatar. Hedd was originally a diving town but although it still has much contact with the sea, many of its inhabitants work on shore. Its people have a reputation for intelligence and energy and this is shown by the fact that they have produced better results from their schools than any other community. The town is conspicuously clean, owing partly to the fact that it is surrounded by the sea on three sides.

362 Hedd has a handsome new police station, at the entrance to the
633 town, which was completed in 1952, a Municipality and Boys' and Girls' Schools which were opened in 1937 and 1939 respectively. For some years the Muharraq Municipality included Hedd in its activities but in 1945 Hedd formed its own elected Municipal Council with four members. There is also in Hedd a dispensary and a small women's hospital with accommodation for a certain number of in-patients.
226 Hedd is famous for its prawns which are caught in special traps and sent to the fish markets of Manama and Muharraq.

There is a bus service between Hedd and Muharraq and also a few taxi cabs in the town.

In addition to the towns of Muharraq and Hedd the island of Muharraq is fringed by many villages ; going north round the coast from Muharraq town they include Busatin, Dair, Raiya, Galali and Arad. The first three villages contain many homes of members of the Ruling Family and are especially popular in the summer when the Muharraq weather is considered superior to that of Manama. Galali is a sizeable village inhabited by fishermen and industrial workers, while Arad is the centre of the agriculture of the island and is built near a large pool in the centre of the date gardens on Arad peninsular. The inhabitants of the village work in the gardens, but on the shores of the Bay near the old Omani fort is a large village built entirely of barastis. In the summer this temporary village is entirely filled with people from Muharraq who spend the nights here, crossing by ferry every day to Muharraq town.

In general Muharraq island is very low-lying, so much so that it was thought at one time that there was a danger of the sea affecting the efficiency of the Airport, but this has been removed by pumping stations around the field which remove, when necessary, surplus water from the runways. It was, however, found necessary to build a raised road from Muharraq town to Hedd, for when there was any rain or an exceptionally high tide the road was often blocked.

### UMM ASH-SHAGAR ISLANDS AND UMM ASH-SHIYAIRA

These are the two islands that lie to the south of Hedd town; the former, to the north, is covered with small stone and barasti houses; the second, whose name is a diminutive of the first, contains only barastis and is inhabited by fishermen.

### THE ISLANDS

In addition to these two, there are several other small islands south of Muharraq, of which the three largest, although none of them is more than a few hundred square yards in area, are Halat-as-Suluta, Hâlat-al-Khulaifat and Abu Mahur.

The first two islands lie to the south of Arad peninsular and at low tide they are joined by a sand-bar which permits walking between them. They contain small villages, whose people derive their livlihood from fishing, and they are lucky enough to have on them fresh water springs. Abu Mahur, the third and largest island, is in fact named after one of the largest of these springs, which is in the sea a short distance from the shore. The fort of Abu Mahur is now in ruins but the island is now used as a quarantine station.

The fresh water submarine springs south of Muharraq and the manner in which the people obtain water from them has astounded

many of the travellers who have visited the islands. Men with deflated sheepskins dive down to the spring and place the mouth of the skin over the place where the fresh water emerges ; the skin then fills with fresh water and when full the diver comes to the surface. Before artesian wells were drilled in Bahrain both Muharraq and Manama obtained much of their water in this way, but today, owing to artesian piped wells and water systems, the undersea springs are little used except those to the north of Bahrain near the pearling banks. A Turkish traveller who visited Bahrain in 1554, Sidi Ali, says of the submarine springs, "The sailors provided with a leather sack, dive down into the sea and bring the fresh water from the bottom for Rais Murad's (the Governor of Bahrain) use. This water is particularly pleasant and cold in spring time. God's Power is boundless !" There is a legend concerning the spring of Abu Mahur which says that in the time of the Caliph Merwan (684-685) a certain Ibn Hakim, a chief in Qatif, wished to marry the lovely daughter of a Bahrain shaikh. His suit was refused and so he attacked the islands and captured all the wells which supplied the towns on Bahrain Island, but the guardian diety of the Bahrainis caused the well Abu Mahur to appear in the sea near Muharraq to succour his people.

### NABIH SALIH

A most attractive island is Nabih Salih, set in the Khor-al-Kab between Umm al-Hassan and the mainland of Bahrain. With its thick cultivation, for the date palms run right down to the sea shore, and its many springs, including a large pool much frequented by bathers, Nabih Salih is a very popular place for visitors. In addition to its pool it is a place of pilgrimage for the Shia of Bahrain who go to pay their respects to the tomb of Salih after whom the island is named. The date palms of the island are particularly fine, they compare very favourably with those elsewhere in Bahrain, which is mainly due to the pool already mentioned, Safahiya, which irrigates much of the island. Nabih Salih can be visited by launch or sailing boat, the nearest point to it on Bahrain is Ain al-Hakim ; boats can also be obtained from Umm al-Hasan or from Sitra. People have been known to swim to the island, but this is not the only way of getting there and in the summer this method is inclined to be rather exhausting.

### SITRA

South of Nabih Salih and close to the coast of Bahrain is Sitra Island, which in addition to its many villages and gardens contains the Tank Farm and Drum Plant of BAPCO and the land end of the jetty. The site of these installations is a strip of bare and often sea-swept sands, but to the north of the island there are many gardens and a sizeable pool, Ain Raha, which is much visited by the people of Muharraq and Manama. Among the villages of North Sitra are Wadiyan, Sufala, Kharijya and Kuriya. Near the third village is a school and police station. To the south of the island is Umm al-Baidh, literally "Mother

of the Egg," a small village with many seafaring inhabitants. To the north of Sitra there is a very pleasant sandy beach looking towards Umm a-Hasan where there is excellent bathing; the view also includes Nabih Salih and Jaziyra. There is deep water to the north of Sitra, and it is here that the Bahrain Government is building the new Port of Manama with a pier running into deep water from the shore between Umm al-Hasan and Jufair.

### JIDDA

This island is about 2½ miles from Budaiya. It is small and rocky and in appearance unlike any of the other Bahrain Islands. Its high cliffs rise abruptly from the water and a few fort-like buildings are silhouetted against the sky-line. On the south side of the island there is a level strip of land which is extensively cultivated. Jidda is Bahrain's penal settlement; here all long term prisoners are detained, spending their time cutting stone, weaving and working in the gardens. There is a small house on the top of the cliffs above the jetty which catches all the wind in the summer and which is used by the Adviser to the Bahrain Government. Being a prison island, Jidda is forbidden to general visitors.

The stone quarries at Jidda are of great age and it is likely that the large stones which line the graves in the burial mounds were cut here. There is an Arabic inscription roughly cut on one of the cliffs which reads as follows :

"During the month of Shaban in the year 968 (April/May, 1561) there was completed the cutting of the 100,000th rock for the mending of the tower of the Bahrain fort in the wazirate of the Great Wazir Jilal ad-Din Murad Mahmud by the hand of the slave . . . " (a few words after this are unreadable).

### UMM AN-NASAAN

This, the second largest of the Bahrain islands, lies a few miles across the shallow water to the south of Jidda. It is sandy and flat, with the exception of two small limestone hills towards its centre which break the monotony of its shape. At the north end of the island there are several natural springs and artesian wells from which extensive date gardens are irrigated; they were planted by the late Ruler of Bahrain, H.H. Shaikh Hamed, who also established on the island a herd of black buck and gazelle, the former being imported from India and the latter from the mainland of Bahrain.

There is evidence of ancient habitations on Umm an-Nasan, foundations of many old houses are visible and sherds of pottery can be picked up. Local legend has it that Nasaan, after whom the island is named, was one of the early rulers of Bahrain, but this legend has not been substantiated by historical research.

## HOWAR ISLANDS

101 This group of 16 islands is about twelve miles south-east of Ras al-Barr. It consists of one large island, Howar itself, which is about eleven miles long and a mile in breadth, and fifteen other islands much smaller in size. In the centre of the main island there is a rocky [361] eminence known as al-Jebal. There are only two villages, the larger one at the northern end on the shore of the bay consists of stone huts [625] with mat roofs (Kubbar); it also has a small mosque. The Bahrain State Police maintain a garrison on the island, in a fort which dominates [162] the bay and from the roof of which the Qatar peninsular is visible. The islands are inhabited by fishermen from Bahrain and also by men [312] who come to cut gypsum which they sell in Bahrain. The water supply of the island is very limited and consists of old cisterns cut out of living rock which are filled by rain. Attempts to drill for water have failed, but in the years when there is normal or plentiful rainfall the island provides good grazing for camels and sheep. Fishing in the 133 bay is excellent, the water is comparatively deep and a launch can 503 come alongside the short jetty. The southern tip of the island is so close to the Qatar coast that when the tide is out boats cannot pass between the island and the shore, but at one place between Howar and Qatar, a long narrow channel has been hewn out of the coral sea bed to allow boats to pass through a shallow stretch of water. This submarine canal was made by a certain Isa ibn Tarif, a notorious pirate, who played an important part in the history of Bahrain during the middle of the last century; he used the channel as a passage to his fortress on the Qatar coast from where he sallied forth to attack the shipping around Bahrain.

132 The climate of Howar is noticeably better than in Bahrain, it is drier and cooler during the summer nights, but has no other amenities to attract visitors fleeing from the dampness of Bahrain, and at present its only visitors go there for work and not for pleasure.

## ZUBARA

361 On the coast of the Qatar peninsular opposite the Bahraini village
172 of Jaw is the ruined town and the bay of Zubara, which has already been mentioned in detail in the history of Bahrain in Part II. The town of Zubara is on the east of the bay and stretches about 1½ miles along the coast and 2 miles inland. The ruins of the town are still impressive. The high wall which surrounds the wide straight streets and the fine mosques, the obvious care with which the town was laid out, speaks well for those who governed it. Further east of the town, at a distance of about two miles across the desert, is the great fort; some of the walls and the mosque are still standing. At the corners of the walls are towers with slits for rifles and the domed roof of the mosque presents an attractive picture. The whole building is made from local stone and little gypsum was used in its construction. Within the fort there are two wells one of which is dry, but the other still

contains a substantial amount of water which is protected from evaporation by the narrowness of the well's neck. The Bahraini members of the Naim tribe who live here do not occupy the fort but live in two villages in the neighbourhood, which have the advantage of being near wells. On the whole, however, Zubara is most unfertile, the soil is thick with salt which appears on the surface and it is easy to see that the only *raison d'etre* of the town was the sea and commerce. The fort itself was once connected with the sea by a long, deep canal, some 100 feet wide, which served the dual purpose of filling the moat about the fort and permitting ships to approach it. Today the eastern section of the canal has been filled in by sand, and the sea only reaches about 1½ miles inland.

Gazelle abound in Zubara, and also jackals.

1; Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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An Aerial view of Muharraq town.

*Photo : Bahrain Government.*

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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The Results of a Fishing Expedition. *Photo: Y. A. Shirawi.*

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361

A Village Pool, North Sitra. *Photo: The Author.*

Rifaa Ash-Sharqi. *Photo: The Author.*

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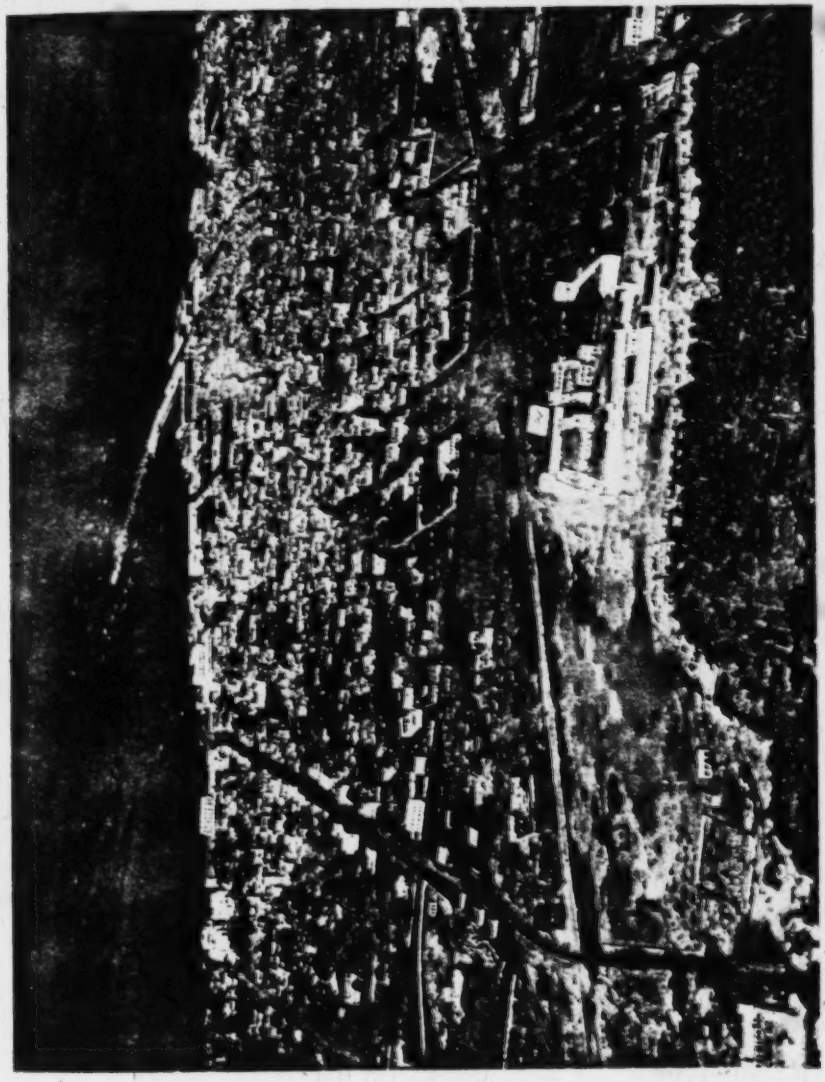
A Bahrain Football Team.

of Hormuz. The Governor of Muscat refused to submit, so the town was pounded by the Portuguese guns until it surrendered. The Portuguese landed and captured many of the chief inhabitants, whose ears and noses they chopped off; the city was plundered and then wantonly destroyed by fire, and the victorious fleet sailed off along the Oman coast and captured several other ports, which were treated in the same way. After this Alboquerque turned his attention to Hormuz, the key of the Iranian Gulf.

To-day Hormuz is a tiny fishing village on a barren salty island which is visible from ships as they enter the port of Bander Abbas, but when Alboquerque first sailed the waters of the Gulf, Hormuz had the reputation of being a city of fabulous wealth and incomparable luxury and magnificence. The city was originally on the mainland, but when the Tartar hordes swept over Persia it was destroyed and then rebuilt on the island. So famous were the wonders of Hormuz that the sixteenth-century poets in Europe frequently referred to it in their works. To this "jewelled signet of a golden ring" came merchants from all parts of the Orient trading in precious Eastern wares. In the richly stocked markets of Hormuz they sold silks and jewels, ivory and pearls, cloths of silver and of gold, as well as Arab horses and "the finest asses in the world," which may well have been the forbears of the famous Bahrain strain of white donkeys. Even to-day these donkeys have a great reputation and are found as far off as the centre of the Tanganyika Territory in East Africa, where they were taken by Baluchis from Muscat via Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam. The King of Hormuz, who had accumulated great wealth from the Indian trade and the pearl fisheries, possessed large territories both in Iran and on the Arab coast. The islands of Bahrain were subject to Hormuz, which was the distributing centre for the pearls of the Gulf, but Hormuz itself paid tribute to the Sultan of Kerman. The rapid success of the Portuguese navy, both on the Indian coast and in Oman, established for it a reputation of invincibility, and the coming of the foreign conquerors with their strange ships and weapons spread fear and terror along the coasts and the islands of the Gulf.

When Alboquerque and his fleet of tall ships arrived at Hormuz he found that the King was aware of his intention and the Hormuzians were prepared to defend their island. The harbour was filled with ships, the battlements were lined with armed men, and foreign mercenaries had been called in to assist the defenders. Bahrain had sent a fleet with "relief of men and provisions," but the Portuguese met the

361



Manama Town from the South. In the foreground, the Fort.

[facing page 30]

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

●361

Muharraq Town and the Causeway.
In centre foreground, a fish trap.

[facing page 32]

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937), 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

632 744 women's dispensary in Manamah, which is in charge of a midwife who was trained in Iraq and was for some years in the Basra Civil Hospital. The work done among the women is much appreciated and is, in my opinion, very valuable. Bahrain is notorious as being the one place in the Gulf where local midwives still administer a certain sort of treatment to women after childbirth which has the most disastrous effects on ensuing childbirth. It is hoped that the work of trained midwives will combat the local practices.

All stagnant water inside the municipal area is sprayed regularly with crude oil, which is provided free for the purpose by the Bahrain Petroleum Company.

**Gardens, Cemeteries.** About thirteen years ago the Manamah municipality bought a large piece of ground inside the town for a municipal garden. Two years later an artesian well was drilled there and a quantity of trees, mostly obtained from Karachi, were planted in the garden. The trees are now very tall, and the garden is much frequented by the public, especially during the hot weather, when quantities of people go there in the afternoons and sit in the shade under the trees. Part of the ground has been made into a small zoological garden, and the Bahrain Sports Club, by arrangement with the municipality, has built two cement tennis courts, which are much used. It has been proposed regularly for the last four or five years in the municipal council that on one afternoon the garden should be set aside for women only. Every year the motion has been defeated, but each year by a smaller number of votes.

Two large cemeteries, formerly open on all sides, inside the town were surrounded by stone walls in 1930, which has done much to improve the appearance of the part of the town where they are situated. The tomb of Shaikh Ahmed, the first Khalifah Shaikh of Bahrain, on the southern edge of the town, was repaired and walled at the same time.

**Muharraq Municipality.** 632 ● 361 744 The work of the Muharraq municipality is less conspicuous than that of Manamah. The most important work after town cleaning and road widening has been the filling in of what used to be a noisome creek which reached from the shore almost to the entrance of the bazaar. The reclaimed ground is valuable, and is now occupied by stalls and the taxi stand. The sea road on the north of the customs office was built by the municipality about eight years ago, with assistance of a special grant from the Government. The question of extending this road is now under consideration.

Opportunity for town planning is almost non-existent in Muharraq, as the town is surrounded on three sides by the sea and on the north much of the shore has always been flooded during high tides. The municipality has made some effort to preserve the low-lying land outside the town by building a long, low wall on the shore which keeps back the sea.

During the last two years the Muharraq municipality has carried out work in Hedd, where no municipality exists, widening the main road and filling in a long and very insanitary sewer. The Government made a special grant for this work, which was outside the province of the Muharraq municipality.

The town of Muharraq is very congested; there are no open spaces or public gardens as in Manamah, and the streets are too narrow for trees to be planted in them. For this reason it is difficult to improve the appearance of the place. Houses in Muharraq are old-fashioned in style and, except on the sea road, few of them are detached; the bazaars do not contain any modern shops, and there are no public market buildings. For several years the commercial importance of Muharraq has been declining, though it is still a centre for pearl trading, as most of the biggest pearl merchants live there.

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MUHARRAQ MUNICIPALITY

| *Year.* | *Revenue.* Rs | *Expenditure.* Rs |
|---|---|---|
| 1346 ... | 46,000/- ... | 38,500/- |
| 1347 ... | 62,900/- ... | 59,600/- |
| 1348 ... | 95,600/- ... | 82,800/- |

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Table 4. NON-MOSLEM POPULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Hindus | 150 |
| Jews | 50 |
| Syrians | 60 |
| British | 10 |
| Assyro-Chaldeans | 5 |
| Total | 255 |

Table 5. SECTS AND TRIBES

| Tribe | Race | Sect |
|---|---|---|
| Utūb | Zuzara Arabs | Malekites |
| Bahārinah | Iranians | Shiites |
| Dawāsir | Arabs of Nejd | Wahabites |
| Huwāla | Arabs of Persia | Sunnites |

The discovery of oil, the essence of foreign trade and international traffic, has brought a considerable increase in the number of non-Moslem residents. At the present time there are some four or five hundred Christians, mostly employees of the Standard Oil Company, five hundred Jews, and about the same number of Hindus.

## TOWNS AND VILLAGES

There are about two hundred centers of population in the islands. The most important are:

### *Bahrein Island*

MANAMA,[1] the largest city and the commercial center of the islands, is located in the northern part of Bahrein. It is traditional headquarters for the pearl fisheries and today is the center of the petroleum industry. At present there are about 45,000 inhabitants. The city has a government operated electric plant which also supplies the city of Muharraq on Muharraq Island, and commercial establishments include an ice plant, a large

1. Manāmah literally means a "scala" or "port."

361 bazaar, a movie theatre, branches of the Eastern Bank and the Imperial Bank of Persia, a post office, a broadcasting station and a single gas station.

362 743 Little by little Manama is being modernized and the houses built by the Standard Oil Company for its American and British employees serve as models for the natives in the improvement of their own. There are three hospitals, one operated by the Bahrein Oil Company; a second, for men and women, with a British staff, by the government; and the third by the Arabia Mission of the Dutch Reformed Church in America. However, the facilities of these few establishments are quite limited and even under normal conditions 85% of the population suffers from one or more ailments.

164 548 The diseases endemic in Bahrein are malaria, the entire group of fevers, dysentery both amoebic and bacillary, bilharzia, trachoma and ankylostomiasis. At the head of the list should go the entire family of venereal diseases. Prostitution, forbidden in Saudi Arabia, has increased greatly under the complacent eyes of the authorities and Bahrein has become a kind of "pleasure island" where thousands of native and foreign employees of the oil companies from Arabia spend their 273 leaves and money buying cheap pleasure, drinking arak, a 100 proof, colorless distillation of dates, contributing to vice and the propagation of disease.

164 The island is liable to epidemics of plague and cholera. From 1905 to 1911 Bahrein was visited every second year by plague and during the epidemic of 1911, in Manama, Muharraq and adjacent villages alone, more than two thousand persons died. Since World War I international control of plague and more vigorous quarantine measures by the British administration have limited the recurrence of this disease. Since 1920 epidemics of plague have occurred only at five year intervals.

Cholera epidemics are less frequent, probably because the water supply is less open to contamination than formerly. However, last year's epidemic was as serious in Bahrein as in the other ports of the Persian Gulf.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Mánama, is the capital of the State, and is the official residence of the Sheik. The Sheik holds court and administers justice once a week on the balcony of the municipal building and petty criminals are publicly flogged by red-turbaned policemen in the market place immediately below.

Manama is also the seat of the higher court composed of two members of the family of the Sheik and presided over by the British Adviser. The British Political Agent, who is under the authority of the Persian Gulf Political Agent at Bushir (in Persia), also has his residence in Manama.

BADAIYA'A is located at the northwestern end of the island, a mile from the coast. The majority of its eight thousand inhabitants belong to the Dawāsīr tribes, famous for their ability as divers. Following the political upheaval of 1923,[1] the Dawāsīr evacuated the town and fled to Damān on the mainland, but the majority later returned.

Near Badaiya'a are the two important centers of *Diraz* and *Jamra.*

ZALLĀQ. Situated on the west coast, this is another important center inhabited by the Dawāsīr fishermen and divers.

BALAD AL-KADIM. Really a cluster of several villages, this is, after Manama, the most active native center, with many palm groves and artesian wells. Its small but important population consists mostly of Baharinah farmers and fishermen. A short distance from the village is the small Sūq al Kaamīs where the Thursday market is held. Half a mile farther on is the famed water source of Abu Zidān with a religious school near by and a noted minaret in the Persian style, reminder of Iranian supremacy.

BURI, another village inhabited entirely by the Baharinah, is located about seven miles south of Manama. It is a date producing center with ten to twelve thousand palm trees.

JIDD HAFS is located about three miles west of Manama on the highway joining that town to Badaiy'a. Populated by the Baharinah, it is one of the most prosperous agricultural centers,

1. See below, p. 99.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

361 with palm groves containing more than sixteen thousand trees,
162 as well as numerous vegetable gardens and orchards.

Near by is the small village of 'AIN-AD-DAR.

'ALI is located about a mile north of Buri to the west of
[491] the paved main highway running south from Manama to the Jabal Dukhān region. A motor road joins the village to Buri and Karzakkan and the west coast of the island. Situated as it is in the midst of palm groves and vegetable gardens, 'Ali is an important market place. Many of the Persian residents of the island own lovely homes there and the town has a mosque in the Persian style.

SANĀBIS and FALA, on the north shore of the island about three miles west of Manama, are active commercial and fishing centers inhabited by the Baharinah.

RIFA'. The two villages of East Rifa' (Ash-Sharki) and West Rifa' (Al-Gharbi), situated a mile apart, are near the center of the island. Since their location is considered to be one of the most healthful in Bahrein they are not surprisingly inhabited by the Utūb, the tribe to which the Sheik belongs. His immediate
[312] family lives in West Rifa', which is more exclusive though the important water sources are at East Rifa'.

ASKAR. This is another village of interest on the east coast, four and a half miles east of Jabal Dukhān. The inhabitants are the bu 'Ainin, probably the descendants of the people who ruled Bahrein nearly a thousand years ago.

About three miles away is the town of JAU, also on the east coast. Near by are historic ruins, probably the remains of the important ancient town, also called Jau, which is believed to have been the capital of the island in pre-Islamic times.

KIRABAD, or "Oil City," is the initial Awali camp built by the Bahrein Petroleum Company for the use of its employees and popularly known as "Bapco" from the initials of the company. Three miles away is the refinery. The town is on an eleva-
[491] tion eighteen miles south of Manama, to which it is connected by a modern highway also built by the company.

000 "Bapco" has some two hundred homes for married members

Bapco" has some two hundred homes for married members
of the oil company staff and others are under construction. In 362
addition there are office buildings, bachelors' quarters, a club, 365
an eighteen hole golf course, a restaurant, and a new, completely air conditioned hospital for the native employees of the company. All homes and living quarters and most of the commercial buildings are connected with three central air conditioning plants where water is chilled to a temperature of forty-five to fifty degrees Fahreinheit then piped underground to each building, where it is circulated through grilles. In the winter heat is furnished by circulating hot water in the same manner. All drinking water in both the refinery and camp is distilled.

The other villages of importance on the west coast, reading 361
from north to south, are: 103

HUWAR—Located close to the coast of Qatar.
HAMALA.
DAMISTAN.
KARZAKKAN.
MALIKIYA.
SADAD.
SHAHRAKAN.
DAR KULAIB.

On the east coast, from north to south, the important villages are:

JUFAR.
GHURAIFA, with a loading terminal and a nearby military seaplane base with anchorage facilities and limited refueling service.
SILHAT.
KUWARA.
SANAD.
NUWAIDRAT, near the refinery. It has palm groves and is an important center of native trade, where most of the local employees of the oil company live.
MA'AMIR, a small village located on the canal separating the island of Sitra from Bahrein.
FARSIYA.

### *Muharraq Island*

101 This is the second largest island of the group and in all probability the "Aradus" of the classical writers. It is located northeast of Bahrein and is about five and a half square miles in area, horseshoe shaped and only a mile wide. It is separated [491] from Bahrein by a channel spanned by a causeway a mile and a half long with a motor road and by a swinging bridge which was completed in 1941.

361 The chief city is MUHURRAQ, on the western side, the sec-162 ond largest city in the islands and the summer residence of the 633 Sheik. Its population is about 26,000. Muhurraq and Manama, on Bahrein Island, are each administered by a Municipal Committee which in addition to civic duties are jointly responsible for the upkeep of thirty per cent of the roads in the archipelago.

361 Other towns among the sixteen or more on Muhurraq which 162 should be mentioned are:

ARAD. This is an important date producing center with some sixteen thousand palm trees, on the southern shore of the Gulf of Arad. It is inhabited by the Baharinah.

HADD. Second in importance only to Muhurraq, Hadd is the leading pearl fishing center of the islands. It has a population of almost 10,000, consisting of Sādāt and Beni Yās. Since the English began to take a direct hand in the administration of the island it has become possibly the most modern of the cities, [242] with many up-to-date homes and an agricultural experiment [697] station as well as a modern penitentiary and the cottage of the British Financial Adviser.

The villages of Basatin, Qalali, Samahij and Dair, on the north and northeast coasts, are also important. Their population follows the Sunnite faith exclusively and those in Qalali belong to the Manani'a tribe.

508 Muhurraq Island has a military and civil airfield used by 712 the British Overseas Air Service. The field has limited fueling and repair facilities for normal traffic as well as minimum lighting, runway lights, and lighted wind indicators. There are hard surface, all weather runways with an elevation of two feet; the

longest runway, to the nearest hundred feet, is 7400 feet long. There are radio communication and direction finder with voice, and the Radio Bahrein tower operates on 6440 kilocycles, 117.9 mc.

The other principal islands of the Bahrein group are:

SITRA, which is separated from Bahrein by the Sitra Canal, which is about a quarter of a mile wide. The southern part of the island is completely barren but in the north there are small villages, mostly inhabited by Baharinah farmers and fishermen. The most important are Wadiyan, Kharijia, Muhazza and Sufala, all of which are important date growing centers.

NABBI SALIH, the smallest of the five islands, situated about three quarters of a mile off the coast of Bahrein. There are palm groves and two small fishing centers, Kaflan and Karya. The island has many gardens and orchards as well as palm groves with some fifteen thousand trees. It is entirely inhabited by the Baharinah.

UMM NA'SAN, two miles west of Bahrein, a low and sandy island four miles long and triangular in shape. The island is dominated by two rocky peaks, one rising to an elevation of sixty-six feet at about half a mile from the western point of the island, and the other twenty-five feet high situated about half a mile farther to the east. Near the west coast there is a water source used by the people of the west coast of Bahrein, mostly the towns of Badaiya'a and Zallāq, whose custom it is to send their cattle to graze there during the summer.

Besides these principal islands there are a number of smaller ones, mostly inhabited. From north to south and west to east these are:

KHASAIFA.

JARDI.

SAYA, with its fresh water spring, located about half a mile off the west coast of Muharraq Island.

ABU MAHIR, a small island south of Muharraq and connected to it at low tide. There is a small fort on the island erected for the defense of the water source which formerly supplied the people of Muharraq.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2
Kuwait M11
Saudi Arabia MJ1



companies may need to be defined now that one concessionaire seems likely to create revenue; problems may also arise if, as a result of oil developments, it is planted with a population that will need to be endowed with public services and, no doubt, with a system of taxation.

## BAHRAIN

The Bahrain Archipelago is a group of islands in the Gulf of Bahrain, which is bounded on the east by the Qatar Peninsula and on the west by the mainland coast of al-Hasa. Its total area is 213 square miles. The principal island—Bahrain itself—is about thirty miles long and ten miles wide. It is low-lying and its northern end is well watered by fresh water springs and produces good date crops. Citrus fruit and lucerne are also grown. The oilfields lie round the rocky cluster of hills known as Jebel Dukhan (Hill of Smoke), which is in the barren centre of the island.

To the north-east of Bahrain Island, and joined to it by a causeway and motor road, is the low, sandy island of Muharraq, and between the two islands is a good deep-water harbour (Khor Kaliya). It is used as a small British naval base; an American admiral also flies his flag there. Nearby there is a second, but shallow harbour (Bahrain harbour), which faces north and is usefully equipped. The natural aerodrome on Muharraq Island has been developed into the largest commercial airfield in the Persian Gulf and now serves the airliners of all nations. It is also used by the RAF, and the whine of jet aircraft is a commonplace. The south end of the island of Bahrain is low-lying and sandy. The climate, though oppressive in summer owing to the prevalent heat and damp of the western shores of the Persian Gulf, is more humid and less windy than that of Kuwait. The population of the Archipelago was 109,650 when a census was taken in 1950.[1]

The capital and the seat of government is the port of Manama.[2] It is generally referred to as Bahrain, and is situated between the two harbours. It has a population of 39,648, which includes many rich Arab, Persian, and Indian merchants, as well as some 300 Europeans and Americans. The second town, Muharraq, on Muharraq Island, has a population of 24,566 which is purely Arab.

The British Political Agency is in Manama town, which also boasts an electricity station, a wireless station, post offices, hospitals, clubs, public gardens, and up-to-date schools. The town is well supplied with good motor roads, and there are

[1] 1952 estimate, 115,000. [2] Population: 1950, 39,648; 1952 (estimate), 45,000.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M22



adequate motor-bus communications with most of the villages.

Manama is the shipping centre of the Gulf pearl industry,[1] and steamers connect regularly with India, Persia, and Iraq. Bahrain harbour is also the centre of a considerable coastal and pearling trade by dhows, as well as the local headquarters of its fishing industry. Other local industries are dhow-building and the manufacture of sailcloth and reed matting. Much of the import and export trade from al-Hasa and its hinterland passes through Bahrain, and this created an important source of revenue during the years in which Aramco was developing its oilfields on the Saudi coast. Lately, however, the Saudis have perceived the advantage of conducting this trade for themselves. By establishing a high-cost re-entry permit, they have discouraged the foreign staff of the oil company from doing its week-end shopping in Bahrain, and their policy is to increase the port and market facilities of the two Saudi coastal towns opposite the island—Damman and Al Khobar. In Bahrain there is a duty of 5 per cent ad valorem on essential imports such as food and clothing; non-essential imports are subject to higher duties, ranging between 15 per cent on tobacco and liquor, and 10 per cent on luxuries.

*History and Foreign Relations*

The presence in the northern part of Bahrain Island of numerous burial tumuli indicates very early human inhabitants, but their identity, which was at one time thought to be Phoenician, remains unknown. Bahrain's situation and natural harbour facilities suggest that from the earliest days of sea navigation in the Gulf the port was important. Its recorded history, however, dates only from 1507, when the Portuguese occupied the island. They built a fort of which the ruins survive, but were driven out in 1602 by an Arab invasion from Persia. Bahrain was held by Persia intermittently until 1783, when it was conquered by Arabs from the mainland. Since 1816 it has been ruled by the Khalifa family of the Utubi tribe, which in 1820 first entered into treaty relations with the East India Company. But the Persian Government has never ceased to claim sovereignty over the island and at intervals has protested against British treaties with the Shaikh. The Persian claim is based on a British Note of 27 April 1869 in which (the Persians allege)[2] Lord Clarendon recognized their title to sovereignty over the

[1] This has long been important, and in the 1830's the fisheries were estimated to bring in some £300,000 to £400,000 a year.

[2] The Persian claim was disposed of by Sir Austen Chamberlain in a Note of 18 January 1928. See League of Nations, *Official Journal*, May 1928, pp. 606–7.

proximately 26,000 residents, and Hedd, a pearl fishing center, around 10,000. The population exceeded that of the 1941 census by almost 20,000: the increase was confined mainly to the towns of Manama and Muharraq, and was attributed in large part to immigration.

Since the organization of the first government school in 1919, education has made considerable progress, but expansion is handicapped by a shortage of trained teaching personnel. In 1950, the Bahrain government supported 13 primary schools for boys —8 in the towns and 5 in the villages. Educational facilities were made available to girls in 1928, and at present 6 primary schools are in operation. Of the 5,770 pupils registered in government schools in 1950-51, slightly over 1,700 were girls. A few private schools are established in Manama, while Koranic schools are found in most towns and villages. The government also maintains a secondary school, a technical school and a school hostel for boys, and provides scholarships for qualified students for advanced study at the American University of Beirut and in Great Britain. In the recent census, the literacy rate in the indigenous population was estimated at 10 per cent.

### Vital Statistics

The registration of births and deaths is not compulsory in Bahrain, and no data for the calculation of vital statistics are obtainable. Local medical authorities agree that the mortality rates in infancy and early childhood are uniformly high. Observations made by the census enumerators in 1950 suggest that the infant mortality is particularly serious in the rural villages, in contrast with the towns, where living conditions have improved within recent years. The maternal mortality rates are correspondingly high.

The size of the population remained practically stationary in the rural districts in the 9-year interval between the first and the second census surveys. The rate of increase in areas outside the towns of Ma-

342 flat roofs, surrounded by parapets. Those with two or more stories sometimes have broad balconies.

342 571 In the towns, the poorer people often occupy multifamily houses in the older, congested districts or live in hut settlements on the outskirts. The huts, known locally as *barastis*, are made of bamboo or date-stick poles interwoven with palm leaves, and roofed with palm-leaf matting. They are frequently grouped within pole and matting stockades, the individual huts being separated by narrow alleys. Of the 5,703 houses 342 counted in the town of Manama at the time 571 of the 1950 census, 2,608 were of palm-leaf 361 construction. Although the standards of living have improved among the laboring classes within recent years, most of the rural inhabitants dwell under primitive conditions, as did their forefathers. Palm-leaf huts predominate in the date garden and the fishing villages. They are admirably adapted to the heat of summer, but afford poor protection against the occasional cold winds.

186 361 653 342 The rural Baharna and Arabs live apart in segregated villages, and even in the towns there is a tendency for the different racial and religious groups to form distinct communities. The Bahrain Petroleum Company has created a self-sufficient modern settlement for its British and American employees at Awali, on the edge of the oil field area. The development of modern housing projects is also being promoted by the government, and plans are under consideration for the demolition of certain slum areas and the erection of low-rental dwellings.

## ENVIRONMENT AND SANITATION

### Water Supplies

312 The fame of the sweet-water springs of Bahrain stems from ancient times, and undoubtedly contributed to the early development of Manama as a trading center. No only do abundant sources of water exist in the oases along the northern end of Bahrain

Island, but fresh-water springs, said to originate in the mountains of Arabia, are found in the shallow waters about a mile from the shore. Up to around 25 years ago, most of the water used in the towns was brought by donkey carts from wells or springs in the oases; sometimes by boats from the offshore springs. Water for domestic and irrigation purposes is now obtained from springs and shallow wells, and to an increasing extent from deep wells: several hundred artesian wells have been sunk within recent years on Bahrain, Muharraq, Sitra and other islands. In 1948, a special Agriculture and Water Committee was created in the government to control the water supply and prevent unnecessary wastage.

Manama has a municipal water supply, the initial stages of which were completed in 1948. Water, derived from artesian wells, is piped to about 70 per cent of the houses and to community fountains in the older, congested districts and *barasti* settlements. In other towns, water from private wells is used, or day-by-day supplies are purchased in 5-gallon cans from commercial peddlers.

Most shallow wells and spring supplies are unprotected and seriously polluted. Since the installation of a piped water system in Manama, many of the shallow wells have been closed, with a resultant decrease in anopheline breeding and in prevalence of intestinal infections. However, numerous opportunities for contamination still occur in the distribution of water from community sources. Distilled sea water is produced by a plant at Manama, but its sale for household purposes has been restricted since the town supply became available.

### Waste Disposal

The methods of sewage disposal are generally primitive. Septic tanks are employed in connection with many of the newer houses, and in the oil company installations. Cesspits or simple privies are in use in the bazaar districts and the *barasti* quarters, as well as in the smaller towns and villages.

Pollution of the soil is common, although the practice is discouraged in the towns.

## Fauna and Flora

Except for investigations relating to the anopheline vectors of malaria, few entomologic studies have been undertaken in Bahrain. Five species of anopheline mosquitoes have been identified—*Anopheles stephensi, A. culicifacies, A. sergenti, A. fluviatilis* and *A. pulcherrimus*. *A. stephensi* breeds in shallow wells, seepage pools, water storage tanks and irrigation ditches; and is responsible for a large part of the malaria transmission on the islands. While *A. culicifacies* is probably a vector in some localities, it is generally regarded as of minor importance. *A. gambiae* is not indigenous, but it is sometimes found on board dhows upon arrival in port. Species of *Culex* are widespread. However, no vectors of filariasis have been recorded locally. Species of *Aedes* are known to be present.

A campaign for the control of malarial mosquitoes has been carried on by the government since 1939. Supplementary programs are conducted by the Bahrain Petroleum Company in the vicinity of its installations and throughout the southern half of Bahrain Island. The antilarval measures include the treatment of breeding places with oil or DDT preparations and the stocking of wells and drainage ditches with the larvivorous fish, *Gambusia*. The prevalence of anopheline mosquitoes reached minimal proportions in Manama by 1948, but was still extensive in the surrounding suburbs and date garden areas. The following year, the spraying of the marshes, rubbish dumps and gardens around the main towns and the residual spraying of the houses and the bazaars with DDT and Gammexane preparations were introduced for the suppression of both flies and mosquitoes.

Flies are abundant, although their numbers have been markedly reduced in the towns since the inauguration of the residual

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164 occurred intermittently in the past, chiefly in Manama and Muharraq. The islands are
[744] exposed to the introduction of the disease from neighboring territories, but the enforcement of quarantine regulations has prevented its establishment for several decades.

**Other Infections.** Although a mild degree of louse infestation occurs among the inhabitants in some congested areas, louse-borne typhus is rarely, if ever, reported. Imported cases of cutaneous leishmaniasis, or Oriental sore, and filariasis are occasionally treated in the local medical institutions, but the insect vectors are not known to be present, and indigenous infections have not been recorded. Guinea worm infection is sometimes seen among persons from Iran, but it is not found in the resident population.

### Nutritional Diseases

146 The standards of nutrition have improved
361 materially in the last few years. Under-
511 nutrition is common, but serious defects are seen primarily among the inhabitants of outlying villages and the families of workers from the mainland. Poverty, traditional dietary customs and intestinal parasitism are contributory factors. Subclinical deficiencies in vitamin C are widespread, and scurvy is observed from time to time. Rickets is frequent among the children in the towns. Anemia is prevalent, and hemoglobin levels of 25 to 30 per cent are not unusual among the women.

## SUMMARY

619 Bahrain is an independent sheikhdom
131 which consists of an archipelago of 5 main
282 islands situated in the Persian Gulf near the
315 coast of Arabia. It has long been famous as a pearl fishing center, and, since 1932, has enjoyed prosperity as an oil-producing area.
161 It has a heterogeneous population which
162 numbered 109,650 in 1950, including 18,471
795 foreigners. The people are predominantly of
144 mixed Arab and Persian origin, and about 96 per cent are Moslems.

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643 agreement similar to that accepted by the Sultan of Oman. By this
648 treaty he undertakes, in return for a subsidy, to alienate no part of his territory except to the British, to conform to British policy, and to accept no help, pecuniary or other, from any foreign power. A British Political Agent, under the Resident at Bushire, is stationed at Manāmah.

The present ruler, Sheikh 'Īsa ibn 'Ali el-Khalīfah, now an old man, owed his accession in 1867 to our influence, and has been supported by us against other claimants of his family, notably Khalīfah ibn Hamed ibn Mohammed el-Khalīfah, who has intrigued with the Porte. Although Sheikh 'Īsa is not without natural sagacity, he has proved to be lacking in the force of character and practical ability which distinguished his contemporary, Sheikh Mubārak of Koweit. In addition, he has sometimes shown himself sensitive of control, even to the point of obstructing reforms, encouraged in such courses, perhaps, by a certain impatience of foreign influence prevalent in Bahrein; he has thus on at least one occasion incurred the censure of the Indian Government. But in spite of these shortcomings, he has avoided serious complications; in the difficult times which began with the crisis in the pearl industry in 1913, and have been aggravated by the war, he has shown ability and reasonable goodwill. His heir, Sheikh Hāmid, is described as a man holding moderate views.

## Islands

### 1. *Bahrein*

•361 The general nature of Bahrein Island has been described in a
438 previous section (p. 311). In the present place the chief centres of population may be noticed. The island has nearly 100 villages and hamlets, of which the following are the most important:

*Hālah Bin Anas*, a short distance E. of Manāmah, with 85 huts of Sunnis, who are pearl-divers and fishermen.

*'Askar*, on the E. coast, 4¼ miles ENE. of Jebel Dukhān. 75 stone houses and reed-huts of Āl Bu 'Ainein, pearl-divers, owning about 20 boats; 1,500 date-palms; a little live stock.

*Bilād el-Qadīm*, about 1½ mile SW. of Manāmah fort; about 350 mud and reed huts. The inhabitants are *Bahārinah*, who gain a livelihood as pearl-merchants, cultivators, or tailors; many ruined stone houses. It has a suburb to the SW. called *Bilād er-Rāfi'*, and on the NW. side the *Sūq el-Khamīs*, where a large market is held on Thursdays. About ½ mile to the W. are the ruins of the Madrasat Abu Zeidān, the minarets of which, in combination with Jebel

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Dukhān, form a landmark for vessels entering Manāmah harbour. In the ruined part of the village is the fine spring of *Abu Zeidān*, over which a modern Shiah mosque has been erected; the water fills a tank much resorted to for bathing in hot weather. There are nearly 12,000 date-trees, with other fruit trees, and a little live stock.

*Būri*, 7 miles SW. of Manāmah at the SW. extremity of the great date-belt. A few stone houses and 150 huts of *Bahārinah* date-growers. About 10,500 date-palms; a little live stock. *Dirāz*, 1 mile ENE. of Budayya' town (p. 322) and ¾ mile from the sea. Several well-built houses, and 150 huts of *Bahārinah* cultivators, weavers, and pearl-divers; a considerable quantity of cloth for abbas woven; 1,500 date-palms; live stock. *Beni Jamrah*, ¾ mile E. of Budayya'; 50 huts of *Bahārinah* weavers; good well; 1,300 date-palms; live stock. *Jau*, on E. coast, 5 miles ESE. of Jebel Dukhān. A few well-built houses and about 400 huts. The people are Sunni pearl-fishers, owning about 30 boats. *Jidd Hafs*, 1¼ miles SE. of the ruined Portuguese fort, *Qal'at el-'Ajāj*, which is 3¼ miles W. of Manāmah fort. Large village of 300 houses, occupied by *Bahārinah* date-growers, carpenters, lime-burners, and pearl-merchants. Irrigated gardens with lucerne, vegetables, and fruits. 16,000 date-palms; live stock. The smaller village *'Ain ed-Dār* (50 houses) is practically a suburb.

*Jufeir*, N. of the cape of the same name; 80 reed huts of Bahārinah cultivators and fishermen. Near the point of the cape is a large stone house belonging to the Wāzīr of Bahrein. About 900 date-palms, lucerne fields; live stock; 15 pearl-boats. *Karzakkān*, ¾ mile from the W. coast, 7 miles below Budayya'; 150 huts of *Bahārinah* cultivators and sail-makers; large date-groves; 16,500 trees; donkeys and cattle.

*Ma'āmīr*, on E. coast, opposite Sitrah Island; 130 houses, including stone buildings; population, *Bahārinah* pearl-fishers, owning more than 20 boats. *Mālikīyah*, near W. coast, 8 miles below Budayya', and close to the landing-place for passengers from *Hasa* called *'Aqārīyah*; 100 huts of *Bahārinah* cultivators; about 6,000 date-palms; some 20 donkeys. Near the village, a stone-built Shiah shrine. *Rifā' esh-Sharqi*, large village with watch-towers on a bare site 7 miles S. of Manāmah, at the NE. corner of the central depression, which it overlooks. There are two large masonry houses, one occupied by Sheikh Khālid ibn 'Ali, brother of the Sheikh of Bahrein, who governs the place, the other by another member of the ruling family. The village itself consists of 300 mud houses occupied by Maliki Sunnis, whose living is made by selling in Manāmah the excellent drinking-water from the wells of *Haneini* in

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361 438 the depression below (17 fathoms or more); another good well, *'Ain Khālid*, is in the centre of the village. The people own 85 donkeys and 16 horses. This village, like the next following, serves as a sanitorium for the island.

*Rifā' el-Gharbi*, in a similar position to the above, from which it is distant 1¼ miles WNW. One large masonry house is occupied by a member of the ruling family, though the village is under the jurisdiction of Sheikh Khālid; there are 40 reed huts, the inhabitants of which are Maliki Sunnis, chiefly of the 'Utūb tribe. The people gain a livelihood by selling Manāmah drinking-water from the well *Umm Ghuweifah* on the plateau near the village, carrying it thither on camels. No cultivation; some live stock. The village, like the preceding, is a sanitorium for the island. *Sanābis*, on the N. coast; a long village with a mosque, inhabited by 1,500 *Bahārinah*, engaged in boat-building, fishing, and the pearl trade; 30 pearl boats; 900 date-palms; some live stock. *Zallāq*, on the W. coast, 11 miles below Budayya'; 3 stone and 200 mud houses, inhabited by Dawāsir engaged in the pearl fisheries. There is a ruined fort. The people own 30 boats; live stock includes 30 donkeys and cattle.

The following are the principal towns:—

504 1. **Manāmah,** the commercial capital, is an open town situated on the coast at the NE. corner of the island; the anchorage is good, but steamers of 19 feet draught cannot come nearer than the outer anchorage 4 miles to the NW. of the town; smaller vessels can run up to an inner anchorage 2 miles off shore in the same direction. The bottom shelves so gradually that at low water even boats cannot get within ¼ mile of the beach, but must discharge passengers and cargo by means of donkeys; the harbour has many nets and fish-
361 weirs always set. Manāmah with its suburbs extends 1½ miles along
438 the sea-front, and has a depth inland of about ½ mile. The general appearance of the town is dingy and unprepossessing; the beach quarter is occupied by fishermen's huts, and the shore is formed of a dirty shingle. The larger buildings are of small stones cemented by mud or inferior mortar, which is apt to fall out, suggesting neglect and decay; while the ground floors are used as go-downs and business offices. The bazaar (450 shops), in the centre of which is the market-place, has been described as 'a filthy labyrinth of narrow lanes lined by shops and generally covered over with mats to keep out the sun'. In the outskirts dwellings are usually matting huts standing in courtyards enclosed by hurdles of upright date-fronds. The best buildings are the British Political Agency towards the NE. end; the American Mission and Hospital; Qal'at ed-Dīwān

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or Manāmah fort, the Sheikh's summer residence, a large bastioned structure, standing in the open plain between the town and the date gardens behind it; a well-built house rather farther inland, belonging to Sheikh Hāmid, the heir apparent, and a further large house, near the SW. end, formerly occupied by another member of the ruling family. With the exception of the new Jāmi' mosque, places of worship are mostly unpretentious. The former villages of *Ras Rummān* (or *Farīq Hamidah*) and *Na'īm Kebīrah* now form suburbs; the first covers a point of the same name beyond the British Agency, and is inhabited by pearl-divers, fishermen, and ferrymen serving the strait to Muharraq; the second, at the west end, is inhabited by poor *Bahārinah* occupied in boat-building and pearl-fishing.

The population of Manāmah and its suburbs is about 25,000, of whom three-fifths are Sunnis and the remainder Shiahs; the former, who show a noticeable infusion of negro blood, include 5,000 *Hūwalah*, about 400 Arabs from Koweit, Hasa, and Nejd, 1,000 Arabs of uncertain origin, 500 'Utūb, and more than 2,000 negroes, enslaved and free; the Shiahs are composed of 12,000 *Baḥārinah* of Bahrein, 1,250 *Bahārinah* from Hasa and Qatīf, 1,500 Persians, and a few Arabs from Basra. The Arabs from Nejd are mostly Wahabite. The small non-Mohammedan residue of a few hundred souls consists of Hindus, Jews, and Oriental Christians.

Drinking-water is obtained from a well called *'Ain Muqbil*, sunk in the coral rock between the British Agency and the American Mission, and from a cistern called *Qufūl*, about a mile W. of the fort, filled by the surplus water of several springs. These are used by the poorer inhabitants; the first is brackish, the second contaminated by ablution of men and animals. Other inhabitants buy their drinking-water from camel-men of Rifā' esh-Sharqi and Rifā' el-Gharbi, who bring it for sale from the wells in their villages (see above). For washing purposes water can be reached anywhere at about 6 feet, and almost every house has its well. For the trade of the port see p. 314 f. The town and suburbs possess about 150 pearling and other boats. The date-groves beyond the fort begin the large belt already mentioned. The number of trees belonging to the town proper is limited to about 500; a rather larger number belong to the suburb of Na'īm el-Kebīrah. There is a British Indian post office.

Should Manāmah be used as a temporary base for troops, the best site for a camp would be on the east side of the plain behind the town, where perhaps a division could be accommodated. Disembarkation can be carried out in three places, at the beach of

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361 Qasabīyah clear of the town, at the customs pier, and at the jetty
438 of the British Agency.

2. **Budeyya'**, near the NW. corner of Bahrein Island, stretches for about a mile along the sea with a depth of about 300 yards. It has three quarters with about 8,000 inhabitants, *Farīq el-'Amāmarah*, *Farīq ed-Dām*, and *Farīq el-Budayya'*, containing a considerable number of stone houses, five or six buildings of solid masonry with upper storeys, and a tower. The people are all Sunnis, the most numerous Arab communities belonging to the Dawāsir (800 houses) and 'Amāmarah (100 houses). There are a large number of negro slaves (450 houses) and free negroes (200 houses), with about 50 households of *Hūwalah*. Most of the people are engaged in the pearl-fisheries, and more than 100 boats are owned. The Dawāsir, whose Sheikh administers the town without interference from the Sheikh of Bahrein, chiefly occupy the Budayya' and Dām quarters, obtaining their water-supply from wells in the date-plantations of *Dirāz* and *Beni Jamrah* villages; the well of the 'Amāmarah quarter is a little to the E. of the houses.

### 2. *Muharraq*

101 This island lies immediately NE. of Bahrein, from which it is
131 separated by a narrow strait a mile and a half broad; it is of horse-shoe shape, with the open side to the S.; the maximum diameter is about 4 miles. The island is really a low sandbank surrounded by flat coral reefs which almost triple its surface at low tide; from this projects on the NW. a rocky spit called *Ras el-Khaseifah*, extending seaward for nearly 4 miles and constituting the chief danger to ships entering Manāmah harbour. Several marine
361 springs rise near the coasts of the island. There are some 15
438 villages or hamlets in addition to Muharraq town, the more important of which are: *'Arād*, on a promontory on the S. coast; 100 huts of *Bahārinah* date-growers, fishermen, and pearl-divers. There is a rectangular ruined fort, with sides about 90 ft. long, at the E. point of 'Arād Bay. Plantations with about 12,000 date-palms. *Buseitīn*, on the W. coast, 1 mile N. of Muharraq town; 400 houses, some of stone, but most of date-mats. The people are Sunnis, chiefly of the Madhāhakah tribe, owning about 50 boats, mostly used for pearl-fishing. Date-palms number about 1,000; carrots and lucerne are cultivated beneath the trees. Two wells in the date-grove, with brackish water. *Deir*, on NW. coast, 2 miles N. by E. of Muharraq town; 300 houses of mud or date-mats; 3 mosques. Inhabitants are *Bahārinah* engaged in the

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pearl-fisheries, and owning more than 20 boats. Date-groves with about 1,700 trees, among which are several large wells (water at 15 ft.) serving to irrigate the groves, and fields of lucerne. *Hālat Abu Māhur*, on a small island some hundred yards S. of Muharraq town; and connected with the larger island at low tide; 500 houses and huts inhabited by Sunnis, chiefly Āl Bin Maqla, with a number of negroes, enslaved and free. A number of boats are constantly engaged in taking to Muharraq water from the submarine well 600 yards E. of the fort of Abu Māhur at the S. end of the island, now used by the Sheikh as a stable. *Qalāli*, on the NE. coast: 150 mud and reed huts with two good masonry houses. The inhabitants are Sunnis, chiefly of the Manāna'ah tribe, engaged in pearl-dealing or diving and sea-fishing. About 60 boats; no cultivation.

The principal towns are the following:—

1. **Muharraq,** the residence of the Sheikh for eight months in the year, lies on the W. side of Muharraq Island, on the strait dividing it from Bahrein, and about 2 miles from Manāmah. The fort of *Abu Māhur*, which has now no military value, stands on a small island 800 yards S. of the town, near the celebrated submarine spring of the same name which supplies the town with most of its drinking-water. At high water Muharraq is surrounded by the sea on the E., S., and W. sides, a great sanitary advantage, as the sea daily removes the rubbish shot within its reach. The population is estimated at about 20,000, half of whom are *Hūwalah*. There are about 3,000 'Utūb, 2,000 Āl Bin 'Ali Arabs, nearly 1,000 Ziyā'inah, 1,000 *Bahārinah*, and 2,500 negroes, free or slaves, with smaller numbers of other tribes and aggregations. Of this population all but the *Bahārinah* and a few Persians are Sunnis. The people are general merchants, shopkeepers, pearl-merchants, pearl-divers, sailors, boatmen, fishermen, small traders and craftsmen, the pearl-divers forming a much larger proportion of the community than at Manāmah. The place possesses about 700 vessels, nearly one-half of which are used as pearl-boats. More than 200 donkeys, 150 head of cattle, and 80 horses are owned in the town.

Muharraq has fifteen quarters, mostly named after the tribes inhabiting them; there is a bazaar of 300 shops, but the town has no date-palms. During the hot weather the greater part of the population migrates across the strait and encamps in the NE. part of Bahrein Island. As the principal residence of the Sheikh, Muharraq is the political, as Manāmah is the commercial, capital of the principality. It is drier and brighter of aspect than the latter city, and architecturally more impressive when viewed from the sea.

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2. **Hadd,** on the SE. promontory. The town contains perhaps 200 well-built stone houses, and possibly as many as 1,500 mud-and-stone or mat dwellings. The population, estimated at about 8,000, consists of Sunnis, chiefly of the Sādah and Beni Yās tribes. Hadd is the greatest pearl-diving centre in the principality, owning about 170 pearl-boats. There is no cultivation. Water is obtained from wells in a date-grove called *Zimmah*, half a mile to the N. Live-stock consists chiefly of more than 100 donkeys.

### 3. *Sitrah*

This island lies off the E. coast of Bahrein, from which it is separated by a narrow channel. It measures 4½ miles from N. to S., with a maximum breadth of 1½ miles at the N. end, where there are date-groves of exceptional growth, watered from springs and wells; the narrower S. end is a low expanse of sand. Sitrah is a part of the fief held by Khālid ibn 'Ali, brother of the Sheikh, who in summer resides in a bastioned house at *Khārijīyah*. The inhabitants of the N. part are *Bahārinah*, occupying seven villages or hamlets, of which the more important are: *Hālah* or *Hālāt* on the N. coast, a hamlet where passengers land from Manāmah or Muharraq. *Khārijīyah*, near the W. coast, 1 mile from the most northerly point; fort forming the summer residence of Sheikh Khālid; 50 reed huts of pearl-divers, fishermen, and mat-makers; 1,500 date-palms. *Marqūbān*, near the centre; 30 huts of pearl-divers and cultivators; about 5,000 date-palms. *Muhazzaz*, on E. coast, near the N. end; 60 reed huts, about 30 boats, over 4,000 date-palms; a good spring feeding a tank. *Quryah*, near the NW. corner; 40 reed huts; gardens belonging to Sheikh Khālid; 7,000 date-palms; about 20 boats. Between Quryah and Hālāt is the fine spring of *'Ain er-Raha*, the water of which is collected in a tank for irrigation. *Sufālah*, on the E. coast, 1½ mile from the N. end; 50 mat huts; date-groves on N. side, with 4,000 trees; about 20 boats. Good water-supply from the spring at *Muhazzah*. *Wādiyān*, ¼ mile ESE. of Khārijīyah; 60 reed huts; 4,000 date-palms; a fine spring used for irrigation.

The only village in the S. part is *Hālat Umm el-Beidh*, inhabited by Sunnis.

There are three rocky islets off Sitrah; two, called *Qassārein*, are 500 yards from the N. side; the third, *Qassār Bin Ṭarīf*, is 250 yards from the NW. corner. On all three Na'īm Bedouins encamp during the hot weather.

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### 4. *Nebi Sālih, or Jezīrah*

This island lies in the inlet of Kabb on the E. side of Bahrein Island; it measures only ½ mile in each direction, and is practically one large date-grove, said to contain 16,000 trees. There are two villages inhabited by *Bahārinah* cultivators, pearl-divers, and fishermen; one, *Kāflān*, with 40 houses, the other, *Quryah*, with 35, owning about 10 boats. Two copious springs, *'Ain es-Safāhīyah* and *'Ain el-Khadhra*, supply abundant fresh water. The island is under the jurisdiction of Sheikh Khālid, brother of the Sheikh of Bahrein.

About 200 yards to the N. is a still smaller island, *Jezeyyirah*, covered with date-palms, now belonging to Sheikh Khālid, but formerly to a Shiah mosque of which only the ruins remain.

### 5. *Umm Na'asān*

This island lies about 2 miles off the W. coast of Bahrein Island, and measures less than 4 miles in length from N. to S. by about 2½ miles in breadth; it is uninhabited. Though low, it contains two peaks of inconsiderable height, and furnishes the best building-cement in Bahrein. There is a freshwater spring near the W. coast. The Dawāsir of Budayya' and Zallāq villages on Bahrein Island send their cattle to Umm Na'asān in the hot weather for grazing.

## D. EL-QATAR

### Area

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El-Qatar is a peninsula running N. and S. with a maximum length of 80 miles and a breadth, at the base, of 40 miles; it projects from the Arabian coast about midway up the Persian Gulf, and forms the eastern side of the Gulf of Bahrein. Its S., or land boundary, is not clearly defined. Beginning at the foot of the bay called Dōhat es-Salwa on the SW., it runs SE. to the wells of Sakak, continuing thence to the E. coast, either ENE., to the N. end of the Naqiyān sand-hills, which run parallel with the sea for 30 miles from a point 10 miles S. of Wakrah, or E. by S., to the S. end of the same hills, and the shore at the N. end of the Khōr el-'Odeid. The Sheikhs of El-Qatar claim territory even to the S. of this; but the British Government has recognized Khōr el-'Odeid as belonging to the Trucial Sheikh of Abu Dhabi (see p. 337).

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## LITERACY

212 An effort was made to ascertain the number of literates.
162 In addition to people who were educated at Government and private schools those who had learned to read and write at Quran schools were counted as literate. The first Government school was opened in 1919 and during the last twenty years the number of schools for boys and girls has steadily increased. Persons registered as literate amounted to 14,057. If Europeans and Indians were deducted from this total there remain about 10,000 literates among the local population of 105,000, approximately 10% of the indigenous population being literate. This percentage, for Bahrain, is not low.

## HOUSES

● 362 All occupied houses were numbered and counted; in some cases a "house" consisted of one small hut, in other cases it was a building occupied by thirty or forty members and hangers-on of one family. Empty houses, of which there were none in Manamah and few in Muharraq, were not included. The number of houses in Manamah was 5,703 and in Muharraq 3,720; in the first census the numbers were 4,051 and 3,155 respectively. In nine years 1,600 new houses have been built in Manamah and 500 in Muharraq. In both towns the proportion of stone houses has increased considerably. The figures for houses in [621 342] the villages are less accurate, it was often difficult to determine where one dwelling, consisting of a group of huts in a compound, ended and the next dwelling began. The census showed 6,232 houses in the villages and islands as against 5,575 in 1941. Taking the whole population and the number of houses, the average number of persons occupying one house was 6½.

## MUNICIPALITIES

### MANAMA MUNICIPALITY

(From the report of Mr. Mohamed Saleh Shater, Secretary of the Manama Municipality)

633 795 At the beginning of the year, owing to sectarian differences between Sunni and Shia members in 1371 A.H. which caused the resignation of the Shia members, Municipal affairs were being dealt with by a committee of Sunnis. This was the situation until the middle of the year when the Government succeeded in persuading the Shia members to resume their duties on the Council. They returned on the understanding that they would serve for only one year after which an election should be held.

During the latter part of the year the Council functioned in a more or less normal manner; by shelving all matters which might cause controversy between the sects the Council succeeded in performing its duties without serious differences. The situation, however, was not satisfactory.

633 **Finance.** The Financial Committee which drew up the budget was formed from the temporary Sunni committee. Estimated revenue for 1372 was Rs. 7,04,000 and expenditure was assessed at the same figure. The actual revenue exceeded the estimate by Rs. 1,16,000, the expenditure was Rs. 61,000 more than was expected and at the end of the year a surplus of revenue over expenditure amounting to Rs. 61,000 was added to the Reserve which was then Rs. 2,83,000.

651 427 The increase in revenue was due to a great extent to higher receipts from house and shop taxes. There were many new buildings in the town and higher rents were charged for existing buildings, both for houses and shops. House taxes and shop taxes on buildings which are leased are charged on a percentage basis of the rent. Taxation on houses which are occupied by their owners is extremely low in comparison with that of rented premises. A large proportion of the rented houses are occupied by foreigners and most of the houses in which the owners live are occupied by people of the country.

425 653 368 During the year the Municipality sold land to the public at the price of Rs. 35,200 and it purchased a new fire engine for Rs. 48,000. The Government presented to the Municipality a motor-driven trailer fire pump and jeep, a rubbish carrying vehicle and a gully emptying vehicle.

364 **Municipal activities.** Town cleaning was effected during the year by two trucks and 30 donkey carts, town rubbish was utilised to reclaim a large portion of sea on the shore at Hora, opposite Cable and Wireless premises. The method of employing donkey carts to carry town refuse is not a satisfactory one. An order was placed in England during the summer for small rubbish-carrying vehicles which can be used in narrow streets.

363 A number of roads in the town were metalled, the area dealt with was about 380,000 square feet on which was used 480,000 cubic feet of stone and 105,000 cubic feet of sand, the whole costing approximately Rs. 1,76,000.

363 247 Some progress was made in widening streets in the bazaar area, 112 new street lights were installed and more trees were planted on the roads, unfortunately each year a number of trees are destroyed, by wind or sometimes by rain which when it falls strongly seems to kill both plants and trees.

362 427 There was much building activity both in the town and on the outskirts of the town, numbers of small houses were built for occupation by their owners and more European style bungalows and flats were built for letting. House rents are excessively high, landlords expect to recover the cost of their property in less than ten years, so building houses for letting is at present a profitable investment. However, so many houses are now being built that it seems possible that in a short time there may be more houses than tenants.

633 342 During the year permits for new buildings were issued by the Municipality for 144 stone houses and 100 barasti huts and permits for repairs and additions to 186 shops and 717 houses were also granted.

* [A.D. 1951-52 -- Analyst]

**Sales and Land Values.** The aggregate value of the property which was sold was approximately 40 lakhs, £300,000. In the previous year prices reached a somewhat higher figure but they included several sales of large areas of land on the edge of Manama. There has been no fall in land prices and there are no indications of a change in the situation. High prices are still being paid for building sites in Manama on which European style houses, flats and bungalows, are being built, which are let at excessively high rents. When the demand for houses of this type begins to lessen then rents will decrease and there are some signs that this event is not far off, several recently built houses have "To Let" notices on their doors. At present as much as Rs. 1,000/- per month is being charged for a three-bedroom, dining-sitting-room bungalow on the Jufair Road.

A recent satisfactory development has been the demand by working class men to buy small building plots in Manama, Muharraq, Hidd and Rafaa. The building loan schemes of the Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company have stimulated this development. At one time people were satisfied to live in hired houses or barastis for which they paid rent but now, partly owing to the rapaciousness of landlords and partly because it has become everyone's ambition to own the house in which he lives, there is an active demand for plots of ground on which small houses can be built. Unfortunately the Government owns very little land in and around Manama and nobody wishes to live even at a short distance from the bazaar, the schools and the cinemas.

The most important sales were an Arab style house in the southern district of Manama, on Shaikh Isa Road, which was sold for Rs. 200,000 and a plot of land in the Qudhabia district which was bought by the Government as a site for workmen's dwellings for Rs. 2,57,000, at Rs. 2/5 per square foot. The Government sold 87 plots of land, in various places, for Rs. 3.50,000. Land on the edge of the towns of Manama and Muharraq was sold at prices ranging from Rs. 1/4 to Rs. 3/- per square foot. Thirty building plots were sold at East Rafaa, on the plain below the town, to residents of Rafaa, at 2 Annas per square foot. Land on this site was marked out as a residential area with rows of plots of uniform depth along future roads. At the end of the year a few purchasers had begun to build stone houses on the ground which they bought.

**Legislation.** In Safar (October 1952) an important Ordinance was issued which prohibited all persons subject to Bahrain jurisdiction from disposing of any property except to Bahrain subjects. An extension of this order was issued later providing for the contingency of heirs in an estate of a Bahrain subject being themselves foreign subjects. The result of these Ordinances was that not only were Bahrain subjects restricted from selling their property to foreigners but all persons subject to Bahrain jurisdiction, Persians, subjects of Saudi Arabia and of other Gulf States, were restricted from selling their property to each other or to nationals of other countries. Only foreigners not under the jurisdiction of the Bahrain Courts were free to sell their property to other foreigners. The object of the Government is to prevent land in Bahrain from being alienated and it is hoped that in future this legislation will be further extended to preclude all foreigners in Bahrain from disposing of their property to any persons who are not Bahrain subjects.

The imposition of this ordinance caused some resentment among foreigners especially among Saudi Arabians and Persians who in the past have acquired extensive property in Bahrain. This ordinance was probably the cause of some reduction in the number of large land sales during 1372.

One of the reasons why the Government now has so little land at its disposal in Manama and on the outskirts of the town is because in the past large pieces of land were either sold or given to Persians and Saudi Arabians. In the former category is one of the principal landowners in the town. The only area of any size, suitable for development as a housing area, is the land on the south-west of Manama which is now occupied by the installations of Cable and Wireless Ltd. Arrangements are being made for the Company to move out into the country to a site on the Aali plain, but this move will take some time to be carried out.

**Rents of Government Shops.** The Department collected rents amounting to Rs. 51,000/- from the shops in Barrett Road and from the flat above the Post Office and Rs. 20,000/- from rents of 26 plots of land which were let on leases. Temporary leases of land produced Rs. 3,800.

bazaar, a movie theatre, branches of the Eastern Bank and the Imperial Bank of Persia, a post office, a broadcasting station and a single gas station.

Little by little Manama is being modernized and the houses built by the Standard Oil Company for its American and British employees serve as models for the natives in the improvement of their own. There are three hospitals, one operated by the Bahrein Oil Company; a second, for men and women, with a British staff, by the government; and the third by the Arabia Mission of the Dutch Reformed Church in America. However, the facilities of these few establishments are quite limited and even under normal conditions 85% of the population suffers from one or more ailments.

The diseases endemic in Bahrein are malaria, the entire group of fevers, dysentery both amoebic and bacillary, bilharzia, trachoma and ankylostomiasis. At the head of the list should go the entire family of venereal diseases. Prostitution, forbidden in Saudi Arabia, has increased greatly under the complacent eyes of the authorities and Bahrein has become a kind of "pleasure island" where thousands of native and foreign employees of the oil companies from Arabia spend their leaves and money buying cheap pleasure, drinking arak, a 100 proof, colorless distillation of dates, contributing to vice and the propagation of disease.

The island is liable to epidemics of plague and cholera. From 1905 to 1911 Bahrein was visited every second year by plague and during the epidemic of 1911, in Manama, Muharraq and adjacent villages alone, more than two thousand persons died. Since World War I international control of plague and more vigorous quarantine measures by the British administration have limited the recurrence of this disease. Since 1920 epidemics of plague have occurred only at five year intervals.

Cholera epidemics are less frequent, probably because the water supply is less open to contamination than formerly. However, last year's epidemic was as serious in Bahrein as in the other ports of the Persian Gulf.

Bapco" has some two hundred homes for married members of the oil company staff and others are under construction. In addition there are office buildings, bachelors' quarters, a club, an eighteen hole golf course, a restaurant, and a new, completely air conditioned hospital for the native employees of the company. All homes and living quarters and most of the commercial buildings are connected with three central air conditioning plants where water is chilled to a temperature of forty-five to fifty degrees Fahreinheit then piped underground to each building, where it is circulated through grilles. In the winter heat is furnished by circulating hot water in the same manner. All drinking water in both the refinery and camp is distilled.

The other villages of importance on the west coast, reading from north to south, are:

HUWAR—Located close to the coast of Qatar.
HAMALA.
DAMISTAN.
KARZAKKAN.
MALIKIYA.
SADAD.
SHAHRAKAN.
DAR KULAIB.

On the east coast, from north to south, the important villages are:

JUFAR.
GHURAIFA, with a loading terminal and a nearby military seaplane base with anchorage facilities and limited refueling service.
SILHAT.
KUWARA.
SANAD.
NUWAIDRAT, near the refinery. It has palm groves and is an important center of native trade, where most of the local employees of the oil company live.
MA'AMIR, a small village located on the canal separating the island of Sitra from Bahrein.
FARSIYA.

000 and Pakistan. Regular air communications
509 are maintained to Iraq and Arabia, and the airport on Muharraq Island also serves international airlines with terminals in Europe, the Middle East and the Far East.
491 Motor roads connect the towns and the villages on the different islands, and extend across causeways from Bahrain to Muharraq and Sitra. The local transport facilities are well developed, and motor bus routes link most of the population centers.

## Food and Nutrition

262 The food habits of the diverse racial
146 groups are varied, but serious undernutri-
464 tion is seldom encountered, except among the migratory laborers from the mainland and the Baharna and Arabs in the agri-
439 cultural and the fishing villages. The islands
656 are dependent upon imports for a large proportion of their food supply. The government controls certain essential foodstuffs, as wheat, rice and sugar, and regulates prices through a system of rationing.

262 The diet of the average Bahraini consists
439 of dates, bread, rice and fish, supplemented by native vegetables in season and limited amounts of meat and milk. Goats are raised in many villages, though their milk is usually scanty and poor in quality. Most of the meat is imported from Iran, and is correspondingly expensive. An assortment of fruits and vegetables is generally obtainable in Manama markets by those who are able to purchase them.

## Housing

362 Manama is a cosmopolitan town, and the changes which have come about within the last two decades are reflected in the construction of increasing numbers of modern-type dwellings. Muharraq, in contrast, is a
342 distinctly Arab community. Coral blocks, coral slabs and plaster are the usual building materials in the older houses, while cement is used extensively in the newer buildings. The typical Arab-style homes are built around inner courts and have utilitarian

months up to June 1952 an average of 427 civil aircraft and 122 military planes passed through Bahrain each month while in the year 1951 some 11,897 passengers entered Bahrain by air. As well as being connected with all parts of the world by the major airlines, smaller local services form a network in the Persian Gulf by which it is possible and usual for local merchants to go to Qatar or Saudi Arabia in the morning and to return to Bahrain the same evening. Many people from Bahrain also spend the weekend with friends in the oil camps of other companies.

The sea has played an important part in Bahrain's history and with the coming of oil and the increased prosperity of the islanders both steamer and dhow traffic has increased. In the year 1951, 847 steamers and tankers and 1,416 local craft carried over 47,000 visitors to Bahrain, a figure equal to about 45% of the total population. The launches and sailing boats came to Manama, Muharraq and other coastal towns, while the steamers and tankers anchored at the Sitra Jetty or in the anchorage north of Manama. At present the only deep water wharves are those of the oil company.

## INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS

Despite its small size, Bahrain and the islands of Muharraq and Sitra are provided with a large number of roads, but this can be accounted for by the presence among the date gardens of many villages as well as by the need for some form of communication with the scattered coastal settlements. Within the towns of Manama and Muharraq the main roads have excellent surfaces and are wide enough for the traffic they carry and the extensive paving that has recently been laid down has made them safer both for drivers and pedestrians.

From the town of Manama four main roads lead into the country ; to the south-east is Belgrave Road ; to the east, the Causeway ; to the south, Awal Road and to the west, Budaiya Road.

Belgrave Road becomes Jufair Road after passing through the new residential centre of Qudabiya, and the latter leads past the Race Course to the suburbs of Jufair and Umm al-Hasan.

A second road, Shaikh Isa Road, starts from the Sea Road near the Adviserate and follows a rather erratic course till it leaves the town near the Water Garden and Mental Hospital. From here it passes through four miles of date gardens, broken only by the open ground around the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, then across the bridge at Radhm al-Qawari and into the desert. The road then travels south through the pre-historic tumuli and rises till it passes through an avenue of trees that marks the village of Rifáa al-Gharbi, the winter residence of H.H. The Ruler. From here the road drops abruptly into the central depression and then reaches Awali, 11 miles from Manama. At Awali the road branches in three directions, a road to the east leads to the Refinery and Sitra Island, a second road to the west goes to Zellaq and the west coast of Bahrain and a third skirts Awali and continues

of colour and Arab life, and large modern stores stocked with every type of goods from America, Europe and the East. The spice bazaar, the second-hand bazaar behind the Municipality and the shops of the metal workers are typically oriental ; the stores in the larger streets with plate glass windows and fixed prices stock a wide range of modern goods which are generally cheaper than elsewhere in the Gulf owing to the low customs duty. Apart from pearls, mother-of-pearl, gold and silver thread embroidery and model dhows there are few purely local products for visitors to buy. The best way to see the bazaar is on foot, it provides innumerable subjects for photos and neither here nor anywhere else in Bahrain is there any objection to the taking of photos.

To the south-west of the town is the Qalat ad-Diwan, beyond it, along Awal Road, is the Isolation Hospital, the Public Health Department and a number of blocks of flats. Opposite them is a large garden with two miniature lakes, known as the Water Garden ; this is a popular place during summer evenings. Beyond the flats is the Mental Hospital. It is probable that within the next few years this area will undergo extensive development.

To the south-east is the district of Manama known as Quadabiya, up to a few years ago an area of barren sand and swamp land where mosquitos bred but which today is rapidly developing into a residential and entertainment centre. Going along Belgrave Road one passes the Secondary School and Hostel, the Palace and, where the road joins Jufair Road, many houses and bungalows occupied by employees of European commercial firms. Jufair Road then passes the Race Course and Gymkhana Club and terminates in the suburbs of Umm a-Hasan and Jufair ; at the latter are the headquarters of the Senior British Naval Officer, Persian Gulf and H.B.M.'s Political Residency.

In the modern districts of Manama there are many wide and well surfaced roads, lined with tree-shaded pavements, while here and there in the town waste plots of land have been made into little gardens with benches, lawns and fountains. Along the water-front runs Sea Road, joining the Muharraq Causeway with the State Hospital at its western end. The Muharraq Causeway took ten years to build, for it served as a relief project when there was unemployment in Bahrain. The Shaikh Hamed Swing Bridge was completed in 1942 by Messrs. Holloways Bros. Many of the principal buildings and offices in Bahrain are on the Sea Road and Prior Road, which is an inland road running parallel to it. In former times the sea extended far into the town, south even of Prior Road, but during the past twenty-five years much of the sea-shore has been reclaimed. In Muharraq similar work can be seen in progress, but in an earlier stage of development.

In the evenings, the busiest part of Manama is Belgrave Road and the part of Quadabiya to its east where there are four cinemas and many coffee-shops, as well as football fields. At sunset the people of the town can be seen strolling along the road to Jufair, or sitting on the benches that line the pavements, later returning to the cinemas

### TRAFFIC

494 363 Traffic regulations in Bahrain are much the same as those in force in England and the United States; there is a left hand rule of the road and the speed limit in built up areas is 20 m.p.h. Special care should be taken when driving through towns and villages in Bahrain for in common with other parts of the Arab world pedestrians consider the roads as well as the pavements as their property and behave accordingly. Donkey and cycle riders should also be treated with caution for they are apt to be rather reckless. In case of accidents the Bahrain State Police must be notified immediately, failure to do so is likely to involve the drivers in unnecessary trouble.

To drive in Bahrain it is necessary to hold a valid Bahrain driving licence. These are obtainable at the Traffic Department, Bahrain Police Fort, Manama, at a cost of Rs. 5 p.a. Holders of valid licences of countries adhering to the International Traffic Convention, which include England, the U.S.A. and France and most other countries, will be granted a Bahrain licence on production of their own one. In other cases, drivers are required to take out provisional licences, and after a period of one month may apply at the Traffic Office for a driving test. The usual regulations concerning passengers apply to learner drivers.

494 All owners of cars and motor cycles in Bahrain are required to register them annually or semi-annually at the Traffic Office. The fee for a car is Rs. 50 per annum, for motor cycles Rs. 12—8 per annum, both fees can be paid in one or two instalments. Failure to register or re-register cars or motor cycles is liable to involve their owners in pecuniary loss.

For further information about Bahrain traffic laws, car owners are advised to contact the Traffic Office, Bahrain Police Fort, Manama, or phone Manama 334.

### BANKS

153 There are at present two banks in Bahrain :

The British Bank of the Middle East, Prior Road, Manama ;
The Eastern Bank, Government Road, Manama.

These banks provide the usual facilities and arrange for such matters as foreign currency and the transference of drafts. In addition, there are in Manama and Muharraq a number of money changers who deal in most of the commoner forms of currency and who are willing to change money. Most shops will also oblige in this matter, particularly if offered dollars, but care should be taken that a reasonable rate of exchange is given.

### LIQUOR

273 Bahrain is a Moslem country and is therefore "dry," but non-Moslem residents have been granted the privilege of being permitted

## MUNICIPALITIES

### MANAMA MUNICIPALITY

(From the report of Mr. Mohamed Saleh Shater, Secretary of the Manama Municipality)

633 795 At the beginning of the year, owing to sectarian differences between Sunni and Shia members in 1371 which caused the resignation of the Shia members, Municipal affairs were being dealt with by a committee of Sunnis. This was the situation until the middle of the year when the Government succeeded in persuading the Shia members to resume their duties on the Council. They returned on the understanding that they would serve for only one year after which an election should be held.

During the latter part of the year the Council functioned in a more or less normal manner; by shelving all matters which might cause controversy between the sects the Council succeeded in performing its duties without serious differences. The situation, however, was not satisfactory.

633 **Finance.** The Financial Committee which drew up the budget was formed from the temporary Sunni committee. Estimated revenue for 1372 was Rs. 7,04,000 and expenditure was assessed at the same figure. The actual revenue exceeded the estimate by Rs. 1,16,000, the expenditure was Rs. 61,000 more than was expected and at the end of the year a surplus of revenue over expenditure amounting to Rs. 61,000 was added to the Reserve which was then Rs. 2,83,000.

651 1127 The increase in revenue was due to a great extent to higher receipts from house and shop taxes. There were many new buildings in the town and higher rents were charged for existing buildings, both for houses and shops. House taxes and shop taxes on buildings which are leased are charged on a percentage basis of the rent. Taxation on houses which are occupied by their owners is extremely low in comparison with that of rented premises. A large proportion of the rented houses are occupied by foreigners and most of the houses in which the owners live are occupied by people of the country.

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364 **Municipal activities.** Town cleaning was effected during the year by two trucks and 30 donkey carts, town rubbish was utilised to reclaim a large portion of sea on the shore at Hora, opposite Cable and Wireless premises. The method of employing donkey carts to carry town refuse is not a satisfactory one. An order was placed in England during the summer for small rubbish-carrying vehicles which can be used in narrow streets.

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362 427 There was much building activity both in the town and on the outskirts of the town, numbers of small houses were built for occupation by their owners and more European style bungalows and flats were built for letting. House rents are excessively high, landlords expect to recover the cost of their property in less than ten years, so building houses for letting is at present a profitable investment. However, so many houses are now being built that it seems possible that in a short time there may be more houses than tenants.

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1 [A.D. 1951-52 - Analyst]

[Muharraq Municipality]

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There was a small increase in house tax collections but the sum of Rs. 3,370/-, owing to the Municipality, was written off as most of the 853 persons who were indebted had left Bahrain, which suggests some laxity on the part of tax collectors. Shop taxes, including market tax, produced less than in 1371. Shops are divided into two categories and pay Rs. 2/- and Rs. 1/8 per month, which is a very low rate, they should be assessed according to the rentals.

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The total expenditure was Rs. 3,23,600, it was Rs. 66,000 less than the estimated expenditure but exceeded the previous year's expenditure by Rs. 83,000. The largest item of expenditure was on widening roads and most of this amount was spent on compensating house owners for cutting part of their property.

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**Municipal Activities.** Two roads were surfaced with cold patch and another road was metalled and surfaced by the P.W.D., 58 new street lights were installed. The usual town cleaning services were effectively carried out and Municipal Officials were active in supervising the sale of fresh fruit and in inspecting animals in the slaughterhouse.

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During the year 16 new stone houses were built and 1,500 permits were issued for repairing stone houses and shops. Only 53 permits were issued for building or repairing baristis, as against 200 in the previous year. There were 285 unoccupied houses and compounds.

There was some building activity on the northern edge of the town where building plots have been bought from the Government and from the Municipality by persons wishing to build stone houses.

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On his return from England His Highness decided that a public garden should be made on the north side of Muharraq on a large triangular piece of land which was reclaimed from the sea shore by being filled with town rubbish.

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The Finance Committee at the end of the year again submitted a budget showing an anticipated deficit of Rs. 86,000.

## STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE, 1372

| Revenue | | | Expenditure | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| House Tax | Rs. 41,169 3 9 | | Staff Salaries | Rs. 72,698 3 6 | |
| Shop Tax | 23,860 9 0 | | Office Expenditure | 3,450 0 0 | |
| Government Grant | 1,00,000 0 0 | | Transport | 41,010 0 6 | |
| H.H. Grant* | 1,00,000 0 0 | | Upkeep of Roads | 55,874 7 0 | |
| Wood, Ghee and Sheep Tax | 26,673 3 6 | | Widening of Roads | 91,834 4 0 | |
| Rent of Municipal property | 20,731 5 0 | | Town Cleaning | 43,050 8 6 | |
| Building and Mason fees | 3,928 8 0 | | Town Lighting | 4,531 1 0 | |
| Miscellaneous Taxes and Fees | 9,248 7 0 | | Upkeep of Public Wells | 2,180 6 0 | |
| Water Rent | 1,699 0 0 | | Pauper Burials | 5,104 0 0 | |
| | | | Miscellaneous Fees | 3,190 3 0 | |
| | | | Upkeep of Municipal Property | 373 12 0 | |
| | | | Poor Relief | 381 2 0 | |
| | | | | Rs. 3,23,678 0 6 | |
| | | | Surplus of Revenue | 3,632 3 9 | |
| | Rs. 3,27,310 4 3 | | | Rs. 3,27,310 4 3 | |

*Rs. 70,859/- was paid direct to the Government to settle its outstanding account.

## HIDD MUNICIPALITY

651 633 **Finance.** The total revenue was Rs. 28,739, slightly higher than in 1372. At the end of the year there was a surplus of Rs. 6,102. The amount expended was almost the same as in the previous year. At the end of the year His Highness granted Rs. 25,000 to the Municipal funds for building property to increase the Municipal revenue.

The town was clean and well kept and some progress was made in widening the one main street which passes through the length of the town.

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## RAFAA MUNICIPALITY

### which includes East, West and North Rafaa

(From the report of Shaikh Abdulla bin Khalid, President of the Municipal Council)

651 633 363 This Municipality, the last one to be formed in Bahrain, having been established in 1371, carried out its duties successfully during the year. Its revenue was Rs. 37,000 of which Rs. 20,000 was a grant from the Government.

Houses were registered and numbered for the purpose of charging house tax and a piece of land below East Rafaa was laid out as a building area, in conjunction with the Land Department. The Municipality began work on widening the road which passes through East Rafaa and removed part of some houses in order to widen this road.

365 Repairs were carried out to Ain Hinainiyah, the old well on the plain below East Rafaa which provides fresh drinking water, which used to be sold in Manama at a high price, being of superior quality to the artesian well water.

364 Ancient rubbish heaps, which disfigured the edge of the town, were removed and the material was used to fill in deep pits, inside the town, where mud had been dug for building houses.

The Municipality began to establish a regular town cleaning service.

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## MINORS' ESTATES DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Mr. Mohammed Dowaiger, Superintendent of the Department)

471 657 The Department took over the administration of 18 new estates and dealt with 28 compensation cases relating to persons in the employment of the Bahrain Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The value of the estates was Rs. 131,000. Compensation paid by the Bahrain Petroleum Company in cases of death or disablement of employees is passed by the Government to the Minors' Estates Department which pays the persons who are entitled to receive compensation.

657 427 Rents of property administered by the Department produced almost 2 lakhs, the number of properties, including shops, houses, gardens, etc., was 530. The Department sold nine lots of property during the year, for approximately half a lakh and made purchases amounting to Rs. 9,000. The sum of Rs. 15000 was recovered from divers who were in debt to various estates.

## TRAFFIC BRANCH

(Report by Superintendent J. Hyde, Officer-in-charge of the Traffic Section)

363 **Vehicles.** During the year 1372 there was a 32,8 per cent. increase over the previous year
164 in the registration of motor vehicles, bringing the total to 2,822 at the end of the year.

682 **Accidents.** There was an increase in road accidents. The total for the year was 142,
672 27.9 per cent. more than in 1371. Unfortunately, there were ten fatalities as compared with four for the previous year, the highest since 1364. The number of persons seriously injured was 29, an increase of 20.

Thirty-nine pedestrians were involved, three more than in the previous year. Of these, 12 were children of 15 years or under. There were three fatalities with children, including a girl aged 3 years. The only other female casualty was a child aged 6 years, who was injured.

One hundred and fifteen of the total accidents occurred during the day, the remainder, 27, were during the hours of darkness.

Of the fatal accidents, three occurred on the Awal Road, one at night. One near Manama Bus Station, one behind the West Primary School, Manama, one near Ahmedi's Ice Factory, Manama, one near Muharraq Petrol Station (during darkness), one inside the R.A.F. Camp and one on the Sitra Causeway.

Eight cases were taken to Court. In three cases, the drivers were found not to blame.

One cases is still pending.

Five motor-cycles, 11 pedal cycles and six donkey carts were involved in accidents during the year.

Fifty-five cases were prosecuted in the Courts as a result of accidents. In ten cases the persons were acquitted.

363 **Traffic Offences.** One hundred and twenty-eight traffic offences were taken to the Courts.
681 The total fines amounted to Rs. 19,896/-. In four cases the offenders were sentenced to terms of imprisonment.

Thirty-two driving licences were suspended for various traffic offences.

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## PUBLIC SERVICE VEHICLES

494 **Taxi Cabs and Buses.** There was a considerable increase in the number of these vehicles, especially taxi cabs.

It becomes more difficult each year to provide stands for taxi cabs, and it will soon be necessary to restrict their number.

Arrangements are in hand to fit all taxi cabs with fare meters.

**Driving Tests.** One thousand three hundred and fifty-four driving tests were carried out during the year. Five hundred and twenty-three passed the required standard.

[A.D. 1952-1953 — Annual]

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A road in Manamah

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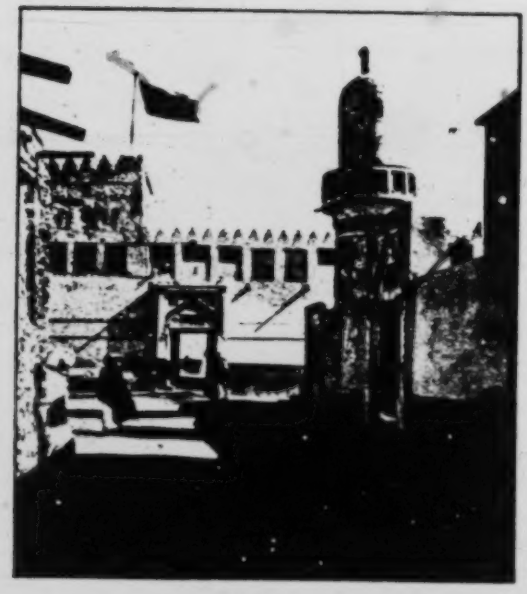

Street in Muharraq

[facing p. 42]

5: Bahrain G-5 (1920-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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Modern Villas in Manamah

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A Street in Manamah

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Municipal Garden, Manamah

[facing p. 46 B]

## PUBLIC HEALTH

Report by Dr. J. D. Grant.

744 751 During its first year of existence[1] the Public Health Service had its fair share of growing pains caused chiefly by Staff changes, a shortage of trained technical and clerical personnel and an apathy or lack of education on the part of local bodies and people in matters of hygiene and sanitation. On the other hand, the port and quarantine side functioned smoothly, anti-malaria control measures were extended to cover the whole Island except for a few villages in the southern end, and a Boys' School Medical Service was inaugurated.

**Staff.** Mr. L. J. Hanvey, Public Health Inspector, resigned on the 1st March to rejoin the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company at Aden and was replaced by Mr. F. Burgin who arrived on the 2nd June.

The following new appointments were made :—

Dr. Ali Mustafa, School Medical Officer, 26th November.
Dr. P. P. Mathew, Port Health Officer, 22nd June.

**Trained Personnel.** The shortage of this class of labour was a constant problem, and to fill some of the gaps it was necessary to recruit from Pakistan and India. These sources will have to be tapped further until requirements can be met from Bahrain.

**Hygiene and Sanitation.** Sanitary measures were chiefly confined to the Municipal areas, and in each case the local Council was responsible for carrying out these duties, with the Public Health Authorities acting in an advisory capacity. This arrangement proved unsatisfactory, as for one reason or another, the Baladiyas were very loath to carry out the suggestions offered and most reluctant to implement the recently drawn up Sanitary Bye-laws. At the end of the year it was decided that much stronger action was required and that Health Education by legislation would have to be resorted to where necessary; the Public Health Authorities were therefore invested with summary powers to enforce sanitary measures.

744 ● 364 The absence of a proper sewerage and drainage system continues to be one of the greatest stumbling blocks to any effort or progress in improving the standard of sanitation in Municipal areas. The present rapid rate of building adds daily to the problem and the stage has now been reached when it is imperative to change from the prevailing highly dangerous and obnoxious cesspool method of conservancy and drainage. The impending survey by a consultant Sanitary Engineer with this end in view is being looked forward to eagerly.

Regular inspections resulted in a slight improvement in the standard of cleanliness of restaurants, eating houses, coffee shops, bakeries, aerated water factories and other premises used for the preparation and sale of foodstuffs. In future, licences for these premises will be issued direct by the Public Health Department after they have been inspected and passed as satisfactory and those premises which, after due warning fail to reach the standard required will be closed down. The hawking of foodstuffs will not be permitted unless adequate precautions against contamination by dust and flies are taken and the general sanitary conditions under which this type of business is conducted are satisfactory.

The new fish, meat and vegetable and fruit markets at Quadabiya were opened during the year, but so far have not proved very popular. They set a very good standard with fly proofing, cement floors, washing and drainage facilities and adjacent rubbish receptacles and latrines. A similar type of building is under construction in Manama for the sale of fruit and vegetables. The other Manama markets and all the Muharraq ones are in such an insanitary state that their reconstruction on the above lines is most essential and should be carried out without further delay.

751 The standard of domestic sanitation is poor. Dirt, disease and squalor reign in many houses causing much unnecessary sickness at considerable cost to hospital and medical services. Better and cleaner houses and less money spent on drugs and more on drains would be of greater value in the task of promoting health and preventing disease.

[1] [presumably A.D. 1952-19?? -- Analyst]

## MUNICIPALITIES

### MANAMA MUNICIPALITY

(From the report of Mr. Mohamed Saleh Shater, Secretary of the Manama Municipality)

At the beginning of the year, owing to sectarian differences between Sunni and Shia members in 1371, which caused the resignation of the Shia members, Municipal affairs were being dealt with by a committee of Sunnis. This was the situation until the middle of the year when the Government succeeded in persuading the Shia members to resume their duties on the Council. They returned on the understanding that they would serve for only one year after which an election should be held.

During the latter part of the year the Council functioned in a more or less normal manner; having shelving all matters which might cause controversy between the sects the Council succeeded in performing its duties without serious differences. The situation, however, was not satisfactory.

**Finance.** The Financial Committee which drew up the budget was formed from the temporary Sunni committee. Estimated revenue for 1372 was Rs. 7,04,000 and expenditure was assessed at the same figure. The actual revenue exceeded the estimate by Rs. 1,16,000, the expenditure was Rs. 61,000 more than was expected and at the end of the year a surplus of revenue over expenditure amounting to Rs. 61,000 was added to the Reserve which was then Rs. 2,83,000.

The increase in revenue was due to a great extent to higher receipts from house and shop taxes. There were many new buildings in the town and higher rents were charged for existing buildings, both for houses and shops. House taxes and shop taxes on buildings which are leased are charged on a percentage basis of the rent. Taxation on houses which are occupied by their owners is extremely low in comparison with that of rented premises. A large proportion of the rented houses are occupied by foreigners and most of the houses in which the owners live are occupied by people of the country.

During the year the Municipality sold land to the public at the price of Rs. 35,200 and it purchased a new fire engine for Rs. 48,000. The Government presented to the Municipality a motor-driven trailer fire pump and jeep, a rubbish carrying vehicle and a gully emptying vehicle.

**Municipal activities.** Town cleaning was effected during the year by two trucks and 30 donkey carts, town rubbish was utilised to reclaim a large portion of sea on the shore at Hora, opposite Cable and Wireless premises. The method of employing donkey carts to carry town refuse is not a satisfactory one. An order was placed in England during the summer for small rubbish-carrying vehicles which can be used in narrow streets.

A number of roads in the town were metalled, the area dealt with was about 380,000 square feet on which was used 480,000 cubic feet of stone and 105,000 cubic feet of sand, the whole costing approximately Rs. 1,76,000.

Some progress was made in widening streets in the bazaar area, 112 new street lights were installed and more trees were planted on the roads, unfortunately each year a number of trees are destroyed, by wind or sometimes by rain which when it falls strongly seems to kill both plants and trees.

There was much building activity both in the town and on the outskirts of the town, numbers of small houses were built for occupation by their owners and more European style bungalows and flats were built for letting. House rents are excessively high, landlords expect to recover the cost of their property in less than ten years, so building houses for letting is at present a profitable investment. However, so many houses are now being built that it seems possible that in a short time there may be more houses than tenants.

During the year [illegible]s for new buildings were issued by the Municipality for 144 stone houses and 100 barasti huts and permits for repairs and additions to 186 shops and 717 houses were also granted.

1 [A D 1951-52 - Analyst]

## HIDD MUNICIPALITY

651 633 **Finance.** The total revenue was Rs. 28,739, slightly higher than in 1372. At the end of the year there was a surplus of Rs. 6,102. The amount expended was almost the same as in the previous year. At the end of the year His Highness granted Rs. 25,000 to the Municipal funds for building property to increase the Municipal revenue.

The town was clean and well kept and some progress was made in widening the one main street which passes through the length of the town.

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## RAFAA MUNICIPALITY

### which includes East, West and North Rafaa

(From the report of Shaikh Abdulla bin Khalid, President of the Municipal Council)

651 633 363 This Municipality, the last one to be formed in Bahrain, having been established in 1371, carried out its duties successfully during the year. Its revenue was Rs. 37,000 of which Rs. 20,000 was a grant from the Government.

Houses were registered and numbered for the purpose of charging house tax and a piece of land below East Rafaa was laid out as a building area, in conjunction with the Land Department. The Municipality began work on widening the road which passes through East Rafaa and removed part of some houses in order to widen this road.

365 Repairs were carried out to Ain Hinainiyah, the old well on the plain below East Rafaa which provides fresh drinking water, which used to be sold in Manama at a high price, being of superior quality to the artesian well water.

364 Ancient rubbish heaps, which disfigured the edge of the town, were removed and the material was used to fill in deep pits, inside the town, where mud had been dug for building houses.

The Municipality began to establish a regular town cleaning service.

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## MINORS' ESTATES DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Mr. Mohammed Dowaiger, Superintendent of the Department)

471 657 The Department took over the administration of 18 new estates and dealt with 28 compensation cases relating to persons in the employment of the Bahrain Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The value of the estates was Rs. 131,000. Compensation paid by the Bahrain Petroleum Company in cases of death or disablement of employees is passed by the Government to the Minors' Estates Department which pays the persons who are entitled to receive compensation.

657 427 Rents of property administered by the Department produced almost 2 lakhs, the number of properties, including shops, houses, gardens, etc., was 530. The Department sold nine lots of property during the year, for approximately half a lakh and made purchases amounting to Rs. 9,000. The sum of Rs. [illegible]000 was recovered from divers who were in debt to various estates.

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN MZ 2



Pollution of the soil is common, although the practice is discouraged in the towns.

## Fauna and Flora

Except for investigations relating to the anopheline vectors of malaria, few entomologic studies have been undertaken in Bahrain. Five species of anopheline mosquitoes have been identified—*Anopheles stephensi, A. culicifacies, A. sergenti, A. fluviatilis* and *A. pulcherrimus*. *A. stephensi* breeds in shallow wells, seepage pools, water storage tanks and irrigation ditches, and is responsible for a large part of the malaria transmission on the islands. While *A. culicifacies* is probably a vector in some localities, it is generally regarded as of minor importance. *A. gambiae* is not indigenous, but it is sometimes found on board dhows upon arrival in port. Species of *Culex* are widespread. However, no vectors of filariasis have been recorded locally. Species of *Aedes* are known to be present.

A campaign for the control of malarial mosquitoes has been carried on by the government since 1939. Supplementary programs are conducted by the Bahrain Petroleum Company in the vicinity of its installations and throughout the southern half of Bahrain Island. The antilarval measures include the treatment of breeding places with oil or DDT preparations and the stocking of wells and drainage ditches with the larvivorous fish, *Gambusia*. The prevalence of anopheline mosquitoes reached minimal proportions in Manama by 1948, but was still extensive in the surrounding suburbs and date garden areas. The following year, the spraying of the marshes, rubbish dumps and gardens around the main towns and the residual spraying of the houses and the bazaars with DDT and Gammexane preparations were introduced for the suppression of both flies and mosquitoes.

Flies are abundant, although their numbers have been markedly reduced in the towns since the inauguration of the residual

P. 259(B)

Bahrain Petroleum Company. Two or three Indian dentists are reported to be practicing in Manama.

**Nurses.** In 1951, there were 24 trained nurses on the staffs of the different hospitals—10 in the government hospitals, 12 in the oil industry hospital and 2 in the mission hospital. In addition, 2 male nurses were working in the government institutions and 5 in the industrial. Ten nurse-midwives were connected with the government maternity hospitals and clinic.

**Others.** Bahraini and Indian medical assistants in various categories were employed in the hospitals and dispensaries.

## DISEASES

In the absence of adequate reporting of morbidity and mortality on the islands, the information available regarding the prevalence of specific diseases is necessarily incomplete. Few scientific medical investigations have been undertaken in this area. The records of cases treated in the hospitals and the dispensaries provide data of general value in assessing the health status of the people, but they are limited in scope and applicable as a rule to a small percentage of the inhabitants. Moreover, the population is continually fluctuating, and many cases of illness treated in the local hospitals originated outside Bahrain.

### Diseases Spread or Contracted Chiefly Through Intestinal or Urinary Tract

**Typhoid and Paratyphoid Fevers.** Typhoid fever is endemic, but apparently it is not as prevalent as the insanitary conditions regarding food and water supplies would seem to warrant. Cases tend to be sporadic, although water-borne outbreaks attributed to contaminated well supplies sometimes occur. From 48 to 60 cases were reported annually in the 4 years 1948-51—probably a small part of the numbers actually present. Paratyphoid fevers are common. According to local medical authorities, most of the cases seen in the hospitals are para-

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN MZ 2

Responsibility for the protection of the health of the people resides in the Public Health Department of the Bahrain government. It has curative and preventive divisions, and is administered by a Chief Medical Officer with headquarters in Manama. Four general hospitals—government, mission and industrial—with an aggregate capacity of 324 beds were functioning in 1951. In addition, the government services operated 5 special hospitals with 86 beds, maternity clinics and scattered dispensaries for men and women. Water supplies are obtained from large numbers of artesian wells, as well as from springs and shallow wells. The town of Manama has a piped artesian supply which serves over 70 per cent of the houses. Sewage is disposed of by primitive methods, and most well and spring water sources are polluted.

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p. 265(A)

and coffee-shops. This activity continues until about eleven o'clock especially in the summer when it is pleasanter to be out in the open air than indoors.

Manama is supplied with electric light from the Government Power House, situated on the point at the north-east end of Manama. The town water supply, also a Government concern, comes from artesian wells in what used to be the Municipal Garden from where it is pumped into large tanks high above Manama and from there distributed by mains to all parts of the town and to numerous drinking fountains and public baths. This water system, which was installed by Holloway Bros., was completed in 1949, before this the water came from private and public artesian wells and was distributed by water carriers.

### QASARI

It is logical in describing Bahrain to leave Manama by the main road, Awal Road, but a more interesting drive can be taken by following the 2nd class road which branches off from Awal Road beyond the Mental Hospital. After passing through a number of villages of comparatively little interest the road comes to a shaded lane bordered on one side by a lake. This is Ain al-Qasari, whose pool, although more extensive than that at Adari, is shallow and therefore unsuitable for swimming. Here there is a garden and a pleasant little house overlooking the pool, admittance to which is free, which is much frequented by picnicers. In the pool there are fish, some of which are as much as eighteen inches in length, as well as turtles. These are so accustomed to visitors that when people walk along the edge of the water or sit in the house, they swim lazily to the surface, waiting to be thrown pieces of bread or food. In a country consisting mostly of desert, and where a small and dirty pool usually constitutes the local water supply, the attractive appearance of Ain al-Qasari, particularly at sunset, is very agreeable.

There are in fact two springs called Qasari, the second, situated on Awal Road, is better known by the name of the "Dhobis Pool" on account of the large numbers of Indian washermen who mercilessly beat the dirty clothes on slabs of rock, and when they have finished hang them out to dry in long lines by the side of the road. It is a not unusual sight to round a corner of the road and to see before one lines of clothes, billowing in the breeze like wind-socks, and the frantic activity of the dhobis standing in the water in an odd array of clothing attempting to finish their task and dry the laundry before the sun sets.

### BILAD AL-QADIM

A short way beyond Ain al-Qasari is Bilad al-Qadim, literally "The Old Town," formerly the capital of Bahrain, which lies between the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, whose twin minarets are a landmark for navigators, and the Khor Mukhtar inlet on the east coast. Bilad al-Qadim can also be approached from Awal Road opposite the Suq

[Muharraq Municipality]

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There was a small increase in house tax collections but the sum of Rs. 3,370/-, owing to the Municipality, was written off as most of the 853 persons who were indebted had left Bahrain, which suggests some laxity on the part of tax collectors. Shop taxes, including market tax, produced less than in 1371. Shops are divided into two categories and pay Rs. 2/- and Rs. 1/8 per month, which is a very low rate, they should be assessed according to the rentals.

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The total expenditure was Rs. 3,23,600, it was Rs. 66,000 less than the estimated expenditure but exceeded the previous year's expenditure by Rs. 83,000. The largest item of expenditure was on widening roads and most of this amount was spent on compensating house owners for cutting part of their property.

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**Municipal Activities.** Two roads were surfaced with cold patch and another road was metalled and surfaced by the P.W.D., 58 new street lights were installed. The usual town cleaning services were effectively carried out and Municipal Officials were active in supervising the sale of fresh fruit and in inspecting animals in the slaughterhouse.

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During the year 16 new stone houses were built and 1,500 permits were issued for repairing stone houses and shops. Only 53 permits were issued for building or repairing baristis, as against 200 in the previous year. There were 285 unoccupied houses and compounds.

There was some building activity on the northern edge of the town where building plots have been bought from the Government and from the Municipality by persons wishing to build stone houses.

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On his return from England His Highness decided that a public garden should be made on the north side of Muharraq on a large triangular piece of land which was reclaimed from the sea shore by being filled with town rubbish.

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The Finance Committee at the end of the year again submitted a budget showing an anticipated deficit of Rs. 86,000.

## STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE. 1372

| Revenue | | | Expenditure | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| House Tax | Rs. 41,169 3 9 | | Staff Salaries | Rs. 72,698 3 6 | |
| Shop Tax | 23,860 9 0 | | Office Expenditure | 3,450 0 0 | |
| Government Grant | 1,00,000 0 0 | | Transport | 41,010 0 6 | |
| H.H. Grant* | 1,00,000 0 0 | | Upkeep of Roads | 55,874 7 0 | |
| Wood, Ghee and Sheep Tax | 26,673 3 6 | | Widening of Roads | 91,834 4 0 | |
| Rent of Municipal property | 20,731 5 0 | | Town Cleaning | 43,050 8 6 | |
| Building and Mason fees | 3,928 8 0 | | Town Lighting | 4,531 1 0 | |
| Miscellaneous Taxes and Fees | 9,248 7 0 | | Upkeep of Public Wells | 2,180 6 0 | |
| Water Rent | 1,699 0 0 | | Pauper Burials | 5,104 0 0 | |
| | | | Miscellaneous Fees | 3,190 3 0 | |
| | | | Upkeep of Municipal Property | 373 12 0 | |
| | | | Poor Relief | 381 2 0 | |
| | | | | Rs. 3,23,678 0 6 | |
| | | | Surplus of Revenue | 3,632 3 9 | |
| | Rs. 3,27,310 4 3 | | | Rs. 3,27,310 4 3 | |

*Rs. 70,859/- was paid direct to the Government to settle its outstanding account.

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262 439 Over the past three years the Government has subsidised the price of meat and dates to the extent of approximately £70,000/-, sugar costing from £6 to £7 10s. has been sold to importers of livestock and dates at £3 15s. per bag.

656 That this policy has been wise is shown in the figures of imports of livestock during Ramadhan and Shawal 1372, as under :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Ramadhan* 1372 : | Cattle .. | ... | 1019 head |
| | Sheep and Goats | .. | 13327 ,, |
| *Shawal*, 1372 | Cattle .. | .. | 526 ,, |
| | Sheep and Goats | .. | 10914 ,, |

The retail prices to the public of beef, mutton, and goat meat in Bahrain are very much cheaper, by half at least, than in the neighbouring countries of Saudi Arabia and Kuweit.

Fish supplies were more plentiful than in the previous year, with prices again well below neighbouring states :

Imports of consumer goods increased during the year, and there are signs of over-stocking of certain commodities, particularly piece goods, flour, tea and motor cars.

During the year it was noticed there was a downward trend in the price of certain commodities such as timber, iron bars, windows, joists and muraba wood.

Large supplies of fresh fruits arrived in Bahrain from Lebanon. Persia, Australia, America and India, during the year with prices considerably lower than in the previous year.

Although the Government ended rationing during the year, it still maintains a price control on such essential commodities as meat, fish, rice, sugar, flour, wheat, tea and coffee.

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## STATE ENGINEER'S DEPARTMENT

(Report by Mr. D. Brammer, Assoc.I.E.E., M.A.S.E.E., State Engineer)

### The Electricity Undertaking

377 655 471 **The Power Station.** A new 750 K.W. Generating Set was completed and put into commission on 10th Ramadhan, increasing the total installed capacity of the station to 3,750 K.W.

Units generated amounted to 10,58,560, an increase of 28 per cent. on the previous year and the electricity supply to the public was maintained without any major interruption.

A notable achievement was the reduction in transmission losses from 13.25 per cent. to 6.26 per cent., a saving of some 360,000 units.

**Mains Department.** The four skilled linesmen who were recruited in India last year were discharged in Dhul Haj, 1372. Their work had become most unsatisfactory. The work of renewal and maintenance proceeded satisfactorily but the rate of connection of new consumers is still far too low and further efforts are now being made to recruit skilled staff in order to speed up this work.

A new underground H.T. cable was laid from the Power Station to "C" Sub-station and the H.T. overhead line between Muharraq Town and the Royal Air Force Station was re-erected and its capacity doubled.

[365] The H.T. underground cable around Muharraq Town was completed giving an extra supply of 320 k.w. to districts which had never before had an electricity supply, and some two miles of L.T. distribution were erected in the town, together with street lights.

Bapco has some furnished homes for married members
of the oil company staff and others are under construction. In 362
addition there are office buildings, bachelors' quarters, a club, 365
an eighteen hole golf course, a restaurant, and a new, completely air conditioned hospital for the native employees of the company. All homes and living quarters and most of the commercial buildings are connected with three central air conditioning plants where water is chilled to a temperature of forty-five to fifty degrees Fahreinheit then piped underground to each building, where it is circulated through grilles. In the winter heat is furnished by circulating hot water in the same manner. All drinking water in both the refinery and camp is distilled.

The other villages of importance on the west coast, reading 361
from north to south, are: 103

HUWAR—Located close to the coast of Qatar.

HAMALA.

DAMISTAN.

KARZAKKAN.

MALIKIYA.

SADAD.

SHAHRAKAN.

DAR KULAIB.

On the east coast, from north to south, the important villages are:

JUFAR.

GHURAIFA, with a loading terminal and a nearby military seaplane base with anchorage facilities and limited refueling service.

SILHAT.

KUWARA.

SANAD.

NUWAIDRAT, near the refinery. It has palm groves and is an important center of native trade, where most of the local employees of the oil company live.

MA'AMIR, a small village located on the canal separating the island of Sitra from Bahrein.

FARSIYA.

# Part III.—AROUND BAHRAIN.

## MANAMA

361 THE capital of Bahrain, Manama, with a population, in 1950, of 39,648, is situated on the low lying coast at the north end of Bahrain Island. Most parts of the town are only two or three feet above sea level and close below the ground there is brackish water which accounts for the excessive humidity during the summer. The town extends for 1½ miles along the northern shore and about the same distance down the east coast. Although Manama, which means "The Place of [103] Sleeping." is known to have existed in the 15th century and is mentioned by the Portuguese, it contains no ancient buildings, and possibly the oldest relic of the past is the tomb of Shaikh Ahmed al-Khalifah, who conquered Bahrain in 1782, situated near the Awal Cinema.

The most attractive view of Manama is from the sea. Approaching the port from Saudi Arabia one sees a long line of tall, white houses with deep-shadowed verandahs, rising above the brilliantly coloured water. Around the Customs Pier, which extends for a quarter of a mile into the sea, there are usually 70 or 80 local sailing craft and launches whose crews and cargoes fill the pier to overflowing. The skyline of the town is broken by two or three minarets, the tallest being that of the Juma Mosque, while on the shore to the east of the town can be seen the graceful wind-towers which were used to catch the breeze before the days of electric fans and air-conditioning.

342 Most of the houses are built from coral stone, quarried from the bed of the sea at low tide, plastered and painted white. A noticeable feature of Bahrain architecture is the use of large flat sheets of coral stone set between masonry pillars in the walls of the houses. In some districts of the town there are still numbers of "barastis", huts made of palm branches, but these are rapidly being replaced by stone and cement houses.

361 The centre of the town is Shaikh Sulman Square with, on the north,
344 the Pier and the Customs premises and on the south "Bab al-Bahrain," the Gate of Bahrain, a large block of Government offices with an archway in the centre leading through to the principal street in the bazaar. In the centre of the Square is a circular garden, the walls of which are made from cement panels decorated with traditional Bahraini designs,
● 366 arabesques, of pleasing appearance. The bazaar extends for some
443 distance on each side of Barrett Road, the main street. To its west are the Municipal Buildings and an open market where, on Wednesday mornings, the people of the villages bring their produce to sell.

The Manama bazaar rightly claims to be the emporium of the Gulf, it contains both narrow streets of picturesque little shops, full

of colour and Arab life, and large modern stores stocked with every type of goods from America, Europe and the East. The spice bazaar, the second-hand bazaar behind the Municipality and the shops of the metal workers are typically oriental ; the stores in the larger streets with plate glass windows and fixed prices stock a wide range of modern goods which are generally cheaper than elsewhere in the Gulf owing to the low customs duty. Apart from pearls, mother-of-pearl, gold and silver thread embroidery and model dhows there are few purely local products for visitors to buy. The best way to see the bazaar is on foot, it provides innumerable subjects for photos and neither here nor anywhere else in Bahrain is there any objection to the taking of photos.

To the south-west of the town is the Qalat ad-Diwan, beyond it, along Awal Road, is the Isolation Hospital, the Public Health Department and a number of blocks of flats. Opposite them is a large garden with two miniature lakes, known as the Water Garden ; this is a popular place during summer evenings. Beyond the flats is the Mental Hospital. It is probable that within the next few years this area will undergo extensive development.

To the south-east is the district of Manama known as Quadabiya, up to a few years ago an area of barren sand and swamp land where mosquitos bred but which today is rapidly developing into a residential and entertainment centre. Going along Belgrave Road one passes the Secondary School and Hostel, the Palace and, where the road joins Jufair Road, many houses and bungalows occupied by employees of European commercial firms. Jufair Road then passes the Race Course and Gymkhana Club and terminates in the suburbs of Umm a-Hasan and Jufair ; at the latter are the headquarters of the Senior British Naval Officer, Persian Gulf and H.B.M.'s Political Residency.

In the modern districts of Manama there are many wide and well surfaced roads, lined with tree-shaded pavements, while here and there in the town waste plots of land have been made into little gardens with benches, lawns and fountains. Along the water-front runs Sea Road, joining the Muharraq Causeway with the State Hospital at its western end. The Muharraq Causeway took ten years to build, for it served as a relief project when there was unemployment in Bahrain. The Shaikh Hamed Swing Bridge was completed in 1942 by Messrs. Holloways Bros. Many of the principal buildings and offices in Bahrain are on the Sea Road and Prior Road, which is an inland road running parallel to it. In former times the sea extended far into the town, south even of Prior Road, but during the past twenty-five years much of the sea-shore has been reclaimed. In Muharraq similar work can be seen in progress, but in an earlier stage of development.

In the evenings, the busiest part of Manama is Belgrave Road and the part of Quadabiya to its east where there are four cinemas and many coffee-shops, as well as football fields. At sunset the people of the town can be seen strolling along the road to Jufair, or sitting on the benches that line the pavements, later returning to the cinemas

204 In addition to the English language papers published in Iraq, Lebanon and Egypt, many English and American papers have airmail editions, which take a very short time in reaching Bahrain. Other papers and magazines are on sale in the Manama shops, both American and English, but they take rather longer to arrive. It is possible to receive the *Irak Times* by air, and also numerous Arabic papers from Egypt and Lebanon.

217 There is a public library in Bahrain, the Library of the Education Department, in Shaikh Abdulla Road, which contains Arabic and English books and magazines. There is a subscription library of English fiction and non-fiction at the Residency, Jufair and also libraries in many of the clubs. The largest library in Bahrain is that of the Bapco Club. Some Manama shops have large selections of books and one of them specialises in new books on Middle Eastern topics and stocks them soon after their publication.

### CLOTHING (EUROPEAN)

291 Men in the summer wear shirts and slacks or shorts and light tropical suits on formal occasions. In the evening white opened-necked and short sleeved shirts and white trousers are usual, with black shoes and socks and a black cummerbund at more formal affairs. Aertex or similar day shirts are the most suitable form of wear and cellular vests are useful, not for warmth but to absorb sweat. All forms of clothing for summer wear in Bahrain can be bought in Manama, both ready made and tailored.

In cold weather ordinary tweed suits are worn, or flannel trousers and sports coats and dinner jackets in the evening. It is cold enough for pullovers and overcoats, especially after sunset.

Washing frocks, preferably cotton, are the best wear for women in the very hot weather, as linen or silk are unsuitable when the temperature and humidity are high. Light frocks are usually worn from April till December. Hats are worn on rare occasions. Cotton dress materials can be obtained locally as well as ready made English and American frocks.

In the cold season women require the type of clothing which is worn in England in April and May, and in the Fall in the States. In addition, the cold winter winds call for a really warm coat. As with summer clothes, those needed in the winter can be made in Manama from locally purchased material.

### HOTELS

485 366 There are only two hotels in Bahrain attaining European standards, the B.O.A.C. Guest House and the Bahrain Hotel. The former is primarily built for the benefit of transit passengers and it is often difficult for visitors to Bahrain who expect to stay for some time to get a room there. The Bahrain Hotel, which is at the west end of Prior Road, offers good food and is in fact the only alternative to the B.O.A.C. Guest House. There are a number of small local hotels which are not in the same class as these two.

'1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

367

A Public Garden in Manama. Photo : The Author.

712

The Manama Fort.

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

172

Aerial view of the tumuli of Aali. In the background, to the right of the photo, the Jebel ad-Dukhan can be seen.

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Adari Pool.

[Muharraq Municipality]

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There was a small increase in house tax collections but the sum of Rs. 3,370/-, owing to the Municipality, was written off as most of the 853 persons who were indebted had left Bahrain, which suggests some laxity on the part of tax collectors. Shop taxes, including market tax, produced less than in 1371. Shops are divided into two categories and pay Rs. 2/- and Rs. 1/8 per month, which is a very low rate, they should be assessed according to the rentals.

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The total expenditure was Rs. 3,23,600, it was Rs. 66,000 less than the estimated expenditure but exceeded the previous year's expenditure by Rs. 83,000. The largest item of expenditure was on widening roads and most of this amount was spent on compensating house owners for cutting part of their property.

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**Municipal Activities.** Two roads were surfaced with cold patch and another road was metalled and surfaced by the P.W.D., 58 new street lights were installed. The usual town cleaning services were effectively carried out and Municipal Officials were active in supervising the sale of fresh fruit and in inspecting animals in the slaughterhouse.

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During the year 16 new stone houses were built and 1,500 permits were issued for repairing stone houses and shops. Only 53 permits were issued for building or repairing baristis, as against 200 in the previous year. There were 285 unoccupied houses and compounds.

There was some building activity on the northern edge of the town where building plots have been bought from the Government and from the Municipality by persons wishing to build stone houses.

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On his return from England His Highness decided that a public garden should be made on the north side of Muharraq on a large triangular piece of land which was reclaimed from the sea shore by being filled with town rubbish.

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The Finance Committee at the end of the year again submitted a budget showing an anticipated deficit of Rs. 86,000.

## STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE, 1372

| Revenue | | | | Expenditure | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| House Tax | Rs. 41,169 | 3 | 9 | Staff Salaries | Rs. 72,698 | 3 | 6 |
| Shop Tax | 23,860 | 9 | 0 | Office Expenditure | 3,450 | 0 | 0 |
| Government Grant | 1,00,000 | 0 | 0 | Transport | 41,010 | 0 | 6 |
| H.H. Grant* | 1,00,000 | 0 | 0 | Upkeep of Roads | 55,874 | 7 | 0 |
| Wood, Ghee and Sheep Tax | 26,673 | 3 | 6 | Widening of Roads | 91,834 | 4 | 0 |
| Rent of Municipal property | 20,731 | 5 | 0 | Town Cleaning | 43,050 | 8 | 6 |
| Building and Masonic fees | 3,928 | 8 | 0 | Town Lighting | 4,531 | 1 | 0 |
| Miscellaneous Taxes and Fees | 9,248 | 7 | 0 | Upkeep of Public Wells | 2,180 | 6 | 0 |
| Water Rent | 1,699 | 0 | 0 | Pauper Burials | 5,104 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | Miscellaneous Fees | 3,190 | 3 | 0 |
| | | | | Upkeep of Municipal Property | 373 | 12 | 0 |
| | | | | Poor Relief | 381 | 2 | 0 |
| | | | | | Rs. 3,23,678 | 0 | 6 |
| | | | | Surplus of Revenue | 3,632 | 3 | 9 |
| | Rs. 3,27,310 | 4 | 3 | | Rs. 3,27,310 | 4 | 3 |

*Rs. 70,859/- was paid direct to the Government to settle its outstanding account.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1928–1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

342

Modern Villas in Manamah

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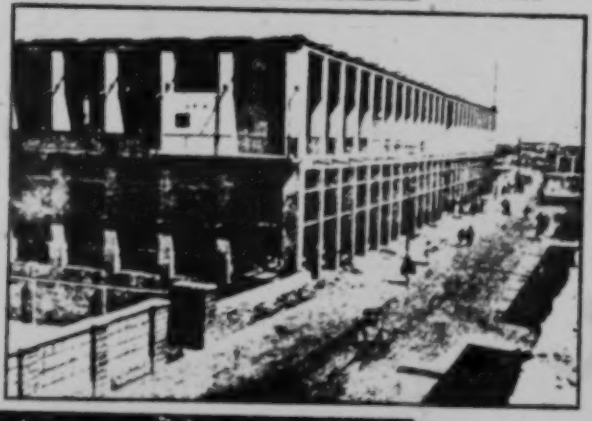

A Street in Manamah

367

Municipal Gardens, Manamah

[facing p. 46 B]

of colour and Arab life, and large modern stores stocked with every type of goods from America, Europe and the East. The spice bazaar, the second-hand bazaar behind the Municipality and the shops of the metal workers are typically oriental ; the stores in the larger streets with plate glass windows and fixed prices stock a wide range of modern goods which are generally cheaper than elsewhere in the Gulf owing to the low customs duty. Apart from pearls, mother-of-pearl, gold and silver thread embroidery and model dhows there are few purely local products for visitors to buy. The best way to see the bazaar is on foot, it provides innumerable subjects for photos and neither here nor anywhere else in Bahrain is there any objection to the taking of photos.

To the south-west of the town is the Qalat ad-Diwan, beyond it, along Awal Road, is the Isolation Hospital, the Public Health Department and a number of blocks of flats. Opposite them is a large garden with two miniature lakes, known as the Water Garden ; this is a popular place during summer evenings. Beyond the flats is the Mental Hospital. It is probable that within the next few years this area will undergo extensive development.

To the south-east is the district of Manama known as Quadabiya, up to a few years ago an area of barren sand and swamp land where mosquitos bred but which today is rapidly developing into a residential and entertainment centre. Going along Belgrave Road one passes the Secondary School and Hostel, the Palace and, where the road joins Jufair Road, many houses and bungalows occupied by employees of European commercial firms. Jufair Road then passes the Race Course and Gymkhana Club and terminates in the suburbs of Umm a-Hasan and Jufair; at the latter are the headquarters of the Senior British Naval Officer, Persian Gulf and H.B.M.'s Political Residency.

In the modern districts of Manama there are many wide and well surfaced roads, lined with tree-shaded pavements, while here and there in the town waste plots of land have been made into little gardens with benches, lawns and fountains. Along the water-front runs Sea Road, joining the Muharraq Causeway with the State Hospital at its western end. The Muharraq Causeway took ten years to build, for it served as a relief project when there was unemployment in Bahrain. The Shaikh Hamed Swing Bridge was completed in 1942 by Messrs. Holloways Bros. Many of the principal buildings and offices in Bahrain are on the Sea Road and Prior Road, which is an inland road running parallel to it. In former times the sea extended far into the town, south even of Prior Road, but during the past twenty-five years much of the sea-shore has been reclaimed. In Muharraq similar work can be seen in progress, but in an earlier stage of development.

In the evenings, the busiest part of Manama is Belgrave Road and the part of Quadabiya to its east where there are four cinemas and many coffee-shops, as well as football fields. At sunset the people of the town can be seen strolling along the road to Jufair, or sitting on the benches that line the pavements, later returning to the cinemas

361 and on the shore there is an old deserted fort which was built by the Omanis during a short period when they occupied the Islands. A [504] ferry service of small sailing boats plies between Muharraq and Arad fort, but to drive round the bay to the fort by car takes less time than crossing by boat.

396 Boat building is one of the few local industries of Muharraq and is carried out along the shores of the town, especially on the eastern coast. Carpenters and shipwrights are apt to extend their work half across the road and when driving a car one often has to avoid sails which are pegged out for joining or for repairs, rope winders, men mending nets or carpenters working on big wooden water tanks for the pearling dhows.

361 Many visitors to Bahrain never enter Muharraq and by failing to do
178 so they miss the sight of a comparatively untouched Arab town, a sight that is rapidly becoming rarer in the oil rich Persian Gulf.

HEDD

361 Bahrain's number three town is Hedd. Long and narrow, it is built on a strip of land which juts out into the sea at the south-east end of Muharraq Island. The houses are closely packed together and extend right to the edge of the sea, one road, only just wide enough for motor vehicles, runs through the centre of the town and on each side a labyrinth of narrow lanes leads down to the shore. There are few barastis in Hedd and most of the people live in stone houses ; some of them are large, built by pearl merchants in the days when the pearl industry of which Hedd was an important centre, was flourishing. The bazaar is in the main street and it contains many shops which sell all manner of goods. Water is supplied to the town by several artesian wells.

[162] The population of Hedd is entirely Sunni and predominantly Arab, although a few of the shopkeepers are Persians. It includes Arabs of the Bin Ali, Saada, Mesedem and Musallam tribes who used to be very influential in Bahrain ; the last were once the rulers of Qatar. Hedd was originally a diving town but although it still has much contact with the sea, many of its inhabitants work on shore. Its people have a reputation for intelligence and energy and this is shown by the fact that they have produced better results from their schools than any other community. The town is conspicuously clean, owing partly to the fact that it is surrounded by the sea on three sides.

368 Hedd has a handsome new police station, at the entrance to the
633 town, which was completed in 1952, a Municipality and Boys' and Girls' Schools which were opened in 1937 and 1939 respectively. For some years the Muharraq Municipality included Hedd in its activities but in 1945 Hedd formed its own elected Municipal Council with four members. There is also in Hedd a dispensary and a small women's hospital with accommodation for a certain number of in-patients.
226 Hedd is famous for its prawns which are caught in special traps and sent to the fish markets of Manama and Muharraq.

## MUNICIPALITIES

### MANAMA MUNICIPALITY

(From the report of Mr. Mohamed Saleh Shater, Secretary of the Manama Municipality)

633 795 At the beginning of the year, owing to sectarian differences between Sunni and Shia members in 1371 A which caused the resignation of the Shia members, Municipal affairs were being dealt with by a committee of Sunnis. This was the situation until the middle of the year when the Government succeeded in persuading the Shia members to resume their duties on the Council. They returned on the understanding that they would serve for only one year after which an election should be held.

During the latter part of the year the Council functioned in a more or less normal manner; by shelving all matters which might cause controversy between the sects the Council succeeded in performing its duties without serious differences. The situation, however, was not satisfactory.

633 **Finance.** The Financial Committee which drew up the budget was formed from the temporary Sunni committee. Estimated revenue for 1372 was Rs. 7,04,000 and expenditure was assessed at the same figure. The actual revenue exceeded the estimate by Rs. 1,16,000, the expenditure was Rs. 61,000 more than was expected and at the end of the year a surplus of revenue over expenditure amounting to Rs. 61,000 was added to the Reserve which was then Rs. 2,83,000.

651 427 The increase in revenue was due to a great extent to higher receipts from house and shop taxes. There were many new buildings in the town and higher rents were charged for existing buildings, both for houses and shops. House taxes and shop taxes on buildings which are leased are charged on a percentage basis of the rent. Taxation on houses which are occupied by their owners is extremely low in comparison with that of rented premises. A large proportion of the rented houses are occupied by foreigners and most of the houses in which the owners live are occupied by people of the country.

425 653 368 During the year the Municipality sold land to the public at the price of Rs. 35,200 and it purchased a new fire engine for Rs. 48,000. The Government presented to the Municipality a motor-driven trailer fire pump and jeep, a rubbish carrying vehicle and a gully emptying vehicle.

364 **Municipal activities.** Town cleaning was effected during the year by two trucks and 30 donkey carts, town rubbish was utilised to reclaim a large portion of sea on the shore at Hora, opposite Cable and Wireless premises. The method of employing donkey carts to carry town refuse is not a satisfactory one. An order was placed in England during the summer for small rubbish-carrying vehicles which can be used in narrow streets.

363 A number of roads in the town were metalled, the area dealt with was about 380,000 square feet on which was used 480,000 cubic feet of stone and 105,000 cubic feet of sand, the whole costing approximately Rs. 1,76,000.

363 247 Some progress was made in widening streets in the bazaar area, 112 new street lights were installed and more trees were planted on the roads, unfortunately each year a number of trees are destroyed, by wind or sometimes by rain which when it falls strongly seems to kill both plants and trees.

362 427 There was much building activity both in the town and on the outskirts of the town, numbers of small houses were built for occupation by their owners and more European style bungalows and flats were built for letting. House rents are excessively high, landlords expect to recover the cost of their property in less than ten years, so building houses for letting is at present a profitable investment. However, so many houses are now being built that it seems possible that in a short time there may be more houses than tenants.

633 342 During the year permits for new buildings were issued by the Municipality for 144 stone houses and 100 barasti huts and permits for repairs and additions to 186 shops and 717 houses were also granted.

1 [AD 1951-52 - Analyst]

[Manama Municipality]

●368 The Municipal fire service was called out to deal with 34 fires, some of them occurring in Muharraq and in the villages. The incidence of serious fires was higher than it has ever been before.

633 Among the routine activities carried out by the Municipality was the inspection of 28,462 sheep and goats, 3446 head of cattle and 47 camels, which comprised the meat supply during the year. Pauper burials were provided for 48 persons; this in the past was a rare event, the increase in the number of cases is partly due to there being so many foreigners in Bahrain. Two pieces of low-lying land on the south of the town were raised by a filling of stone and sand, at the owner's expense. A stone wall 1,750 feet long and 5 feet high was built, in the sea, at Government expense, to surround an area of sea which is being reclaimed by filling with town rubbish covered with sand.

The Municipality issued 1,550 permits for building, 884 notices were sent out to people requiring them to repair drains and sewers and 23 cases were filed in the various courts. The temporary council met 21 times and there were 41 meetings of sub-committees.

633 651

## STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE, 1372 ✱

| Revenue | | | Expenditure | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Shop Tax | Rs. 284,817 10 6 | | Staff Salaries P. Fund, etc. | Rs. 138,183 12 6 | |
| House Tax | 244,964 15 0 | | Office Expenses | 7,358 11 0 | |
| Government Grant | 100,000 0 0 | | Town Cleaning | 239,742 2 0 | |
| Local Cart Tax | 5,991 8 0 | | Town Lighting | 43,009 6 0 | |
| Slaughterhouse Fees | 27,015 0 0 | | Road Metalling and Repairing | 176,895 13 3 | |
| Rent of Municipal Property | 32,591 12 0 | | Widening Roads | 10,543 4 0 | |
| Miscellaneous taxes and fees | 116,652 2 6 | | Pauper Burials | 3,380 0 0 | |
| Licences of professional trades | 8,082 4 0 | | Upkeep of Municipal property | 9,642 8 0 | |
| | 820,115 4 0 | | Muharraq shares in certain taxes | 25,540 3 0 | |
| | | | Upkeep of Public W.C's and rubbish bins | 4,259 12 0 | |
| | | | Miscellaneous | 7,950 7 6 | |
| | | | Fire Service, Road Spraying and Trees Watering | 72,969 1 8 | |
| | | | Planting street trees and square gardens | 22,106 4 0 | |
| | | | Slaughterhouse expenses | 3,565 0 0 | |
| | | | | 765,146 4 11 | |
| | | | Surplus of Revenue | 54,968 15 1 | |
| Total Rs. | 820,115 4 0 | | Total Rs. | 820,115 4 0 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cash in Bank at the end of 1371 | Rs. | 255,997 5 0 |
| Cash in Bank at the end of 1372 | | 283,387 8 10 |

## MUHARRAQ MUNICIPALITY

(From the report of Mr. Ibrahim Khalfan, Municipal Secretary)

633 652 **Finance.** When the 1372 budget was made a deficit of Rs. 1,59,000 was anticipated. As usual the Finance Committee of the Council planned to spend very much more than they could possibly hope to receive. This year, however, the reckless financial methods of the Council met with more success than they deserved as His Highness Shaikh Sulman made a special grant of 1 lakh from the Privy Purse to the Muharraq Municipal funds. Owing to this unexpected windfall instead of ending the year with a deficit of almost a lakh the revenue exceeded the expenditure by over Rs. 3,000/-.

✱[A.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst]

674 The following were some of the more serious cases of theft ; clothing and money were stolen from people staying in a local hotel in the bazaar, money was stolen from a house in Rafaa and a radio and carpet was stolen from the house of a member of the American Mission. In all these cases the thieves were caught and the stolen property was recovered. In 11 other cases thefts of money, jewellery, wearing apparel, etc., were reported to the Police. In some instances persons were prosecuted for theft, but acquitted and in other cases no evidence was obtained.

Five Pakistanis were prosecuted for "bilking" shop keepers.

674 273 F[illegible]er persons than in the previous year were convicted for contravention of liquor and drug regulations, this does not, however, indicate any decrease in the habit of drinking which among certain classes is becoming almost universal. Altogether 24 persons were prosecuted for distilling, selling and being in possession of liquor and for dealing in hashish and opium.

548 276 In one case a Palestinian was found to be in possession of 15 lbs. of opium. There is every reason to believe that an active trade in opium is carried on through Bahrain to the West. It is brought to Bahrain from Persia and India via the Trucial Coast and then conveyed on to ships in the harbour which carry it to Europe or the United States.

731 **Fires.** There were a number of serious fires during the year in which many people lost their barasti houses and their possessions. Most of the fires were caused by pressure stoves or lamps which ignited Saaf (palm branch) houses. There were no cases of arson.

The most serious fire was in the Telegraph area where 75 houses were completely destroyed together with their contents. A very strong wind fanned the fire which was only prevented from spreading over another area of barasti houses by wide roads on three sides of the site. This was one of the worst fires known in Bahrain. It appears to have been caused by an old blind man who knocked over a fire or a lamp in his house which lit the palm branch walls of the building. No lives were lost. In the village of Mahooz 55 houses were destroyed in one fire a few of these houses had mud and stone walls and matting roofs. In other fires, some of them in Manama and some in the villages, 17, 12, 15 and 14 houses were destroyed. In none of these fires was there any loss of life. In a fire in a launch, anchored off Manama, one man lost his life. More supplies of fire fighting equipment, hose pipe, etc., etc., which had been ordered in England were part of the cargo of a Strick Line ship which caught fire near Sitra and which burned for several days.

[F.68]

**AGENCY COURT**

**RESULT OF PROSECUTIONS IN 1372**

674

| No. | Nature of Offences. | No. of Cases. | No. of persons accused. | No. of persons convicted. | No. of persons acquitted. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Causing Death by Rash or Negligent Act | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 2 | Theft | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 3 | Cheating | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 4 | Criminal breach of trust | 2 | 2 | 2 | — | |
| 5 | Use of criminal force and assault | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | |
| 6 | Liquor drinking and possession of | 6 | 7 | 6 | 1 | |
| 7 | Charas and Opium | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | |
| 8 | Affray | 1 | 3 | 3 | — | |
| | | 14 | 18 | 15 | 3 | |

**NATIONALITIES :**

| | |
|---|---|
| British | 1 person |
| Indian | 3 persons |
| Pakistan | 2 " |
| Palestine | 1 " |
| Transjordan | 1 person |
| Iran | 10 persons |
| | 18 |

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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The municipalities are valuable vehicles for carrying out sanitary and health measures among the public. It is easier to introduce unpopular rules, such as anti-malaria regulations, through the municipalities than by direct Government action.

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**Fire Precautions, etc.** In several parts of the town there are quantities of barasti houses made of palm branches; these buildings are very inflammable. When fires occur in these neighbourhoods the flames spread rapidly. The Manamah Municipality some years ago built fire stations in various parts of the town, equipped with a fire bell and tins of sand for use in emergency. The storing of more than a certain number of tins of petrol and paraffin inside the town was also forbidden, and for this reason the Anglo-Persian Oil Company were given a piece of ground on the sea shore beyond Manamah, on which they built an oil and petrol store. The Government has now ordered a fire engine from England, and when this arrives, valves will be fitted on to the artesian wells in the town so that the engine can fill from any well. The fire engine will be in charge of the police, and will be kept at the Fort.

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**Markets and Food Regulations.** During the last ten years the municipality has greatly improved the conditions under which food is sold in the bazaars. Animals used to be slaughtered in the town opposite the Municipal Building, and the meat was sold under filthy conditions in a line of palm branch shops whose mud floors were never clean. The monopoly for the meat market and the slaughter-house was in the hands of Shaikh Sulman bin Shaikh Hamad. The municipality, in 1346, built a slaughter-house on the shore at Kozaibia, actually in the sea, connected to the shore by a pier; and by means of an arrangement with Shaikh Sulman a proper stone meat market was built adjoining the Municipal Building. The municipality eventually, with the assistance of the Government, purchased Shaikh Sulman's rights over the slaughter-house, which is now a municipal concern. The negotiations, unfortunately, caused considerable ill-feeling, but the final results were satisfactory.

In 1931 a fish market was built, and during the present year three large steel markets have been erected by His Highness on his own property in the Suk al Arba, which are to be used as vegetable, lucerne, and fruit markets. These buildings, and a number of new stone shops, occupy a site which previously contained barasti buildings. After a serious fire at the end of 1936, the whole of the area was laid bare, and it was then possible to rebuild the markets, replacing straw shelters with stone shops and steel buildings.

Many regulations have been passed by the municipality affecting foodstuffs; dried fish, which has an evil smell, can only be sold in a certain area; the food sold in the hotels and coffee shops is regularly examined by municipal inspectors, who are also responsible for the cleanliness of soda factories. Other matters affecting food in which the municipality has shown an interest—sometimes a rather officious interest—are prevention of short-weight bread, use of soda, adulteration of real ghee with cheap vegetable ghee, short-weight rice, and also standardisation of weights and measures. During Ramadhan, the municipality buys a quantity of sheep and sells meat at cost price in order to assist the poor. Other charitable work which is done by the municipality is the payment of compensation to poor persons whose houses are destroyed in fires, and the burial of paupers.

**Public Health Measures.** In 1931 the municipality opened a lunatic asylum, which was badly needed. It is under the supervision of the Quarantine Medical Officer. The inmates are men and women, and it usually contains about a dozen patients.

The need for a leper settlement has been often discussed by the council, but this has been postponed until the Government has its own medical officer. There are a number of lepers in Bahrain, especially in the country villages, and undoubtedly steps should be taken to segregate them. Foreign lepers, when they are discovered, are immediately sent home to their own countries.

Attempts to enforce compulsory vaccination have not yet succeeded, though the need for this is appreciated by many members of the council.

Both in Manamah and Muharraq there are municipal midwives—Indian—who also have free dispensaries and clinics for women and children. The Government has recently opened a second

by Sunni Arabs who were prosperous when the pearling industry flourished but who depend today upon fishing, the oil company and transporting jus from Hawar for their living. In the summer the heat and the shortage of water (for although Jaw has a well it is brackish and more to the taste of the date palms that grow around it than to the people) drive most of the inhabitants to migrate to Sitra. Jaw was once spread some distance along the shore, as can be seen from the ruins that surround it, and in addition to having been a pearling centre it was inhabited by the people of Zubara when they wanted to escape the tyrannical rule of the Wahhabis in the 19th century. Jaw is the point on Bahrain nearest to Zubara and the Qatar coast, and for that reason it was always garrisoned when there was a threat to Bahrain from the mainland, but today the Police Camel Corps, which is stationed there, is to prevent the smuggling into Bahrain of Arabs from the Trucial Coast who come seeking work.

North of Jaw on the road to the Refinery is Asker and opposite it the island of Mushaikha, where an old tomb is the centre of pilgrimage for one of the Moslem sects, the Buharas. The interior of the tomb is filled with bottles of rose water, brought by pilgrims as offerings. Asker itself is a village much like Jaw and Dour.

### JIDHAFS

We must now return to Manama and follow the other road that leads out of the town, this time in the direction of Budaiya. After passing through some miles of gardens the road reaches Jidhafs, a large village, which is also said to have been at one time the capital of Bahrain. Its inhabitants have a reputation for being enterprising and go-ahead, they have recently demonstrated this by deciding to build a club, the first in any of the villages, although in the towns there are many. Jidhafs contains one of the Shiite Juma Mosques and Friday Prayer is said there. It may seem strange that this should be a claim to fame, but according to Moslem custom only certain mosques are used for the Friday Prayers which is intended to encourage large congregations and to prevent the dispersal of the faithful in all the other mosques.

Like all the villagers, those of Jidhafs enjoy a visit to the town every now and then, and in the evenings bus loads of men and many cyclists can be seen coming in to town to enjoy themselves by going to the cinema or sitting gossiping with their friends in the coffee-shops to the blare of wireless music.

South of Jidhafs in the direction of Suq al-Khamis is the village of Ain al-Dar; although today it presents a quiet and peaceful appearance it was once the headquarters of a notorious gang of robbers who used a ruined house, inhabited by a lunatic, as a cache for storing their loot.

### BUDAIYA

This strange town, on the north-western tip of Bahrain Island, is connected with Manama by a good motor road which runs through the village of Jidhafs. Budaiya used to be a large town, divided into Two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya.

**Sales and Land Values.** The aggregate value of the property which was sold was approximately 40 lakhs, £300,000. In the previous year prices reached a somewhat higher figure but they included several sales of large areas of land on the edge of Manama. There has been no fall in land prices and there are no indications of a change in the situation. High prices are still being paid for building sites in Manama on which European style houses, flats and bungalows, are being built, which are let at excessively high rents. When the demand for houses of this type begins to lessen then rents will decrease and there are some signs that this event is not far off, several recently built houses have "To Let" notices on their doors. At present as much as Rs. 1,000/- per month is being charged for a three-bedroom, dining-sitting-room bungalow on the Jufair Road.

A recent satisfactory development has been the demand by working class men to buy small building plots in Manama, Muharraq, Hidd and Rafaa. The building loan schemes of the Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company have stimulated this development. At one time people were satisfied to live in hired houses or barastis for which they paid rent but now, partly owing to the rapaciousness of landlords and partly because it has become everyone's ambition to own the house in which he lives, there is an active demand for plots of ground on which small houses can be built. Unfortunately the Government owns very little land in and around Manama and nobody wishes to live even at a short distance from the bazaar, the schools and the cinemas.

The most important sales were an Arab style house in the southern district of Manama, on Shaikh Isa Road, which was sold for Rs. 200,000 and a plot of land in the Qudhabia district which was bought by the Government as a site for workmen's dwellings for Rs. 2,57,000, at Rs. 2/5 per square foot. The Government sold 87 plots of land, in various places, for Rs. 3,50,000. Land on the edge of the towns of Manama and Muharraq was sold at prices ranging from Rs. 1/4 to Rs. 3/- per square foot. Thirty building plots were sold at East Rafaa, on the plain below the town, to residents of Rafaa, at 2 Annas per square foot. Land on this site was marked out as a residential area with rows of plots of uniform depth along future roads. At the end of the year a few purchasers had begun to build stone houses on the ground which they bought.

**Legislation.** In Safar (October 1952) an important Ordinance was issued which prohibited all persons subject to Bahrain jurisdiction from disposing of any property except to Bahrain subjects. An extension of this order was issued later providing for the contingency of heirs in an estate of a Bahrain subject being themselves foreign subjects. The result of these Ordinances was that not only were Bahrain subjects restricted from selling their property to foreigners but all persons subject to Bahrain jurisdiction, Persians, subjects of Saudi Arabia and of other Gulf States, were restricted from selling their property to each other or to nationals of other countries. Only foreigners not under the jurisdiction of the Bahrain Courts were free to sell their property to other foreigners. The object of the Government is to prevent land in Bahrain from being alienated and it is hoped that in future this legislation will be further extended to preclude all foreigners in Bahrain from disposing of their property to any persons who are not Bahrain subjects.

The imposition of this ordinance caused some resentment among foreigners especially among Saudi Arabians and Persians who in the past have acquired extensive property in Bahrain. This ordinance was probably the cause of some reduction in the number of large land sales during 1372.

One of the reasons why the Government now has so little land at its disposal in Manama and on the outskirts of the town is because in the past large pieces of land were either sold or given to Persians and Saudi Arabians. In the former category is one of the principal landowners in the town. The only area of any size, suitable for development as a housing area, is the land on the south-west of Manama which is now occupied by the installations of Cable and Wireless Ltd. Arrangements are being made for the Company to move out into the country to a site on the Aali plain, but this move will take some time to be carried out.

**Rents of Government Shops.** The Department collected rents amounting to Rs. 51,000/- from the shops in Barrett Road and from the flat above the Post Office and Rs. 20,000/- from rents of 26 plots of land which were let on leases. Temporary leases of land produced Rs. 3,800.

5: Bahrain G-5 (192( -1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

## SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

**Arabs and Baharna.** There is a sharply defined difference in Bahrain between the urban and the rural population. The people of the towns, Manamah, Muharraq, and Hedd, are mostly Arabs and foreigners, traders, shop-keepers, pearl merchants, and landowners. The villagers, who are said to form about two-thirds of the total population, although there has never been a census in Bahrain, are the aboriginal Shia inhabitants of the islands, cultivators and fishermen, many of whom dive during the pearling season. There is a racial and religious difference between the two which is outwardly apparent in the appearance, the dress, and the speech of the people, especially in the case of the women. The Baharna, who used to own Bahrain, are now the tenants and servants of the Arab landowners and the Ruling Family, and there is no sympathy between them.

**The Baharna.** During the last ten years the life of the country people has altered very little, but their outlook has changed considerably. Though still suffering acutely from an inferiority complex, they have become more independent. They have learnt to resort to the Government when they consider themselves aggrieved, and they have shaken off the remnants of feudal obligation to individual members of the Ruling Family which they unwillingly bore in the past. They recognise and appreciate the advantages of a central government which has made it impossible for individual landlords to take the law into their own hands or to unduly oppress their tenants.

Another important political change is the marked decrease in the influence of the Shia religious leaders. The Shia Qadis used to be regarded, especially in the villages, as almost divine, but to-day their power has dwindled. This is mainly owing to the undignified dissentions among the religious leaders and the public exposure, after criminal proceedings, for misappropriation of trust money, of two Shia Qadis during recent years. The transfer of the wakf administration from the control of the Qadis to a council elected by the Shia community has also contributed towards the lessening of the influence of the Qadis. Instead of depending on the advice of the Qadis in all important and political matters, the country people now follow the lead of two or three politically minded merchants of Manamah whose ideas, though progressive, are not free from self-interest.

Living conditions among the Baharna have changed very little. They are still the poorest element in the community. Their villages are dirty, unhealthy, and insanitary, and physically they are below the standard of the Arabs. Although no statistics are available, it seems evident that there is a very high death rate among young children in the villages owing to unhealthy conditions and lack of medical attention. The diet of the people is mainly vegetables, fish, and a little rice and dates, but they spend more money on their clothes, because they need no longer fear that, if they are decently dressed, they will attract the cupidity of the local overlord. Although the average amount which they spend on marriage-money has decreased by over 50% in ten years, yet they still spend large sums on making the pilgrimage to the sacred cities of Iraq, which they regard as being as important as the pilgrimage to Mecca. In spite of the obvious poverty of the Baharna, the Ruling Family still believe that their tenants, when they fail to pay their rent, have large sums of money hoarded in their houses. This belief, in the past, was one of the reasons for the frequent attacks on Baharna houses and villages by armed followers of Khalifah landlords. For some years, however, crimes of this type have ceased to take place.

The Baharna take more interest in the doings of the outer world. Although most of them are illiterate when they come into Manamah or to the weekly markets, they listen to people discussing the news in the papers or what they have heard on the 'radios,' and they carry distorted and very inaccurate stories back to their houses and villages. In their general outlook the baharna are many years behind the town dwellers.

**The Townsfolk.** Among the townspeople, particularly in the capital, there have been startling changes during the last ten years, both in the style of living and the outlook of the people. These changes have come from the people themselves and have not been forced upon them by the Government. This is especially noticeable

5: Bahrain G-5 (192/ -1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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in the case of the younger generation, who have passed through the schools. This generation has grown up under a regime of settled government and accepts as a matter of course the existence of regular law courts, regulations, schools, municipalities, and other governmental institutions, though many of the comparatively recent innovations are still resented and occasionally opposed by the old conservative element, which looks back regretfully to the days of the past when, by a little influence with important people and a little judicious expenditure, they would usually get their own way and do as they liked. Education, facilities for easier travel, contact with foreigners, both at home and abroad, and the effect of newspapers, books, and broadcasting, which stimulate an interest in foreign affairs, are some of the chief causes of the changes among the people of Bahrain. Most of the changes are for the better, but the sudden influx of large numbers of Europeans belonging to the Oil Company, many of whom are unaccustomed to Eastern countries, has had minor but unfortunate results. Beggars, who in the past were comparatively unobtrusive, now throng the bazaars and thrive on the misplaced generosity of white people; and the Arab children in the streets of Manamah, who used to be well-behaved, now follow Europeans about the bazaars and make impudent remarks to them in English.

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To-day, most of the young men in Manamah wear at least one article of European dress, usually a coat, and European shoes are rapidly taking the place of sandals; socks are universally worn, and the more advanced young Arabs wear complete suits of European style, but retain their Arab headdress. Importers of second-hand clothes, ranging from tail-coats to Central European military uniforms, do a good trade. To-day, a young man wearing entirely Arab dress is usually a foreigner or one of the Shaikhs' retainers. Labourers in the oil field who work near machinery are compelled to wear shirts and trousers, and this has contributed to a large extent to the change in dress. Even among the women, there is a tendency to wear articles of European clothing, especially stockings and shoes.

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Although there is still much poverty and unemployment in Bahrain, the general standard of living has improved, and the older men often complain that their sons are no longer content with the frugal diet of fish, rice, dates and, occasionally, meat, which was good enough for them when they were young. Bread is eaten much more than it used to be, and cheap tinned fruits and biscuits have become almost part of the regular diet in the houses of the middle and wealthy classes. The decrease in food prices has made it possible for poorer people to buy more food and to enjoy more variety. Ten years ago a bag of rice cost Rs 15.-; to-day it can be bought for Rs 11/-. The price of dates has fallen almost 50%, and the public can now buy cheap vegetable ghee instead of expensive clarified butter, which used only to be used by the wealthy classes. Before artesian wells were sunk, all water had to be bought, but to-day there is an artesian well in each district of the big towns, and women of the lower classes fetch their own water from the taps and cisterns. The water supply has encouraged cleanliness, as in the past, when all water had to be bought, there was little washing or bathing except by men in the sea during the summer.

The municipalities have done much to improve conditions, both by cleaning the streets, passing regulations affecting public health, and by building markets where meat, fish, and vegetables are sold under the supervision of municipal inspectors, who are also responsible for inspecting the abattoir. These officials visit the coffee shops and 'hotels' and report cases of the sale of bad meat or stale food to the public.

342 **Houses.** In Manamah there has been a great improvement in the style of buildings. A number of small, sanitary, and well-ventilated houses have been built by private persons for letting purposes. Though the rooms are smaller than those in the old-fashioned houses, the construction is better, the importance of proper foundations is appreciated, and cement and steel beams are universally used. A few years ago the use of steel beams was considered, locally, extremely dangerous. Most of the new houses are equipped with electric light and have adequate sanitary arrangements. By degrees the "barasti" type of house, built of palm branches, is decreasing, and its place is being taken by stone houses which are more permanent, more healthy, and less liable to catch fire or to collapse during storms.

252 Houses are more elaborately equipped. Formerly a few mats and one or two carpets were sufficient furnishing for the Meglis of a merchant, but now, in most middle-class houses, there

The people of Bahrain are extremely law abiding and there is very little crime. A force of 300 uniformed police and 200 armed watchmen is responsible for the maintenance of law and order. The Police headquarters is the Fort to the south-west of Manama, this also contains the Traffic Department, the jail for short term convicts and the police barracks. There are police stations in various districts of Manama and Muharraq and in Hedd, Budaiya, Jaw, Sitra and elsewhere in Bahrain.

Most of the Government buildings in Bahrain are constructed by the Public Works Department whose offices and yards are on the northern shore of Manama south of the Manama-Muharraq Causeway. This department is also responsible for the Manama town water supply and the upkeep of roads and bridges. Close to the Public Works Department, on the opposite side of the Causeway, is the power house and office of the State Engineer. Electricity was first installed in Manama in 1929, later it was extended to Muharraq. The Power Station now generates about 7½ million Kw. per annum.

In addition to these departments there are others including the Transport Section, near the Police Fort, and the Agricultural Department which runs experimental gardens in Budiaya and Manama and gives advice to Bahrain agriculturalists.

## THE RULING FAMILY OF BAHRAIN

*The Ruler* :

HIS HIGHNESS SHAIKH SULMAN BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E.

*Sons of the Ruler* :

HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH ISA BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH KHALIFAH BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH MUHAMMAD BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.

*Uncles of the Ruler* :

HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH ABDULLA BIN ISA AL-KHALIFAH, C.I.E.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH MUHAMMAD BIN ISA AL-KHALIFAH, C.B.E.

*Brothers of the Ruler* :

SHAIKH MUBARAK BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ABDULLA BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ALI BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH IBRAHIM BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH KHALIFAH BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH DAIJ BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH AHMED BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.

*Sons of Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa* :

SHAIKH RASHID BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ALI BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH HAMED BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.

and coffee-shops. This activity continues until about eleven o'clock especially in the summer when it is pleasanter to be out in the open air than indoors.

Manama is supplied with electric light from the Government Power House, situated on the point at the north-east end of Manama. The town water supply, also a Government concern, comes from artesian wells in what used to be the Municipal Garden from where it is pumped into large tanks high above Manama and from there distributed by mains to all parts of the town and to numerous drinking fountains and public baths. This water system, which was installed by Holloway Bros., was completed in 1949, before this the water came from private and public artesian wells and was distributed by water carriers.

### QASARI

It is logical in describing Bahrain to leave Manama by the main road, Awal Road, but a more interesting drive can be taken by following the 2nd class road which branches off from Awal Road beyond the Mental Hospital. After passing through a number of villages of comparatively little interest the road comes to a shaded lane bordered on one side by a lake. This is Ain al-Qasari, whose pool, although more extensive than that at Adari, is shallow and therefore unsuitable for swimming. Here there is a garden and a pleasant little house overlooking the pool, admittance to which is free, which is much frequented by picnicers. In the pool there are fish, some of which are as much as eighteen inches in length, as well as turtles. These are so accustomed to visitors that when people walk along the edge of the water or sit in the house, they swim lazily to the surface, waiting to be thrown pieces of bread or food. In a country consisting mostly of desert, and where a small and dirty pool usually constitutes the local water supply, the attractive appearance of Ain al-Qasari, particularly at sunset, is very agreeable.

There are in fact two springs called Qasari, the second, situated on Awal Road, is better known by the name of the "Dhobis Pool" on account of the large numbers of Indian washermen who mercilessly beat the dirty clothes on slabs of rock, and when they have finished hang them out to dry in long lines by the side of the road. It is a not unusual sight to round a corner of the road and to see before one lines of clothes, billowing in the breeze like wind-socks, and the frantic activity of the dhobis standing in the water in an odd array of clothing attempting to finish their task and dry the laundry before the sun sets.

### BILAD AL-QADIM

A short way beyond Ain al-Qasari is Bilad al-Qadim, literally "The Old Town," formerly the capital of Bahrain, which lies between the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, whose twin minarets are a landmark for navigators, and the Khor Mukhtar inlet on the east coast. Bilad al-Qadim can also be approached from Awal Road opposite the Suq

visa either directly to the Bahrain Government or to the nearest British Consulate which will, after reference to the Bahrain Government, accept or reject the application on the latter's behalf. Passengers arriving in Bahrain without visas are likely to find themselves on the next plane outward bound. 486

Travellers from Bahrain who require visas for other countries must apply for them to H.B.M.'s Political Agency. In some cases the Agency is able to issue these visas on behalf of the foreign countries, but in the case of others it will be found necessary to apply for visas directly to the nearest consulate of the country concerned. H.B.M's Political Agency are in a position to inform prospective travellers about the latest regulations on this subject.

## TAXES

There is no income tax in Bahrain, but for owners of houses and other premises within the Municipal areas of Manama, Muharraq, Hedd and Rifaa there is a small Municipal tax. 651

## WATER AND ELECTRICITY

Within the Municipal area of Manama both water and electricity is provided by the State. 312 377

Within the Municipal area of Muharraq electricity only is provided by the State. 655

Rates for these amenities are as follows :—

| *Electricity.* | *Water.* |
|---|---|
| First 50 units per month, 4 *annas* per unit. | 1,000 gallons *Rs.*1 *As.*14. |
| Next 200 units per month, 3 *annas* per unit. | Meter rent, 8 annas per month. |
| Over 250 units per month, 2 *annas* per unit. | Minimum charge, *Rs.*1 *As.*14 per month. |
| Meter rent 8 *annas* per month. | |
| Minimum charge *Rs.*1 or 4 units per month. | |

## CURRENCY

Local currency in use in Bahrain at the time of writing is the Indian Rupee, worth, at the current rate of exchange, 1/6d. 436

Coinage is as follows :—

12 pice make 1 anna.
4 pies make 1 anna.
16 annas make 1 rupee.

The following coins and notes are in circulation :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 pice (1/12 anna) | copper | 1 rupee | nickel and note |
| 1 pie (¼ anna) | copper | 2 rupees | note |
| 1 anna | nickel and brass | 5 rupees | note |
| 2 annas | nickel and brass | 10 rupees | note |
| 4 annas | nickel | 100 rupees | note |
| 8 annas | nickel | | |

262 439 656 Over the past three years the Government has subsidised the price of meat and dates to the extent of approximately £70,000 -, sugar costing from £6 to £7 10s. has been sold to importers of livestock and dates at £3 15s. per bag.

That this policy has been wise is shown in the figures of imports of livestock during Ramadhan and Shawal 1372, as under :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Ramadhan* 1372 : | Cattle | .. | 1019 head |
| | Sheep and Goats | .. | 13327 " |
| *Shawal*, 1372 | Cattle | .. | 526 " |
| | Sheep and Goats | .. | 10914 " |

The retail prices to the public of beef, mutton, and goat meat in Bahrain are very much cheaper, by half at least, than in the neighbouring countries of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

Fish supplies were more plentiful than in the previous year, with prices again well below neighbouring states :

Imports of consumer goods increased during the year, and there are signs of over-stocking of certain commodities, particularly piece goods, flour, tea and motor cars.

During the year it was noticed there was a downward trend in the price of certain commodities such as timber, iron bars, windows, joists and muraba wood.

Large supplies of fresh fruits arrived in Bahrain from Lebanon, Persia, Australia, America and India, during the year with prices considerably lower than in the previous year.

Although the Government ended rationing during the year, it still maintains a price control on such essential commodities as meat, fish, rice, sugar, flour, wheat, tea and coffee.

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## STATE ENGINEER'S DEPARTMENT

(Report by Mr. D. Brammer, Assoc.I.E.E., M.A.S.E.E., State Engineer)

### The Electricity Undertaking

● 377 655 471 **The Power Station.** A new 750 K.W. Generating Set was completed and put into commission on 10th Ramadhan, increasing the total installed capacity of the station to 3,750 K.W.

Units generated amounted to 10,58,560, an increase of 28 per cent. on the previous year and the electricity supply to the public was maintained without any major interruption.

A notable achievement was the reduction in transmission losses from 13.25 per cent. to 6.26 per cent., a saving of some 360,000 units.

**Mains Department.** The four skilled linesmen who were recruited in India last year were discharged in Dhul Haj. 1372. Their work had become most unsatisfactory. The work of renewal and maintenance proceeded satisfactorily but the rate of connection of new consumers is still far too low and further efforts are now being made to recruit skilled staff in order to speed up this work.

A new underground H.T. cable was laid from the Power Station to "C" Sub-station and the H.T. overhead line between Muharraq Town and the Royal Air Force Station was re-erected and its capacity doubled.

[365] The H.T. underground cable around Muharraq Town was completed giving an extra supply of 320 k.w. to districts which had never before had an electricity supply, and some two miles of L.T. distribution were erected in the town, together with street lights.

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 MZJ Bahrain MZJ

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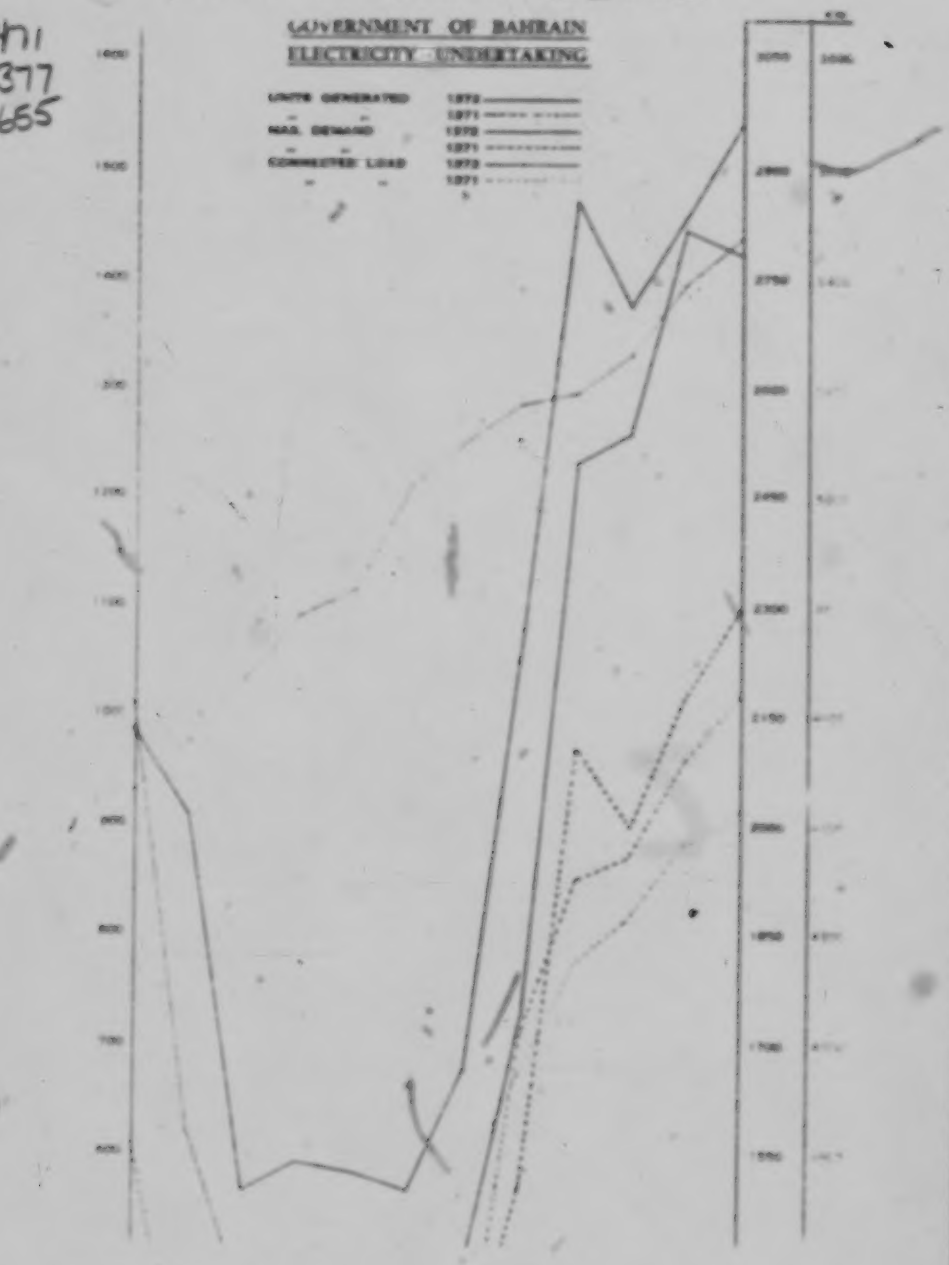


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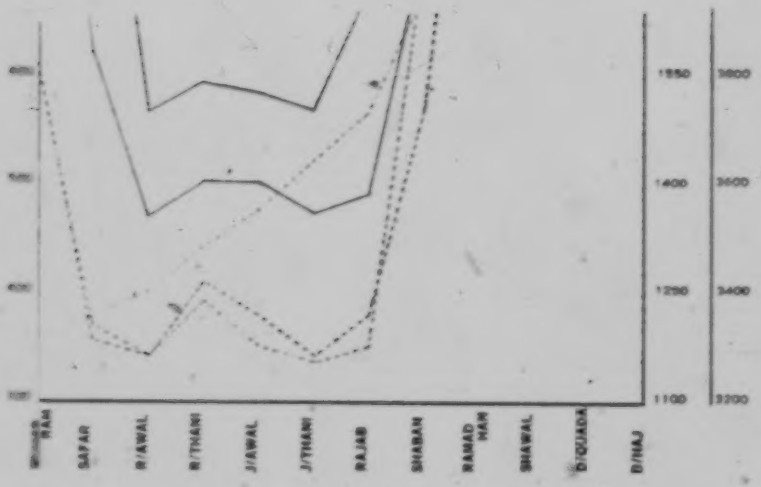


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377 In Manama, Feeder Pillars were erected in various positions about the town and larger transformers installed in many sub-stations to deal with growing loads while larger sized overhead lines were erected in the Al Hadrami Section, Palace Road, Shaikh Daij Road and Shaikh Road. New L.T. Distribution lines were erected in the Quarantine Area and underground cables were laid along Prior Road, Sea Road and Jufair Road. The total capacity of the sub-stations is now 4225 k.v.a. ; 170 new street lamps were erected in various districts and 889 new consumers were connected bringing the total number of consumers to 4514.

The total additional load connected was 1051 k.w.

377 655 **Meter and Consumers Department.** The growth and importance of this Department necessitated an extension to the present premises. The new premises were occupied in Shawal and they consist of two floors with the following accommodation.

(1) Meter Testing and Repairing Room ; (2) Stores for Meters and Meter spares. (3) Office for Installations Staff ; (4) Office for Meter Readers.

In Shawal the meter readers were transferred from the Accounts Department and their supervision and the checking of their work is now the responsibility of the Meter Department. This move should ultimately improve the efficiency of meter reading and accounting.

During the year 1,318 meters were repaired and tested, 1,035 were issued and 57 removed from various premises due to reconstruction, etc. ; 31 consumers complained of excessive electricity consumption and their meters were tested—only ten were found to be inaccurate. Two cases of theft of electrical energy were reported to the Police. 1,385 applications for new electricity supplies were received and at the year-end some 2,266 were still outstanding.

**Wiring, Sales and Services Department.** Electrical Installation work for the following premises was carried out during the year :—

Government Flats, No. 2 Block, Awal Road, Manama.
Government Flats, Sea Road, Muharraq.
Technical School, Manama (additional).
Workers' Houses, Manama.
Tifa Station, Manama.
Dispensary, Muharraq.
Flats over Technical School, Manama.
Government Hospital, Manama (Residence), (additional).
Kindergarten School, Muharraq.
Offices over Government Shops, Barret Road, Manama.
Police Family Quarters, Manama.
Government Transport Petrol Filling Station.
Adviserate, Manama (additional).
Public Works Department, Manama (additional).
Power House, Manama (additional).
H.H. Palace, Quadabiya (additional).
Food Office, Customs, Manama (additional).
New Clerks' Office, Customs, Manama (additional).
Private Male Wards (First Floor) Government Hospital, Manama.
State Engineer's Office and Workshop, Extension, Manama (additional).
Pathological Laboratory, Government Hospital, Manama (additional).
Landing Clerk's Office, Customs, Manama (additional).
Government Hospital, Manama (additional).
Tifa Station, Manama (additional)...
A. Kasam's Residence, Government Hospital, Manama (additional).
Dilmun House, Sea Road, Manama (additional).
Government Coffee Shop, Awal Road, Manama (additional).
Shaikh Ebrahim's House, Quadabiya (additional).
Assistant Electrical Engineer's Residence, Belgrave Road, Manama (additional).
Adviserate Office, Manama (additional).
Government Workshop, Manama (additional).
Police Fort Office, Manama (additional).
Police Station, Manama (additional).
H.H. New Palace, Quadabiya.
Government Flats, Quadabiya.
Customs Sheds, Manama.

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377
655 Six Wiring Contractors' Licences were issued to local merchants bringing the total to 31. Licences were also issued to 12 additional wiremen who had been successful in passing the Department's tests.

**Future Prospects.** When the 750 k.w. Generating Set, now being installed, is put into commission the present Power Station will have reached its full capacity and no further machines will be installed there.

The new scheme, whereby natural gas will be used to generate electric power, is scheduled to commence operating from a new Power Station, situated near the R.N. Wireless Station, Jufair, during the summer of 1373. Initially this station will contain four 1,000 k.w. Gas Engine Generating Sets. The first two of these will operate as Diesel Generating Sets for some twelve months until the natural gas is available from the oil-field.

The Contracting Engineers for this scheme are Messrs. D. and C. and William Press who, at the end of the year had commenced preparing the site for the new Power Station. The project includes for the distribution of ample supplies of electricity to all parts of Bahrain and it is expected that the initial stages will be completed in some two and a half years time.

The distribution of domestic gas is also being considered as a long-term policy.

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651 **Workshops Department.** This Department continued to carry out new work and repairs for all Departments of the Government and many private jobs were undertaken for local firms.

Work for the Government produced a revenue of Rs. 22,310, while private jobs produced Rs. 15,822, showing an overall loss of Rs. 2,218.

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489 **Transport Department.** There was an increase of 25 per cent. over the previous year of the total number of vehicles, mechanical plant, etc., operated by Government Departments and to cope with this increase the Transport Department continued to expand.

495 A Petrol Filling Station was constructed by Public Works Department and opened on the 8th Shawal, 1372, for the issue of Petrol, Oil, Air and Water. All Government vehicles now draw from this point.

Eight lock-up garages for the storage of spare vehicles were constructed and a heavy duty vehicle lift, capable of lifting vehicles weighing up to eight tons, was installed in the main shed.

The total number of vehicles on charge at the end of the year is :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (*a*) | Load-carrying vehicles (Trucks) .. .. .. | 31 |
| (*b*) | Buses, Station Wagons, etc. .. .. .. .. | 13 |
| (*c*) | Pick-ups .. .. .. .. .. .. | 15 |
| (*d*) | Saloon Cars .. .. .. .. .. .. | 25 |
| (*e*) | Land Rovers .. .. .. .. .. | 19 |
| (*f*) | Motor Cycles .. .. .. .. .. | 23 |
| | | 126 |

| | |
|---|---|
| The total number of Launches, Mechanical Plant, Machinery, etc., on charge at end of the year .. .. .. .. | 41 |
| Vehicles written off as being beyond economical repair .. | 10 |
| The total number of new vehicles ordered was .. .. | 33 |
| The total number of new vehicles received was .. .. .. | 38 |
| The total number of service operations carried out on vehicles during the year was .. .. .. .. .. | 3024 |
| The total number of repair jobs, both major and minor, carried out on vehicles, machinery, etc., was .. .. .. | 5887 |

## GOVERNMENT OF BAHRAIN—ELECTRICITY SUPPLY DEPARTMENT

### Statement of Energy Sold, etc., for the Year Ending 30th Dilhaja, 1372

| Total Units Generated | UNITS SOLD | | | Units used at Power Station | Units accounted for | Units lost in Transmission and Transformation | Kilowatts for Public Lighting | Total Kilowatts connected | Total Kilowatts Power Station capacity | Total Kilowatts Maximum Demand on Power Station | Total No. of Street Lamps | Total No. of Consumers |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | By Meter for all purposes | For Public Lighting | Total | | | | | | | | | |
| 10,185,560 | 9,503,927 | 146,411 | 9,650,338 | 298,609 | 9,948,746 | 636,814 | 55 | 5,497 | 3,750 | 2,965 | 530 | 4,514 |

MAINS AND TRANSFORMER LOSSES — 6.26 PER CENT.

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## BAHRAIN ELECTRICAL DEPARTMENT

### BALANCE SHEET AS ON 1st JANUARY, 1954

| Liabilities | | | | Assets | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Capital Account :** | | | | **Plant and Machinery :** | | | |
| Bahrain Government | | 60,50,000 | 0 0 | *Generation Section :* | | | |
| | | | | Power House and Buildings | 7,96,609 0 1 | | |
| **Sundry Creditors :** | | | | Power House Equipment | 75,472 1 7 | | |
| Bahrain Government | 32,077 0 9 | | | Oil Tank | 3,180 14 0 | | |
| Bahrain Petroleum Co | 47,437 8 0 | | | Oil Filter | 7,683 2 2 | | |
| | | 79,514 | 8 9 | Water Distillation Plant | 94,854 13 8 | | |
| | | | | Cooling Tower Equipment | 60,709 9 1 | | |
| **Reserves :** | | | | Engine Set No. 4 | 93,082 2 1 | | |
| Depreciation Reserve | 7,61,090 7 6 | | | Engine Set No. 5 | 1,47,167 4 3 | | |
| Operating Reserve | 4,89,748 11 11 | | | Engine Set No. 6 | 1,46,307 0 1 | | |
| Reserve for Bad Debts | 12,774 0 0 | | | Engine Sets Nos. 7 and 8 | 3,61,569 6 9 | | |
| | | 12,63,613 | 3 5 | Engine Set No. 9 | 3,17,731 4 2 | | |
| Consumers Deposits | | 1,01,432 | 10 0 | Engine Set No. 10 | 2,49,770 13 9 | | |
| | | | | Engine Sets Nos. 11 and 12 | 6,60,086 1 0 | | |
| | | | | | | 30,14,223 8 8 | |
| | | | | *Distribution Section :* | | | |
| | | | | Feeders, Sub-Stations, Switchgear and Distribution Lines | 21,05,326 3 6 | | |
| | | | | Meters | 2,73,723 13 3 | | |
| | | | | | | 23,79,050 0 9 | |
| | | | | Motor Vehicles | | 66,250 0 0 | |
| | | | | | | | 54,59,523 9 5 |
| | | | | **General Stock :** | | | |
| | | | | Stock on hand | 14,17,720 6 8 | | |
| | | | | Stock in transit | 1,24,199 5 6 | | |
| | | | | | | | 15,41,919 12 2 |
| | | | | **Sundry Debtors :** | | | |
| | | | | Energy Debtors | 1,99,111 4 0 | | |
| | | | | Service Debtors | 6,243 0 0 | | |
| | | | | Wiring Debtors | 50,129 6 0 | | |
| | | | | | | | 2,55,483 10 0 |
| | | | | **Cash in Hand :** | | | |
| | | | | Imprest Account | 8,000 0 0 | | |
| | | | | Eastern Bank (Current Account) | 1,28,200 12 7 | | |
| | | | | Eastern Bank (Con. Dep.) | 1,01,432 10 0 | | |
| | | | | | | | 2,37,633 6 7 |
| | | Rs. 74,94,560 | 6 2 | | | | Rs. 74,94,560 6 2 |

## BAHRAIN ELECTRICAL DEPARTMENT

### SUB-DIVIDED RECAPITULATED PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT FOR 1372 AND PERIOD ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1951

| ELECTRICAL SECTION — Expenditure | | | | Receipts | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Generation* | | | | *Revenue* | | | |
| Materials, Maintenance and Repairs | 5,37,173 | 8 | 11 | Sales of energy and rental of Meters | | | 17,64,322 6 0 |
| Establishment Costs | 2,36,764 | 14 | 2 | | | | |
| Insurance | 23,095 | 12 | 0 | | | | |
| Depreciation—Power House and Buildings | 19,513 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Power House Equipment | 3,774 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Oil Tank | 80 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Oil Filters | 480 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Water Distillation Plant | 5,928 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Cooling Tower and Equipment | 6,070 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Engine Set No. 4 | 7,757 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Engine Set No. 5 | 12,264 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Engine Set No. 6 | 9,144 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Engine Sets Nos. 7 and 8 | 22,598 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Engine Set No. 9 | 19,858 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Engine Set No. 10 | 25,615 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Engine Sets Nos. 11 and 12 | 10,314 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| | | | 9,28,229 3 1 | | | | |
| *Distribution* | | | | | | | |
| Materials, Maintenance and Repairs | 1,08,832 | 6 | 10 | | | | |
| Establishment Costs | 2,08,683 | 11 | 1 | | | | |
| Depreciation—Feeders, Sub-Stations, Switchgears and Lines | 1,05,266 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| | | | 4,22,782 1 11 | | | | |
| *Meters* | | | | | | | |
| Maintenance and Repairs | 6,032 | 2 | 0 | | | | |
| Establishment Costs | 43,332 | 9 | 0 | | | | |
| Depreciation | 13,686 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| | | | 63,050 11 0 | | | | |
| NET PROFIT | | | 3,30,260 6 0 | | | | |
| | | Rs. | 17,64,322 6 0 | | | Rs. | 17,64,322 6 0 |

| WIRING AND MISCELLANEOUS JOBS | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Materials | 3,37,215 | 0 | 6 | *Revenue* | | | |
| Establishment Costs | 60,839 | 5 | 9 | Wiring, Sundry Sales and Sundry Jobs | | | 3,38,225 8 0 |
| | | | 3,98,054 6 3 | Service | | | 39,065 12 0 |
| NETT PROFIT | | | 13,236 13 9 | | | | |
| | | Rs. | 4,11,291 4 0 | | | Rs. | 4,11,291 4 0 |

| RECAPITULATION | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NETT PROFIT—Added to Operating Reserve | | | 3,43,497 3 9 | NETT PROFIT—Electrical Section | | | 3,30,260 6 0 |
| | | | | NETT PROFIT—Wiring Section | | | 13,236 13 9 |
| | | Rs. | 3,43,497 3 9 | | | Rs. | 3,43,497 3 9 |

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871 which caused considerable resentment among the Shias, although at that time the proportion of Shias at the Government schools was much lower than it is now. If more care had been given to the selection of the candidates, this experiment would have been more successful. The boys remained at Beyrout for two years; a longer course would have been more useful to them but, mainly owing to financial reasons, the Government decided not to extend their time.

Some years have now passed since these boys returned to Bahrain, and the result of their education can now be seen. In my opinion, it was successful in the case of three of the boys, moderately successful in the case of three, and a complete failure in the case of one boy. If the boys had been younger when they left Bahrain, I believe that the experiment would have been a complete success.

871 6/4 **Education of the Ruling Family.** In 1925, Shaikh Hamad allowed two of his sons to go as boarders to the American Mission school in Basrah. They stayed there for one term and did not return to school.

In 1930 a tutor was obtained from India to teach Shaikh Hamad's younger sons. He was well recommended and highly qualified and had previously been in charge of an Indian princeling. Although the tutor worked hard under difficult conditions and did his best to teach his pupils, it was soon apparent that his employment was a waste of his time and of the Government's money. The tutor lived in Shaikh Hamad's house, but the boys were disinclined to work and so did nothing. It was impossible to bring any compulsion on them to do their lessons. The experiment was a complete failure and, after completing one year, the tutor's agreement was not renewed.

871 185 **Future Development of Education.** There is danger in the creation of a class of semi-educated young men in Bahrain who, because they have a little learning, regard themselves as too superior to do manual work and who will become too many to find employment of a clerical nature. The people, however, especially the Shias, are urgent in their demands for increased education, and more schools, and in reply to this the Government intends to open more small country schools in the villages. A knowledge of reading, writing, and simple arithmetic is all that is needed by boys from the villages, most of whom will eventually become divers, cultivators, and fishermen. In these occupations, school education is unnecessary, though for divers and fishermen a knowledge of figures is some assurance against being swindled.

Boys who attend the town schools in Manamah and Muharraq are mostly sons of shopkeepers, merchants, and pearl traders, and many of them enter their fathers' shops and offices, where they benefit from a knowledge of accounts, book-keeping, and the more advanced education which is given at the two big schools.

If the newly started technical classes are successful, the Government will develop this experiment and, if possible, introduce more subjects which will provide lucrative employment for trained boys when they leave school. It should be possible for boys who have learned carpentry, etc., at school to secure employment with the Bahrain Petroleum Company in place of some of the many foreign artisans who are now employed by the Company.

## ELECTRIC DEPARTMENT

● 377 653 **Original Installation.** The possibility of introducing electricity in Manamah was first considered over ten years ago, and for some time funds were set aside for the purpose; it was not, however, till 1928 that any action was taken by the Government. That year the services of Mr. Stevenson, electrical inspector in Sind, were obtained in an advisory capacity and a scheme was prepared by him in Bahrain, together with plans for the layout and a rough specification. Bahrain was then in a prosperous condition, and it was estimated that the initial load would be not less than 2,000 lamps and 200 fans. The people in Manamah were anxious to form a public company, but after consideration this suggestion was dropped, and eventually it was decided that the scheme was to be undertaken by the Government and the Manamah Municipality.

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A number of well-known firms were invited to tender, but all seemed to consider Bahrain too far off the beaten track, except Callender's Cable and Construction Company who, on their own initiative, sent a representative to Bahrain to examine the prospect. In the summer of 1928, I and Mr. Stevenson discussed the scheme with several electrical engineering companies in London, but none of them were interested. Finally, Callenders' submitted a complete tender, which was accepted by the Government in the spring of 1929; the tender was for £30,407/- and included the power-house, plant, and the installation in Manamah town. In September, 1929, Mr. Jordan, Callenders' resident engineer, arrived, and the power-house was opened and the supply commenced on 11th May.

Unfortunately, during the time between the decision to install electricity and the completion of the work, the prosperity of Bahrain declined. An abnormally bad year on the pearl market resulted in general trade depression and a falling off in revenue. Only 1,200 lights and 200 fans were ordered or installed, and this included street lighting and lights and fans in Government and Municipal buildings.

**Muharraq Extension.** The following year it was decided to extend the electric power to Muharraq. The people of Muharraq protested, with some justification, that they should be allowed to share in the benefit of the scheme which had been paid for out of public funds, to which Muharraq, almost as large a town as Manamah, had contributed a large proportion. Callenders' submitted a tender which was accepted by the Government after obtaining the advice of the Chief Engineer, Iraq. The final amount was for Rs 53,000/-. The extension consisted of a high tension tubular pole line (3,300 volts) along the route of the causeway which was being built between Manamah and Muharraq, with a submarine cable across the deep water channel.

**Share of Municipalities.** The Manamah Municipality had paid 20% of the original capital expenditure, and when Muharraq was added to the scheme the Muharraq Municipality contributed a similar share: 20% of the original expenditure and also 20% of the Muharraq extension, to which Manamah also contributed its share of 20%. The cost of the completed scheme was divided between the Government and the two Municipalities, the Government having 60% interest and the two Municipalities each 20%.

**Progress.** At the end of 1349 (May 1931) the total number of houses wired was 222; 1,497 lamps and 268 fans had been installed. There was a total loss during the year of Rs 27,000/-, but out of this sum Rs 22,000/- represented depreciation, which had perhaps been assessed at an unnecessarily high rate. During the following year there was a slight increase in consumers, but the result of the Muharraq extension was disappointing; 280 points were connected during the year. Electric power was used when an ice plant, which had been acquired by the Manamah Municipality, was installed in the power-house; a reduced rate was charged for power used in the plant as it was regarded as a public utility concern.

**State Engineer.** In October 1931, Mr. W. B. Steele, of Callenders' Cable and Construction Company, who had worked for some months in Bahrain as the Company's executive engineer, was appointed as State Engineer to the Bahrain Government. From that date Callenders' ceased to work the electric supply in Bahrain, and the Government also took over all wiring and installation work which has produced a small profit, although the price was kept low in order to encourage consumers. The loss in 1350 (1931-32) was Rs 32,000/-, of which Rs 27,000/- was depreciation. The expenditure during the year included several non-recurrent items such as passages for Callenders' engineer, rent of house, etc. The actual loss on running was about Rs 3,000/-.

**Progress.** In 1351 (1932-33), though the revenue increased by approximately Rs 5,000/-, there was a loss on running of Rs 5,800/-, not including depreciation which amounted to Rs 20,000/-. A small showroom was opened at the office of the Electric Department for the sale of electrical apparatus. Although the number of lights increased

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considerably, there was not a corresponding increase in revenue owing to the use of cheap low-power Japanese lamps which were bought by the public in place of the more powerful lights which had originally been installed.

In 1352 (1933-34) there was a further increase in revenue: 415 more points were connected and power was used for refrigerators, water-pumps, etc. The Electric Department acquired the sole agency for International General Electric Company's refrigerators which, after experiments with other makes, were found to be the most satisfactory. The increase continued through 1353 (1934-35); revenue from sale of energy amounted to Rs 6,000/- more than during the previous year, but, unfortunately, owing to an experiment which was made by a temporary engineer, there was a loss of over Rs 5,000/- on wiring. A reduction in the price per point resulted in wiring being carried out by the department at an actual loss, and the amount involved was considerable, as the department had undertaken a large amount of wiring work for the Bahrain Petroleum Company in addition to the normal work in Manamah and Muharraq. A large quantity of material was ordered at the same time in expectation of wiring orders which did not materialise.

**First Profitable Year.** In 1354 (1935-36) the Electric Department made a profit of Rs 4,800/- after covering all charges including depreciation. Sixty new premises were wired, 302 lighting points and 33 fans were installed, and the load increased by 27 kilowatts. The department carried out all the wiring work for the naval base at Jufair and also put in a land telegraph line from the wireless office to the terminus of the subterranean cable on the coast west of Manamah.

In 1355 (1936-37), the seventh year of the undertaking, the net profit was Rs 16,757/-, the load increased by 58 kilowatts, and 91 new premises were wired. A new one-ton ice plant was installed, the existing supply being found insufficient for local requirements, and indications appeared that the public were beginning to use electric power commercially, for example, in carpentry, etc. A three-phase line and underground cable was run from Naim to the new direction-finding station installed by Cable & Wireless Limited, and underground mains replaced the overhead lines in the customs square. During the winter months the generating sets were run continuously, for the first time, in order to encourage the use of power appliances.

**Future Prospects.** It can be reasonably assumed that during the next two or three years the load will increase. There are still a large number of houses which are not provided with electric light, and all new houses, especially those which are built for letting, are nowadays fitted with electric light. During the last year the two engines have frequently been running at the same time in order to cope with peak loads. This is undesirable and dangerous. It is now proposed to instal a third engine consisting of one 300 BHP Mirrlees set which will obviate any possibility of a breakdown and which will provide for future expansion.

A reduction in the rate charged for heating appliances was made during 1355 (1936-37), but it has not yet been possible to reduce the cost of the unit for lighting or cost of power for other purposes. It may be possible to effect a reduction during the year 1357 (1938-39).

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**Telephone System.** In 1351 (1932-33) a public telephone was opened in Manamah, and by the end of the first year twelve lines had been connected and two were in course of erection. The telephone exchange was installed in a room above the Police Station, which was both a safe and central position. Two young men from the schools were trained by the State Engineer as operators. The yearly rent for a telephone, with an unlimited number of calls, was Rs 150/-, which was reduced after two years to Rs 125/-, as it was found possible to reduce the rent and still allow a small profit from the undertaking.

In 1353 (1934-35) an extension of the telephone system was run from the exchange to the aerodrome in Muharraq in conjunction with the Imperial Airways Company, which paid for this additional line. In 1354 (1935-36) the exchange was connected to the Bahrain Petroleum Company Limited telephone system by a trunk line, and another line was erected to the naval base at Jufair. In 1355 (1936-37) a new exchange of 25 lines was installed in Manamah, and a day and night service was instituted. At the end of 1355 (1936-37) it was decided to connect the

315 of the ground below the surface of Bahrain, believed that oil was present
471 in the islands in commercial quantities and so obtained from the Ruler, on December 2nd, 1925, a prospecting concession which was to run for two years. During this period Holmes tried to interest British oil companies in the petroleum possibilities of Bahrain, but their experts declared that there was no oil in Bahrain and that it would be a poor gamble to start operations in that country. Finally Major Holmes went to the States and on November 30th, 1927, an American corporation, the Eastern Gulf Company, acquired a two years option. After negotiations which involved the Foreign Office and the State Department, for Bahrain was a protected State, and after discussions between various important oil interests, the Eastern Gulf Company assigned its option over the Bahrain concession to the Standard Oil Company of California. On August 1st, 1930 the concession was assigned by Standard Oil to its fully owned subsidiary, the Bahrain Petroleum Company Ltd. (BAPCO), which was registered in Canada in order to give it the status of a British company. Such are the politics of oil that it had taken five years for an oil company to be formed to develop Bahrain's oil, and had it not been for the enterprise of an American company, which took up the concession after it had been refused by the British, the oil of Bahrain might never have been exploited.

315 Directly the concession was signed, surveying and drilling operations
382 were commenced and in 1932 the first well "came in." This well can be seen immediately south of Awali and is still producing. By 1935 there were sixteen producing wells and six more drilling. It was then decided that the crude oil should be processed in Bahrain, and in the following year the first small distillation unit was erected and put into operation. A year later the capacity of the refinery was expanded to 25,000 barrels a day. The refinery was continually enlarged and improved so that finally it was able to process more crude than was forthcoming from the Bahrain field. A 12" pipeline was therefore laid from the Dammam field on the coast of Saudi Arabia to the refinery, a distance of 34 miles, of which 17 were under the sea, making it the longest private pipeline of its kind in the world. Having expanded the refinery it became necessary to improve the shipping facilities to speed the export of oil products so a three mile jetty was constructed from Sitra Island to the deep water, at the head of which a four berth pier was built to add to the existing two-berth island loading wharf. Rows of pipes carry crude oil and refined products to the waiting ships while huge freight trailers carry drums for bulk package loading. Each month 70-80 ocean vessels are alongside the wharves removing some 4½ million barrels of bulk exports and 60,000 drums of refined products and asphalt. The drums are made in the Sitra drum plant, manned entirely by Bahrainis.

At present the activities of the company are carried out in four parts of Bahrain, at Awali, at the Jebal, at the Refinery and on Sitra Island.

At Awali are the offices and the homes of the European employees of BAPCO, while outside the fence is the Arab camp for the few Bahrainis who prefer to live there rather than in their own towns and villages. Near Awali's eastern gate is the Training School for Bahrainis, where something is done to equip them for higher posts in the company. This is a field of activity which the company is beginning to develop and it is very important that is should succeed.

South of Awali, in the desert around the Jebal ad-Dukhan, is the oil field, the *raison d'etre* of BAPCO, an unimpressive area with many little squares of cement decorated with taps and valves and surrounded by low fences, which are the oil wells, while here and there derricks mark the search for more oil which is always in progress.

After the Abadan Refinery the one on Bahrain is the largest in the Middle East and supplies large quantities of refined products to India, Pakistan, East Africa and other countries "East of Suez." During the day it would be difficult to describe the refinery as anything but a large and ugly mass of iron and steel, with the great Cat. Cracker rising above the squat silver tanks. The air is hot and dusty and in the summer the iron-work is so hot that to touch it raises blisters ; but in the evening the refinery takes on the appearance of a slightly shapeless but nevertheless well decorated Christmas Tree, covered in lights and set against a background of flares of burning gas which illuminate the sky like a lurid orange back-cloth.

The Sitra anchorage has at all times an appearance of feverish activity, it is being improved so that it will be possible to load ships and tankers round the clock. In order to do this the jetty is being floodlit with great arc lamps.

On low-lying Sitra Island all that can be seen from the sea are the storage tanks, it is only on approaching nearer that the island itself becomes visible. The Tank Farm spreads across the middle of Sitra, and as it expands it threatens to cut the island in two. To the south of the Tank Farm is a large group of buildings from which a crashing sound is continually heard ; this is the Drum Plant. Further evidence of this is present in the thousands of newly painted drums that are piled in huge rows near the plant.

The oil industry is directed from the main office in Awali, where from air-conditioned coolness in the summer and air-conditioned warmth in the winter instructions go out to all parts of Bahrain where BAPCO has its installations. Bahrain is well situated for an oil industry. The oil wells are about eight miles from the Refinery, which itself is scarcely more than half that distance from the Pier and Tank Farm, while from Awali it is possible to see on a clear day both the Refinery and the Field. The radio-telephone and the aeroplane used in other Middle Eastern fields have no place in Bahrain where phones and cars are quite sufficent.

Of the 7,749 workers employed by BAPCO at the end of 1951, 4,937 were Bahrainis and 1,035 were British, American and other

Europeans. For the latter the company provides many amenities. In the town of Awali there is a cinema, a club and other recreational facilities. There is a Commissary for the supply of foods and goods unobtainable elsewhere in Bahrain; a school for American and European children with qualified teachers and hospitals for the various nationalities employed by BAPCO. A cinema, swimming bath and mosque are also being constructed in the Arab Camp, and a swimming bath and cinema in the Indian and Pakistani camp at Rifaa. The company also maintains dispensaries in some of the villages and has built three schools for the Bahrain Government. There is cordial co-operation between the Bahrain Government and BAPCO in all fields of social service and although it may seem strange that an oil company should be encouraged to occupy itself with so many activities not directly connected with the production of oil, yet it is now recognised in the Middle East that it is an obligation of oil companies not only to work for their shareholders but also for the benefit of the people of the country from which they derive their profits.

In 1940 a Supplementary Agreement was signed between the Ruler and the Bahrain Petroleum Company in which the latter received an extension to its concession including all lands, shoals, reefs, waters and submerged lands of "the present and future domains" of the Ruler of Bahrain.

It is a comparatively rare thing for people visiting Bahrain to see the actual oil which has made the Islands famous, gone are the days when to "strike oil" meant that a huge gusher of oil would leap skywards covering everything about it with what is termed, in the hackneyed phrase of the journalist, "black gold." Today the drilling of a well is normally a tidy process ; when oil is struck the drillers have complete control over its flow and quickly cap the well with a "Christmas Tree," the nickname for the mass of taps and valves which are placed over the well head. From the well the oil is piped to the Refinery and then to the storage tanks at Sitra. But in every part of its processing little is seen of the oil except by the workers in the laboratories.

The oil industry today is the most important factor in Bahrain's economy and is recognised as such by the Government and the people of the country.

## CHAPTER VI

## JEWELS OF THE DEEP

Pearl diving is probably the oldest industry in Bahrain and has been the reason why an otherwise small and comparatively unproductive group of islands has been the scene of so many bitter wars and has been over-run by so many invading armies. From earliest times Bahrain has been famous for its pearls ; in an Assyrian inscription of some 2000 B.C. a parcel of "fish eyes" from Dilmun is believed to be

to the days when the Rulers of Bahrain lived here and ruled the Islands from the castle. Below the fortresss is the spring of Hanani, whose water is the best in Bahrain, and a plain where, in the rainy season, a small lake forms and on disappearing leaves in its place a bright lawn of grass. Rifaa has been expanding rapidly during recent years, the town is spreading to the south-east, and it now possesses boys' and girls' schools and a Municipality. Some members of the Ruling Family still live in the town which has expanded owing to the development of the oil industry, in which some 500 of its male inhabitants are working.

The situation of the town is ideal for strategical purposes, from it it is possible to see Manama, Muharraq and Sitra while the land around it is free of vegetation which could have served to hide the enemy. It has an excellent climate and is drier than Manama in the summer. To the north of the town are two small graves where members of the Khalifah family are buried; these fell in battle during a civil war which took place in the 19th century.

There is a tradition connected with the fortress of Rifaa. It is said to have been built in the 17th century by the Wazir of the then Ruler, a certain Shaikh Jabbara. For years the Ruler and his wazir worked together, but one day the Shaikh was told about the beauty of the wazir's wife, and he desired her. He was tricked into believing that he had visited her, though in fact he was entertained by her maid-servant. He was so angry at the deception, about which the wazir knew nothing, that he killed him. The Wazir's widow thereupon fled from Rifaa to the mainland, from where she wrote to the Shah of Persia sending him a minature palm tree of pearls and gold and saying that so rich was Bahrain that such a tree was given to a child as a toy. She succeeded in exciting the avarice of the Persian Shah, who sent an army to Bahrain, defeated and killed Shaikh Jabbara, and annexed the Islands to Persia, thus avenging the Wazir's wife. This same Shaikh Jabbara is said to have lived in the fort of Arad, south-east of the Jebel, which is mentioned in Chapter VIII.

There is a third Rifaa, a small community built by BAPCO for its Indian and Pakstani employees; this is mentioned in the Chapter on Bahrain's Oil.

### AWALI

Meaning "The High Places," this name was given by Shaikh Hamed, the late Ruler of Bahrain, to the oil camp when it was first established in its present location. Before the oil company arrived in Bahrain the site was deserted—for who would live in the middle of a waterless desert? But the company wanted to build their town near the oil field, and so the small, 240 foot, hill was chosen. Today Awali somewhat resembles a London surburb or a small American town. As in London, varied gardens and different coloured exteriors of the houses serve to disguise their basic similarity. In these gardens children play while their mothers chat to each other over the fences. Happy

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laughter comes from the Club House Swimming Bath and in the evenings sports of all kinds take place inside the camp. Today Awali is a town of some 400 houses inhabited by 2,000 Europeans and Americans. Shady trees line the roads and in fact there is little to suggest the presence of oil. The roads are surfaced with it, but otherwise it is not visible, though oil is the *raison d'etre* of this town set in such an inhospitable situation, to which water has to be piped from miles away and where to plant a tree a pneumatic drill is required to pierce the rock on which the town is built.

### SAKHIR

Driving from Awali to Zellaq the traveller will notice a group of large buildings on the south of the road near the foot of the Jebal. This is Sakhir, founded by Shaikh Muhammad bin Khalifa (1843-67, d. 1890), but the majority of buildings which exist today were built by the late Ruler of Bahrain. The present Ruler makes little use of Sakhir, and the attractive mosques, balconied dwelling houses and high roofed rooms are now deserted ; the only human beings who remain are the Bedouin in charge of the horses and camels which are still kept there. The climate of Sakhir is excellent and in the spring there are fields of grass which provide grazing both for domestic animals, gazelle and hare. When Sakhir was occupied Saluqis were much in evidence, Shaikh Hamed was a great lover of this fine breed of dogs and his favourite hound, Housha, followed him wherever he went. It should be remembered that Sakhir is the private property of the Ruler, from whom permission must be obtained before it is visited.

### JEBAL AD-DUKHAN

The "Mountain" of Bahrain has already been mentioned in the Introduction, but it deserves further notice. From its peak, which is marked by a trigonometry marker, it is possible to see, on a clear day, the entire area of Bahrain from Manama and Muharraq on the north to Ras al-Barr, while on the east and west the sea is even nearer. From the peak an excellent bird's eye view of Awali can be seen, and, at night, the flares at Dhahran and at Dukhan in Qatar are visible. The strange formation of the island, with the rim-rock and the central depression can be seen from the Jebal. At the head of a wadi facing towards Awali is the Jebal cave, some 15 × 35 × 6 ft., which is hollowed out of the rock, probably by water erosion for the fantastic patterns on the walls would seem to point to nature's rather than man's handiwork.

### JAW AND DOUR (DAR AL-MANADIL)

On the east coast of Bahrain about a mile south of the highest peak of the Jebal are the villages of Dour and Jaw, similar in character and appearance and the southernmost inhabited villages on the east coast of Bahrain. The villages are about a mile apart and both are on the shore, they consist of a poor type of stone and gypsum hut inhabited

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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The Refinery. Photo : Bahrain Petroleum Company.

529

Qasari Pool. Photo : Sir Charles Belgrave.

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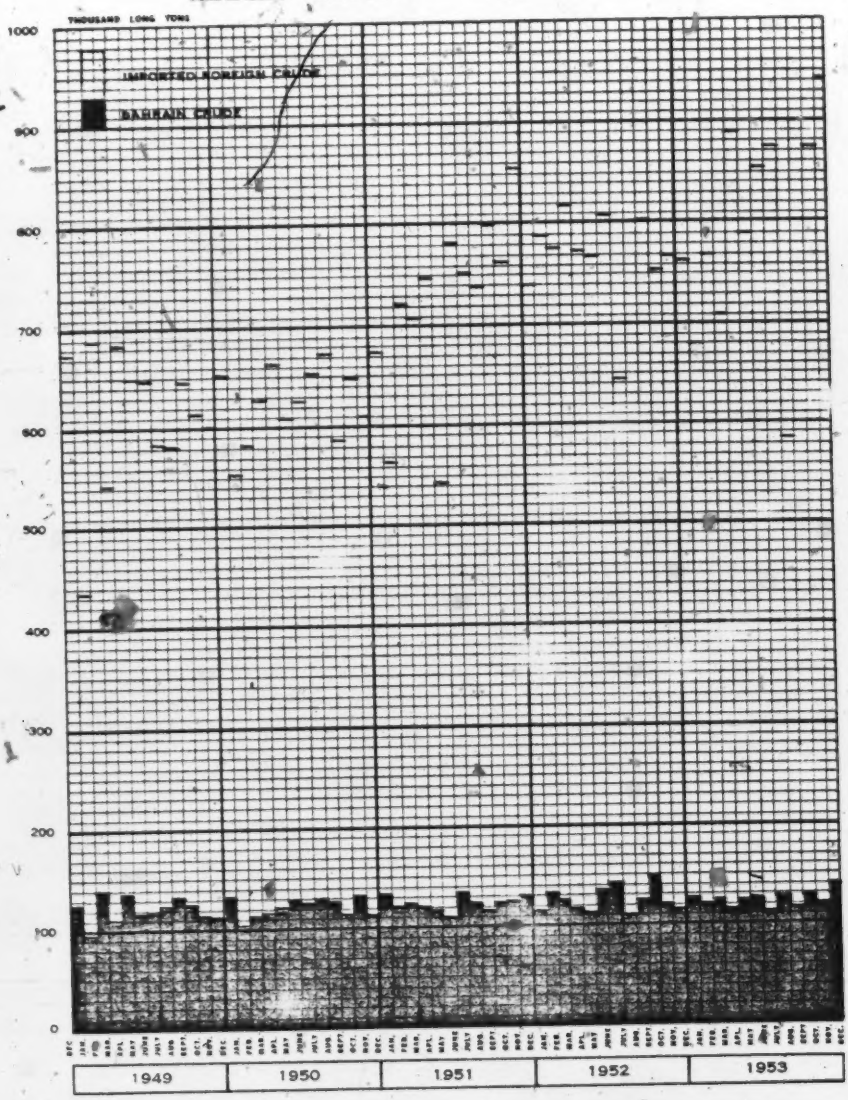
## REFINERY THROUGHPUT. BAHRAIN 1949-1953.




[facing page 50 a]

CASH RECEIPTS RETURN—1372

| | | Rs. | As. |
|---|---|---|---|
| TRANSFER FEES | .. .. .. .. .. | 686 | — |
| TAXATION FEES | .. .. .. .. .. | 89,606 | 1 |
| NUMBER PLATES | .. .. .. .. .. | 2,397 | — |
| LICENCE HOLDERS | .. .. .. .. .. | 663 | 8 |
| DRIVING LICENCES | .. .. .. .. .. | 14,525 | — |
| LICENCE BOOKS | .. .. .. .. .. | 1,922 | — |
| TAXI BADGES | .. .. .. .. .. | 75 | — |
| DRIVING TESTS—Fees | .. .. .. .. .. | 6,650 | — |
| LICENCE LATE FEES | .. .. .. .. .. | 335 | 8 |
| PEDAL CYCLE TAX | .. .. .. .. .. | 1,697 | — |
| HIRE OF "L" PLATES | .. .. .. .. .. | 99 | — |
| LEARNERS LICENCE PERMITS | .. .. .. | 1,063 | 8 |
| REGISTRATION LATE FEES | .. .. .. .. | 2,312 | — |
| REGISTRATION INFORMATIO | .. .. .. | 3 | — |
| PUBLIC CONVEYANCE LICENCE | .. .. .. | 865 | — |
| TAXI DRIVERS LICENCES | .. .. .. .. | 853 | 8 |
| TRADERS LICENCES | .. .. .. .. .. | 2,175 | — |
| | Total | Rs. 1,25,929 | 1 |

## OIL INSPECTION DEPARTMENT

(Report by Mr. G. B. Thompson, Government Oil Inspector)

The Refinery throughput of Bahrain Crude Oil remained about the same as the previous year, but the total Refinery throughput, including both Bahrain Crude Oil and Imported Foreign Crude Oil, increased from 9,254,140 Long Tons in 1952, to a figure of 9,634,390 Long Tons in 1953. The actual figures being :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bahrain Crude Oil | .. .. | 1,480,638 Long Tons |
| Imported Foreign Crude Oil | .. | 8,173,751 Long Tons |

There was a slight drop in the number of ship cargo inspections carried out :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1952 | .. | 178 Ships, 476 Parcels, 1,741,861 Long Tons |
| 1953 | .. | 170 Ships, 463 Parcels, 1,628,045 Long Tons |

The term "Imported Foreign Crude Oil" has been used in place of the term "Arabian Crude Oil," used in previous years, the change having been made to allow inclusion of two shipments of Sumatran Crude made late in 1953, which were successfully processed through the Refinery.

Graphs showing the Refinery throughput and the Ship Inspection figures for the last five years are included. *

In 1944 U. S. imports from Bahrein amounted to $30,859, most of which was classified in Group 9 (Miscellaneous) by the Department of Commerce. Of the total imports the New York Customs District received $27,551, or almost 90%. The total of the exports to Bahrein from the United States in the same year was $12,369,647, of which lend-lease materials accounted for $293,786.

The following table shows the principal articles which Bahrein imported from the United States for the year 1944.

Table 7. IMPORTS FROM UNITED STATES—1944

| Item | Value (in U.S. Dollars) |
|---|---|
| Animals and Animal products | 323,846 |
| Vegetables and Vegetable beverages | 320,318 |
| Vegetable products (except Wood and Fibers) | 155,188 |
| Textile fibers and manufactures | 104,808 |
| Non-metallic minerals | 545,221 |
| Metals and manufactures (except Machinery) | 3,823,521 |
| Machinery and Vehicles (Electric pumps, Engines) | 5,434,105 |
| Chemicals and Related products | 1,023,226 |
| Miscellaneous | 188,129 |

## OIL

The oil concession on Bahrein Island is held by the Bahrein Petroleum Company, which is Canadian registered but owned by American companies, 50% by Standard Oil of California and 50% by The Texas Company.[1]

After a geological survey the company began drilling in 1931 in the Jabal Dukhān region, and oil was discovered in June 1932 at a depth of 2,009 feet.

By 1935 there were sixteen producing wells and six more drilling. At that time more than 10,000 acres had been proved oil bearing and potential production was estimated at 20,000

1. For a detailed account of the history of oil development in the Persian Gulf, see History, p. 103.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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barrels a day. At present there are sixty-seven producing wells each with an average output of 432 barrels a day.[1] Previously, in February 1932, the company had started the construction of a marine loading terminal with three miles (19,000 feet) of twelve inch pipeline leading from the small island of Sitra out into the harbor.

On the same island, construction was also begun on three crude-oil working tanks with floating roofs, with a capacity of 250,000 barrels, and on 7,500 barrel tanks for ships ballast water. At present, thirteen oil lines varying in size from six to eighteen inches connect the shipping tank farm on Sitra Island to a deep-water pier. Recently a new four-berth wharf situated in six to seven fathoms of water was added to the original two-berth island wharf and connected to the shore by a two-way-lane causeway and trestle. Using both wharfs, six tankers can be accommodated at one time, with a possible loading rate of about 5,000 barrels per hour.

In November 1934 Standard Oil announced the erection of a refinery to the terminal requiring a fill, or trestle, 1200 feet long. A drawbridge was built across the channel between Sitra and Bahrein, and the refinery went into operation in July 1935.

The yearly production of crude oil increased from 902 barrels in 1932 to 1,264,807 in 1935, more than 7,309,135 in 1945 and 8,009,925 in 1946.[2] Production of crude oil for 1947 amounted to 9,410,710 barrels, an all time high, bringing the cumulative total of oil produced through 1947 to 87,965,025 barrels. The 1949 production amounted to 10,985,484 barrels.[3]

---

1. Compare with 440,000 oil wells in the United States averaging 11.5 barrels a day each.

2. Oil production of Near Eastern countries (in thousands of barrels), according to the *World Oil Atlas*, June 1947, was as follows:

| Country | 1944 | 1945 | 1946 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bahrein | 7,000 | 7,308 | 8,009 |
| Saudi Arabia | 9,000 | 21,310 | 60,340 |
| Iran | 102,000 | 127,407 | 144,890 |
| Iraq | 29,000 | 31,349 | 32,777 |
| U. S. production | 1,678,000 | 1,712,000 | 1,732,000 |

3. One barrel = 42 U. S. gallons.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

382 The Bahrein refinery had been conducted for several years in a balanced crude oil distillation, thermal cracking and refinery operation. Because of the strategic location of the fields, the Petroleum Administration for War recommended in 1942 the erection of a 5800 barrel aviation gasoline plant on Bahrein. In April 1943, the American-British Petroleum Board approved an expansion program which included the building of a new crude distillation unit to raise the total crude intake capacity of the refinery by 33,500 barrels a day. The building of a reformer and additional tankage were authorized in December 1943, to provide an additional 700 barrels a day of aviation gasoline and increased production of 80-octane gasoline, Navy Diesel oil, and Navy Special fuel oil.

Building of a 100-octane refinery started early in 1944. The new crude oil unit went into operation in November of the same year, and the alkylation unit and catalytic cracking plant in March and April of 1945 respectively. A construction force of 750 Americans and 4,000 Bahreinis was engaged on the project for a period of eighteen months. Bechtel-McCone of San Francisco were engaged to design a substantial portion of the equipment; Universal Oil Products Company of Chicago designed the fluid-type catalytic cracker and reformer, and Chemical Construction, the acid manufacturing and acid recovery plants. The final cost of the project, originally estimated at $18,430,000, amounted by June 1945 to over $27,650,000; it was financed by the RFC through its Defense Supplies Corporation.

The output of the plant consists at present of 100-octane gas, 67 to 80-octane motor fuels, illuminating kerosene, power kerosene, Diesel oils, and fuel oils. By the end of 1947 the refinery was processing crude oil at the rate of 145,000 barrels per calendar day, double the rate of 1945.

Since the crude oil production of Bahrein is about 30,000 barrels a day,[1] the refinery receives the rest, some 120,000

1. Daily average production for December 1949 was 30,310 bbls. against 29,986 bbls. in December 1948.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

barrels, from Saudi Arabian oil fields through a twelve inch, thirty-four mile pipeline. The pipeline, which was completed March 2, 1945, is under water for almost two-thirds of its length, (23.6 miles), making it the world's longest commercial submarine pipeline. During 1947 an additional twelve inch pipeline was hooked up to the portion on land bringing the total capacity to 126,000 barrels per day. To provide more flexible operations, a new 55,000 BPCD atmospheric crude unit is scheduled to be completed in the fall of 1950. However, an increase in throughout capacity (56,059,700 in 1949) is not anticipated.

At the end of 1947 the oil company employed 6,078 persons in the islands. The Bahreinis numbered 4,650, or 76.5% of the total. The rest were 11.6% British; 10.5% British subjects, Indians and Iraquis; and the remaining 1.4% Americans, Canadians, South Africans, and Europeans. Of the last, half were Italians.

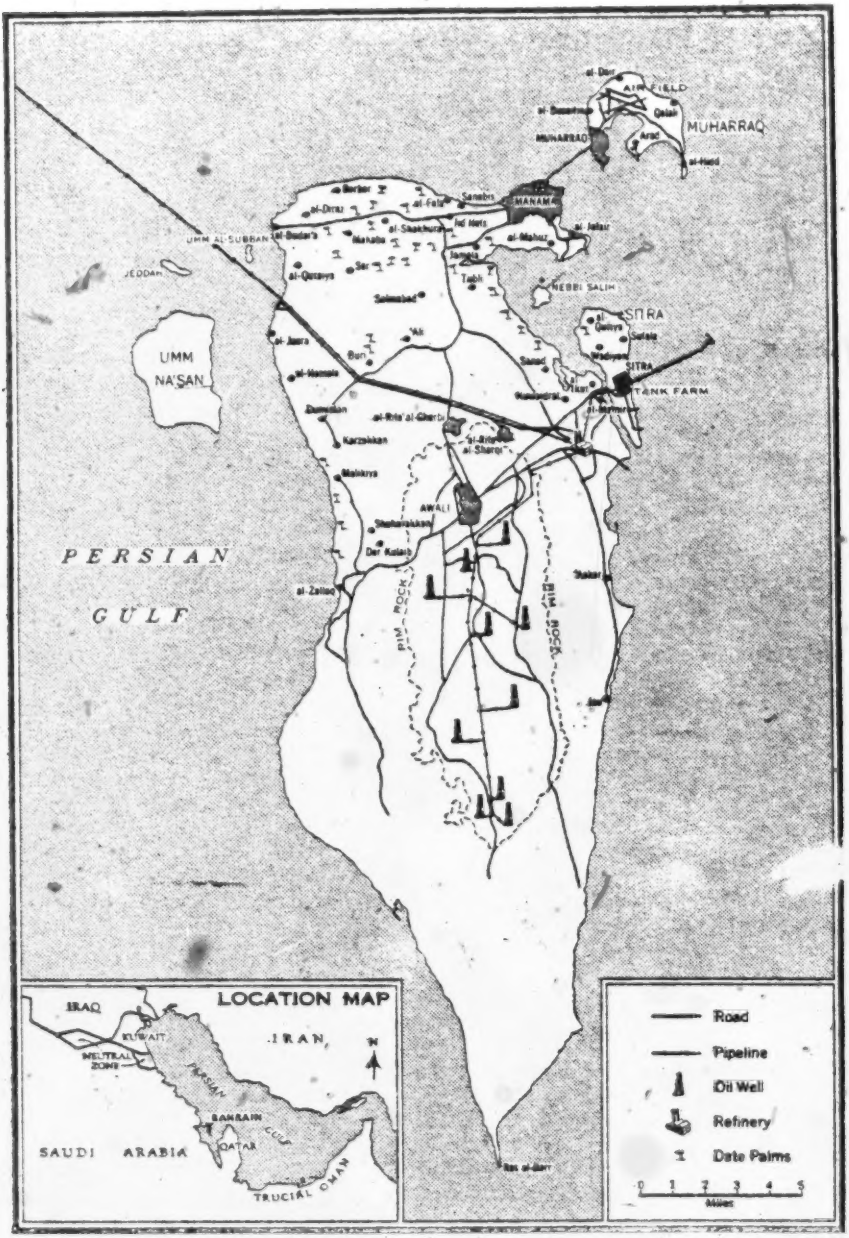
The oil company pays to the Bahrein government a royalty of 3 rupees 8 annas plus 1 shilling per long ton. There is no taxation. The revenue which was to be returned to Bahrein from oil concessions amounted in 1945 to more than 26 lakh of rupees, or approximately $780,000, almost half of the total revenues of the Sheikdom.[1] For the year 1949, the amount of "oil royalties" was evaluated at $1,200,000. One-third of the royalties go to the Sheik and his family and the remaining two-thirds, to a fund held in London in the name of the Government of Bahrein.

In 1945 the Bahrein Petroleum Company estimated that its consolidated net profit for the year, after taxes and all other costs, would come to approximately $10,500,000. No dividends were declared during the year, earnings being applied to further expansion of operations. Profits in 1946 were estimated at $23,000,000. This was on a total investment of probably not more than 65 million U. S. dollars.

1. The total revenue of Bahrein amounted in 1944 to Rs. 55,90,000.

8: Qubain S-5 (1952-53) MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

102
491
315
382
133
135




(See page 269)

*The Shaykhdom of Bahrain*

facing p. 239

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M...



called 'Red Line' agreement of 1928,[1] was unable to agree to conditions that IPC was in a position to dictate; it therefore sold its option to the Standard Oil Company of California. After negotiations in which the British Government and the American State Department both took a hand, the Bahrain Petroleum Company (BAPCO), a subsidiary of Standard Oil, registered in Canada, was allowed to take up the concession provided that, to conform to Britain's prior agreements with the Shaikh, it employed a considerable number of British subjects. In 1936 the Texas Company acquired a 50 per cent interest in BAPCO. These details are given to explain why the present company is Canadian by nationality and American by management, and employs a large proportion of British staff. The two American companies concerned are two of the four participants in Aramco.

Oil was first discovered in Bahrain in 1932 and first exported in 1934. Production was suspended during the Second World War, but since then it has risen to a steady level of 11 million barrels per year. A refinery was erected before the war, and has (since the Abadan refinery ceased to put through its daily 550,000 barrels) been stepped up to a throughput of over 200,000 barrels per day; it includes a catalytic cracking unit for high octane fuel. It is fed both with BAPCO's own production of oil from the Bahrain field and by a 12-inch under-sea pipeline from Aramco's wells in Saudi Arabia. The jetty for loading tankers lies off Sitra Island on the seaward side of Bahrain Island itself.

Originally, the Shaikh enjoyed the same royalty rate as his neighbour in Kuwait—3 rupees and 4 annas a ton, or 14 cents a barrel. In 1951 reports of the new agreements reached by his neighbours caused him to ask for equality of treatment. In 1952, therefore, he signed a new agreement with the company which established the fifty-fifty profit-sharing arrangement now universal on the Gulf. He also enjoys a payment on each ton of Saudi Arabian oil passing through his territory to the refinery. His revenue has risen relatively less than that of his neighbours because the volume of oil produced in Bahrain has for some years been virtually stationary; nevertheless earnings from oil have risen from $1·4 million in 1948 to $3·8 million in 1951 and $6·3 million in 1952, and three-fourths of Bahrain's national income is now derived from petroleum activities. The social and economic changes brought about by this increased wealth are not so spectacular in Bahrain as elsewhere because

[1] See R. F. Mikesell and H. B. Chenery, *Arabian Oil* (Chapel Hill, University of N. Carolina Press, 1949).

THE COMPANY

refinery on the eastern side of the island, opposite Sitra. It was expanded in 1945, and 80 to 85 per cent of the crude oil processed is now obtained by pipeline from Saudi Arabia. The refined petroleum products are pumped to storage tanks on Sitra Island, and subsequently to a deep-water loading terminal 3 miles offshore. Over 6,000 Bahrainis, as well as some 1,600 British and Americans, are employed in different branches of the industry. Two thirds of the royalties accrue to the Bahrain government, half of which are utilized for capital expenditures designed to raise the standards of living of the people. Reports for 1951 indicate that 68 per cent of the government income was derived from oil revenues, as against 26 per cent from customs receipts.

The renewed prosperity of the islands and the concurrent growth in population have stimulated private enterprise and the growth of small factories to supply current needs, particularly as regards building materials. Fishing is an important seasonal occupation of many villagers, and preserved fish, fish oils and other fish products are items of export. Agriculture plays a minor role. Barely 5 to 10 per cent of the total land area is under cultivation, and further expansion is restricted by the nature of the terrain, the concentration of water supply in limited areas and a feudalistic system of land tenure. Date gardens flourish in oases on Bahrain, Muharraq and Sitra Islands, but the supply equals less than one quarter of the local requirements. The government is endeavoring to promote the introduction of other crops, and maintains an experiment station at Budaiya.

The sea approaches to the archipelago are shallow, making it necessary for ocean vessels and oil tankers to anchor 2 to 4 miles from the shore. Bahrain and Muharraq, however, have good harbors which accommodate dhows and other shallow-draft vessels. Manama is an active trading center: coastal traffic is more or less continuous, while frequent steamer services are available to the northern Gulf ports and to India AND PAKISTAN.

p. 257 (B)

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East

Bahrein MZ 2

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p. 372

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrein MZ2



*Production*

From 1936 production progressed rapidly, reaching the 20,000 barrel per day mark in 1939. During the years 1942-1944 some wells were shut in as a war measure, and production was reduced by some 2,000 barrels per day. By 1951 there were 67 producing wells, with an average per well output of 430 barrels per day. The following table gives production in tons and barrels:

Table XII. *Bahrein Oil Production 1933-1954*

| *Year* | *In Tons* | *In Barrels* |
|---|---|---|
| 1933 | 4,000 | 31,000 |
| 1934 | 39,008 | 285,000 |
| 1935 | 173,072 | 1,265,000 |
| 1936 | 635,555 | 4,645,000 |
| 1937 | 1,058,511 | 7,762,000 |
| 1938 | 1,138,000 | 8,298,000 |
| 1939 | 1,041,000 | 7,589,000 |
| 1940 | 971,000 | 7,074,000 |
| 1941 | 932,000 | 6,794,000 |
| 1942 | 856,000 | 6,241,000 |
| 1943 | 902,000 | 6,572,000 |
| 1944 | 921,000 | 6,714,000 |
| 1945 | 1,003,000 | 7,309,000 |
| 1946 | 1,099,000 | 8,010,000 |
| 1947 | 1,291,000 | 9,410,710 |
| 1948 | 1,496,000 | 10,915,000 |
| 1949 | 1,508,000 | 10,985,484 |
| 1950 | 1,512,000 | 11,016,000 |
| 1951 | 1,508,000 | 11,008,000 |
| 1952 | 1,510,000 | 11,004,000 |
| 1953 | 1,506,000 | 10,978,380 |
| 1954[10] | 1,570,000 | 10,994,000[11] |

and attempted to get a concession for the additional area. For suddenly, in the spring of 1937, the Sheikh halted all negotiations with Bapco for one year. "He finally granted it to the Bahrein Petroleum Company on June 19, 1940, but the British officials distilling the last drop of advantage that could be obtained hooked on a political agreement of June 29, 1940." DeGolyer, *loc. cit.*, 79. "The 'Bahrain unallotted area,' being the difference between the 100,000 acres and the whole extent of the Shaikh's dominions, was from 1934 to 1940 the subject of lengthy negotiations between the Shaikh, Bapco, and another candidate, the Iraq Petroleum Company." Longrigg, *Oil in the Middle East*, 104.

[10] United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs, *Review of Economic Conditions in the Middle East 1949-1950*, 60, henceforth cited U.N., *Review* or *Summary*, and year;—*Review 1951-1952*, 55;—*Summary 1952-1953*, 47; Economic Cooperation Administration, Special Mission to the United Kingdom, *The Sterling Area. An American Analysis*, (London, 1951), 418; *World Petroleum*, X, 43, July, 1939.

[11] United States Senate, *Petroleum Requirements—Postwar, Hearings Before A*

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrein M22



The nature of the Bahrein islands as the commercial port of the Saudi Arabian coast and the Qatar peninsula made it an ideal location for a refinery, and as soon as oil was discovered in commercial quantities in Bahrein and the prospects for Saudi Arabia looked promising, Bapco built a refinery which went into operation in July, 1935. Increased production and the demand for oil for war needs made it necessary to expand the refinery and by 1945 the Company had spent about $27.5 million. By 1951 the refinery had a capacity of 155,000 barrels daily. Most of the crude came from the Saudi Arabian mainland as the maximum of local production was only 30,000 barrels per day. At first the oil was brought by tanker, later it came by way of a 12-inch 34-mile long pipeline, two-thirds of which was submarine. During 1947 another 12-inch pipeline was laid, bringing the total capacity of the pipeline to 126,000 barrels per day.[15] By 1949 about 85 per cent of the refinery's throughput was coming from Saudi Arabia. The output in 1950 was 56,059,000 barrels; in 1951, 8,040,000 tons; in 1952, 8,621,000 tons; and in 1953, 10,408,000 tons. It has been estimated that the parent companies have invested about $75 million in the Bahrein undertaking.[16]

### *Reserves*

Of all the major oil-producing areas of the Middle East, Bahrein was the least promising as regards reserves. From the very beginning the reserve estimates were generally static. In January 1949 they were estimated as 170 million barrels; two years later Faroughy gave them as 200 million barrels; at the end of 1954 they were estimated at 235 million barrels. The United Nations experts estimated the reserves as 40,900,000 tons in 1951 and the same in 1953. Compared to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, the Bahrein reserves are considered of little significance.[17]

*Summary 1950-51*, 37-38;—*Review 1951-52*, 58-59; "Oil and Social Change," *The Economist*, 3, July 2, 1955.

[15] For a Company description of the pipeline and the refinery, see "Submarine Pipeline," *Oil Lifestream of Progress*, III, 20, Oct., 1953.

[16] U.N., *Summary 1950-51*, 24; "Oil and Bahrein," *The World Today*, VII, 78, Feb., 1951; Sanger, *The Arabian Peninsula*, 145; Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 44-45; *Le Commerce du Levant*, Oct. 15, 1954.

[17] U. S. Senate, *International Petroleum Cartel*, 6; U.N., *Review 1951-52*, 53;—*Summary 1952-53*, 40; Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 111; *World Oil*, CXL, 205, Feb. 15, 1955.

Almost all the cultivators are Baharna or Hassawis, who are of the Shiite sect, descendants of Baharna who emigrated to Arabia. The Sunni Arabs do not work in the gardens. The people living in the villages which are scattered among the date gardens originally earned their livelihood entirely by working in the gardens; now many of them are employed by the oil company or in Manama. During the date picking season, which in many ways resembles the hop picking season in England, temporary villages of palm branch huts spring up among the date gardens when people from other parts of Bahrain come to pick the crop.

The village people are the aboriginal inhabitants of the country and in the past they suffered much during the many invasions of Bahrain when their homes, gardens and water channels were destroyed and even in times of peace they were regarded as milch cows, whose wealth was extracted by their rulers. But in recent times their position has changed, they are more prosperous than they used to be and are on terms of equality with their neighbours.

## BOAT BUILDING

It is claimed by some authorities on Middle Eastern history that the Phoenicians originated in Bahrain and sailed their craft up the Gulf, which then extended much farther northwards than it does today, and following the Euphrates to the point where the river is nearest to the Syrian coast, they landed and settled there. This may or may not be true but there is no doubt that the people of Bahrain have been sailors for at least as many centuries as the pearl industry has been in existence and their stitched boats not only sailed the Persian Gulf but entered the Indian Ocean.

Most of Bahrain's boats were in former days employed as pearlers, and although the Kuwait shipyards built the largest craft it was natural that Bahrain, nearer the Indian source of timber and itself the centre of the pearling industry, should have its own yards. It should also be remembered that Kuwait is a comparatively modern town, having been founded early in the 18th century, before which date it did not attain importance as a harbour for north-east Arabia.

Today most of the boat building is carried on in Muharraq, although there are some yards at the western end of Manama. In former days, before iron nails were obtainable, Arab boats were not nailed but stitched together, with a giant needle and cord as thread, yet these boats of such fragile construction were able to weather the heaviest gales that swept the Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

In recent years launches have been made in greater numbers than sailing boats, so builders have inclined to specialise in the construction of those boats to which engines can best be fitted. For this reason many "jalibuts" have been built, they can be identified by their vertical bow and the straightness of the keel. The origin of this name is doubtful and many suggestions have been made to explain it. Possibly

the most logical is that of H. R. P. Dickson, who says in his *The Arab of the Desert* that the name is derived from the Indian boat called "Gallevat" which is in turn derived from the Portuguese "Galeote" or Galley. 501 396

The type of craft most used for pearling in Bahrain is the Sambuq, which has a long finely curved bow and a square stern. It has two masts and is usually fully decked. Another boat of the same type is the Shu'ai, which only differs from the Sambuq in the shape of the stem piece. A second boat with Portuguese connections is the Baghala, a large craft with a comparatively short curved stem-piece. The Baghala has a distinctive square stern set with windows, which, although often false, give the stern the appearance of an old fashioned European man-of-war. The largest boat now being built is the Boom, which can be identified by its long straight stem-piece and its stern, set about 10° from the vertical.

Boats are not built on the scale of former days, for the decline of the pearling industry and the development of the fast launch have reduced the demand for the large old-fashioned sailing boats. Launches need a smaller crew, they are more useful for work between steamers and the shore and over short distances, and are now in many other ways a more satisfactory investment than sailing boats.

Many small types of boats are used around the shores of Bahrain for fishing and for carrying passengers between the islands. Some of these are built like miniature sambuq, while others have the vertical bow of the jalibut. There is also the huri, a primitive canoe hollowed out of the trunk of a tree and imported from Africa for use as a ship's dinghy. An entirely local product is the huwairiyah, a craft built of date stems tightly tied together with date fibre and soaked in fish oil. These little boats, which if well made are entirely water-proof, can carry a man or two boys and are used for fishing and ferrying.

A question that always confuses visitors to Bahrain is the word "dhow" ; this name, originally unknown to the Arabs, is used by Europeans to include all Persian Gulf sailing boats, and has become so general that Arabs, finding the word useful, are now beginning to use it themselves.

The craftsmen who make the boats of Bahrain have an interesting sideline, they make perfect miniature models of the large sailing boats, not only of the ones at present in use but also of the obsolete types, and these can be purchased from them and make interesting ornaments in the house or souvenirs of Bahrain. [523]

JUS

"Jus," the Arabic for gypsum, has always been used for building purposes in Bahrain ; the pre-historic tombs are lined with it and it was used for the construction of the 10th century mosque at the Suq al-Khamis. It is found in slabs below the ground and is collected in many places in Bahrain, in Lozi, from the desert north of Awali and from the Howar Islands. The gypsum is often prepared on the spot where it 316 339

361 and on the shore there is an old deserted fort which was built by the Omanis during a short period when they occupied the Islands. A [504] ferry service of small sailing boats plies between Muharraq and Arad fort, but to drive round the bay to the fort by car takes less time than crossing by boat.

396 Boat building is one of the few local industries of Muharraq and is carried out along the shores of the town, especially on the eastern coast. Carpenters and shipwrights are apt to extend their work half across the road and when driving a car one often has to avoid sails which are pegged out for joining or for repairs, rope winders, men mending nets or carpenters working on big wooden water tanks for the pearling dhows.

361 178 Many visitors to Bahrain never enter Muharraq and by failing to do so they miss the sight of a comparatively untouched Arab town, a sight that is rapidly becoming rarer in the oil rich Persian Gulf.

HEDD

361 Bahrain's number three town is Hedd. Long and narrow, it is built on a strip of land which juts out into the sea at the south-east end of Muharraq Island. The houses are closely packed together and extend right to the edge of the sea, one road, only just wide enough for motor vehicles, runs through the centre of the town and on each side a labyrinth of narrow lanes leads down to the shore. There are few barastis in Hedd and most of the people live in stone houses ; some of them are large, built by pearl merchants in the days when the pearl industry of which Hedd was an important centre, was flourishing. The bazaar is in the main street and it contains many shops which sell all manner of goods. Water is supplied to the town by several artesian wells.

[162] The population of Hedd is entirely Sunni and predominantly Arab, although a few of the shopkeepers are Persians. It includes Arabs of the Bin Ali, Saada, Mesedem and Musallam tribes who used to be very influential in Bahrain ; the last were once the rulers of Qatar. Hedd was originally a diving town but although it still has much contact with the sea, many of its inhabitants work on shore. Its people have a reputation for intelligence and energy and this is shown by the fact that they have produced better results from their schools than any other community. The town is conspicuously clean, owing partly to the fact that it is surrounded by the sea on three sides.

348 633 Hedd has a handsome new police station, at the entrance to the town, which was completed in 1952, a Municipality and Boys' and Girls' Schools which were opened in 1937 and 1939 respectively. For some years the Muharraq Municipality included Hedd in its activities but in 1945 Hedd formed its own elected Municipal Council with four members. There is also in Hedd a dispensary and a small women's hospital with accommodation for a certain number of in-patients.

226 Hedd is famous for its prawns which are caught in special traps and sent to the fish markets of Manama and Muharraq.

651

**5. Landing Company.** The British India Steam Navigation Company's agents have a concession from the Bahrain Government to operate a landing company which is authorised to convey cargo from steamers to the pier. They charge landing fees according to a schedule authorised by the Government, and the Company pays to the Government 5% of its total collections.

The cost of importing normal cargo, at the 5% rate, including all outside costs such as landing fees, import yard charges, etc., amounts to approximately 10%. This amount is not high considering that there is no other form of taxation in Bahrain.

**(*a*) Mainland Cargo.** Bahrain is, to a great extent, a distributing centre for the mainland ports; most of the imports into Saoudi Arabia pass through Bahrain, and for this reason various special systems have been arranged to deal with the transit trade. Until about sixteen years ago, imports through Bahrain which were re-exported to the mainland were charged the same duty as imports into Bahrain. In 1921 the duty on re-exported goods was reduced from 5% to 2%, and during the last ten years further changes have been made.

**(*b*) Optional Cargo System.** In 1349 (1930-31) the *Optional Cargo System* was introduced. Under this system cargo imported into Bahrain, but intended for re-export to certain specified mainland ports, is charged full import duty, but is eventually liable for 2% only when the shipping bills are returned endorsed from the ultimate destination.

**(*c*) Transhipment Cargo.** Transhipment cargo is cargo transferred by boats from steamer to native craft direct; 1¾% duty is charged on such cargo for certain specified ports and 2% for other ports provided that not less than 100 packages are transferred at once.

**Transit Cargo.** Transit cargo is cargo destined to other ports which is landed in Bahrain awaiting shipment. On this cargo 1¾% is charged, and also the import yard charges.

The reduction in duty on goods for certain mainland ports in Saoudi Arabia from 2% to 1¾% was made in 1354 (1935-36) as the result of negotiations by a delegation sent by His Majesty King Ibn Saoud to Bahrain to discuss various commercial matters with the Bahrain Government.

Harbour dues are charged only in the case of foreign launches which are not registered in Bahrain; no harbour dues are charged on native craft, although they are charged in all other ports.

**Export Dues, Boat-Building.** The only exports from Bahrain are dates, shells, animals' skins, and pearls. There is no export duty on pearls, but on the other commodities export duty is levied which amounts to approximately 5%. The only local industry of any importance is boat-building. This in the past was a flourishing trade, but with the slump in the pearl market, boat-building has declined. This table shows the numbers of boats built in Bahrain:

[439]
[396]

| *Year.* | *Boats.* | *Launches.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1346 | 76 | 10 |
| 1347 | 100 | 12 |
| 1348 | 70 | 28 |
| 1349 | 27 | 13 |
| 1350 | 18 | 2 |
| 1351 | 10 | 1 |
| 1352 | 21 | 2 |
| 1353 | 25 | 1 |
| 1354 | 21 | 4 |
| 1355 | 8 | 5 |

The customs collections during the last ten years are shown on the attached graph. The peak year was 1346 (July 27th, 1928); from 1346 until 1351 the revenue decreased each year to an alarming extent; in 1352 it began to improve, mainly owing to the increase in rates of duty which

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M22



adequate motor-bus communications with most of the villages.

Manama is the shipping centre of the Gulf pearl industry,[1] and steamers connect regularly with India, Persia, and Iraq. Bahrain harbour is also the centre of a considerable coastal and pearling trade by dhows, as well as the local headquarters of its fishing industry. Other local industries are dhow-building and the manufacture of sailcloth and reed matting. Much of the import and export trade from al-Hasa and its hinterland passes through Bahrain, and this created an important source of revenue during the years in which Aramco was developing its oilfields on the Saudi coast. Lately, however, the Saudis have perceived the advantage of conducting this trade for themselves. By establishing a high-cost re-entry permit, they have discouraged the foreign staff of the oil company from doing its week-end shopping in Bahrain, and their policy is to increase the port and market facilities of the two Saudi coastal towns opposite the island—Damman and Al Khobar. In Bahrain there is a duty of 5 per cent ad valorem on essential imports such as food and clothing; non-essential imports are subject to higher duties, ranging between 15 per cent on tobacco and liquor, and 10 per cent on luxuries.

*History and Foreign Relations*

The presence in the northern part of Bahrain Island of numerous burial tumuli indicates very early human inhabitants, but their identity, which was at one time thought to be Phoenician, remains unknown. Bahrain's situation and natural harbour facilities suggest that from the earliest days of sea navigation in the Gulf the port was important. Its recorded history, however, dates only from 1507, when the Portuguese occupied the island. They built a fort of which the ruins survive, but were driven out in 1602 by an Arab invasion from Persia. Bahrain was held by Persia intermittently until 1783, when it was conquered by Arabs from the mainland. Since 1816 it has been ruled by the Khalifa family of the Utubi tribe, which in 1820 first entered into treaty relations with the East India Company. But the Persian Government has never ceased to claim sovereignty over the island and at intervals has protested against British treaties with the Shaikh. The Persian claim is based on a British Note of 27 April 1869 in which (the Persians allege)[2] Lord Clarendon recognized their title to sovereignty over the

[1] This has long been important, and in the 1830's the fisheries were estimated to bring in some £300,000 to £400,000 a year.

[2] The Persian claim was disposed of by Sir Austen Chamberlain in a Note of 18 January 1928. See League of Nations, *Official Journal*, May 1928, pp. 606–7.

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN M22

nama, Muharraq and Hedd and the 3 villages of East and West Rafaa and Sakhir was less than 1 per cent.

## Social Economy

Prior to the opening of the Bahrain oil fields, the economy of the islands was based upon pearl fishing and the transshipment of goods between Iran, India and other countries and the neighboring Arabian ports. The waters of the Persian Gulf contain famous pearl fishing banks, and, since ancient times, Bahrain has been recognized as the traditional center of the industry. It constituted the principal source of wealth for centuries, but it reached a low level in the 1920s, due in part to the competition of Japanese cultured pearls in the world markets. Early records are nonexistent, but the former Bahrain pearl fleets probably consisted of 600 to 1,000 vessels. The number has declined progressively: only 83 departed for the banks in 1950. In that year, about 2,000 Bahrainis were engaged in pearl fishing during the season from mid-April to October, undoubtedly a fraction of the total employed when the demand for pearls was at its height.

In previous decades, dhow building also was one of the major industries of Bahrain, but its decline has paralleled that of the pearl fisheries. Nine boats were constructed in 1949, as against 100 reported in 1928-29.

Today, oil is the foundation of Bahrain's prosperity. The royalties derived from the industry not only have bolstered the declining resources of the government, but have made possible the expansion of public works and social services. Operations are conducted by the Bahrain Petroleum Company, Ltd., which holds long-term concessions from the Sheikh of Bahrain for the development of the petroleum resources of the islands. Oil was discovered in the Jabal ad Dukhan region, near the center of Bahrain Island, in 1932, and production started in 1934. The proven reserves of this field are estimated in the neighborhood of 200 million barrels. The company also operates a

p. 257(A)

## WAKF ADMINISTRATION

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**Nature of Wakfs.** Much valuable property in Bahrain is wakf property, dedicated in the past for public and religious purposes, such as the upkeep of mosques, the payment of muezzins and priests, and in the case of the Shias, towards religious observances during the month of Muharram and the expenses of the matems, which can be described as village halls supported by religious endowments. In addition to the charitable wakfs, which are intended to benefit the general public, there are private wakfs which are frequently in the nature of entails of property to the heirs of a certain person and, among the Shias, property and money is often left in trust to pay for prayers to be said over a long period of time on behalf of a deceased person. Another common form of religious endowment is the dedication by will of one-third of the estate for charity or for certain specific charities, but this note only refers to wakfs of a public nature.

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**Shaikh Khalaf.** Until the year 1346 (July 1927—June 1928) all wakf property in Bahrain, both Sunni and Shia, was administered by the Qadis and by anybody who was sufficiently powerful to retain the administration of the property in his hands. It is not an exaggeration to state that most of the proceeds of the property found its way into the pockets of the administrators and was not distributed to the poor for whose benefit it was intended. In 1345 (1926-27), Shaikh Khalaf, who was then the Shia Qadi, was compelled to resign owing to agitation among the Baharna which was caused by his habit of taking bribes. Twice before during his long tenure of office he had been compelled to retire owing to irregular practices, but in spite of this he retained a great influence over many of the country villages. Shaikh Khalaf had been one of the leading personalities in Bahrain for many years, and it was partly owing to his support that the diving reforms were carried out in 1923. No Qadi since Shaikh Khalaf has had such influence over the Shia community as a whole.

**Syed Adnan's Administration.** His successor was Syed Adnan, a young man who had been educated in Iraq and who had a well-deserved reputation for piety, learning, and honesty. In addition to this, he was more progressive in his ideas than any of the previous Qadis. On his appointment he made an effort to register the wakf property and to start a regular system of administration. With the support of the Government he compelled many of the people who held wakf property to lease it through him and to submit to him an account of revenue and expenditure. He died very suddenly about a year after his appointment, but during the time that he was Shia Qadi he accomplished much valuable work, and his books containing the descriptions and registrations of wakf properties were of great use to the wakf department when it was formed.

**Appointment of a Council.** After the death of Syed Adnan, the wakf property was administered for some time by Shaikh Mohomed Ali Medani, the executor of the late Qadi, but this arrangement was distasteful to most of the Shia community who, quite rightly, placed no confidence in Shaikh Mohomed Ali Medani, who was afterwards convicted of misappropriating funds belonging to some minors and orphans. Two Qadis, Shaikh Ali bin Hassan of Senabis and Shaikh Abdulla bin Mohomed Saleh of Manamah, were then appointed. The former, when he was appointed, stipulated that he should have nothing to do with the administration of the wakf property; the latter very soon demanded that the wakf property should be handed over to him. He was persuaded to appoint a committee of leading Shia notables to assist him in the administration of the property. After a short time the country people, who form the majority of the Shia community and who have the greatest interest in the wakfs, objected to this arrangement and made a petition on the subject to the Ruler, who had hitherto taken no interest in the question of the Shia wakf administration. The public asked that the administration of the property should be entirely in the hands of the people and not under the control of the Qadi of Manamah. A council was appointed, consisting of six men from the country and four from Manamah, and the wakf property was handed over to their charge. A local merchant was appointed as treasurer, but no president was chosen in order to placate the feelings of Shaikh Abdulla and Shaikh Mohomed Ali Medani, both of whom were comparatively satisfied as long as the other was not in control.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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**Previous attempts to organise Wakf Department.** About four years before an attempt had been made by the Government to alienate the wakf property from the Qadis. Both Sunnis and Shias combined in such furious opposition to the proposal that it was soon dropped. The same result was obtained, with no disturbances, when it appeared that the idea had come from the public themselves. The expenses of the department, pay of the treasurer and the clerk, and accommodation were provided by the Government, as it was desirable and in the interests of a large portion of the community that wakf property should be properly dealt with.

**Progress of Administration and Elections.** By 1930 the wakf department had become an established institution, entirely unconnected with the Shia Qadis, who were only referred to by the council in question concerning shara law. The department opened an account at the bank, regular accounts were kept, wakf lands were leased by the department, and no payments were made except with the approval of the council. Each member was responsible for supervising and reporting on the wakf property in his district, and for this purpose Bahrain was roughly divided into sections, each section being represented by a member of the council. The Government issued a proclamation, ordering all persons to register wakf property within a certain time, failing which the administrator would be liable for prosecution. In response to this order, much wakf property was discovered which was previously unknown. In 1353 (1934-35) the revenue collected by the department was about Rs 24,000 -.

In 1349 (1930-31), the third year of its existence, the revenue of the department decreased considerably owing to the general depression, particularly because its income was mainly derived from date gardens, and many of the tenants were unable to pay their rents in full. In spite of two or three bad years which followed, the department was able during this time to purchase more gardens and to improve the existing property by planting many thousands of new trees, repairing irrigation streams, and in some cases sinking artesian wells in order to cultivate new ground. At various times the department suffered somewhat owing to the intrigues of the religious leaders, who stirred up the tenants against the council, but the members were sufficiently influential and independent to withstand these difficulties.

A new election was held in 1350 (1931-32), and this time voting was by ballot and took place in a village in the centre of every district. Although this was a novel procedure, the people adopted it with enthusiasm, and in some villages there were keen contests to return certain members. The department began to register wakf property in the Land Department and became involved in much litigation with various Sunni landowners who claimed wakf property as part of their own gardens. In some cases, members of the Ruling Family objected to the registration of wakf property, claiming that it was included in gift documents held by them for whole districts. Cases regarding the Shia wakfs, which were referred occasionally to the Sunni shara courts, were not always dealt with impartially. The Sunni Qadis, who still retain control of the Sunni wakfs, resented the Shia wakf department and council, fearing that public opinion would compel them to hand over control of their wakfs to a similar committee. Many of the Ruling Family were also unsympathetic to the wakf department, thinking that the Shias might be encouraged to claim gardens which were originally wakf property but had been confiscated by the Khalifah many years ago.

In 1351 (1932-33) the accounts of the wakf department were audited by a chartered accountant, but as there were more than 1,800 separate accounts, one for each different endowment, it was impossible to check every account, but various suggestions were made to simplify the method of book-keeping. During this year there was some agitation against the department, organised by one of the Qadis, and numerous petitions of doubtful authenticity were made to the Government, asking that the council should be dismissed and that the Government should take over complete control of the wakf administration. This was not done. The department continued its work during the year, improving the gardens, repairing mosques and matems, and occasionally purchasing small gardens, but the accumulation of debts owing to the department increased, and a very large sum was outstanding at the end of the year.

During 1352 (1933-34) the work of the department was carried out without any disturbances and the revenue improved slightly. In 1353 (1934-35) there was some adverse criticism of the

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department by the public, who complained, with justification, that wakf property dedicated to the Shia Qadi received more attention than other property.

In 1935 there was renewed opposition to certain members of the council, including Syed Ahmad bin Syed Alawi, the treasurer, which owed its origin to a bitter quarrel between two factions of the Shia community in Manamah, which came to a head when Shaikh Abdullah bin Mohomed Saleh was tried and convicted by a special court for misappropriating money which he was administering on behalf of an orphan. The members of the council took opposite sides, and the routine of the department was disturbed. It was therefore thought advisable to hold a new election. This was done early in 1936. The council was increased from 10 to 15 members and the offices of the department were moved from two rooms in the Manamah school, which they had previously occupied, to rooms in the Bahrain court-house. The new council includes several of the leading Shias, who are more businesslike and capable than their predecessors. One of their first decisions was to appoint a sub-committee for dealing with accounts and another committee for inspecting gardens and property on the lines of the municipal council's methods. After the last election the two Qadis again requested the Government to take over the administration of the wakfs, but this request was again refused.

**Results.** The formation of the Shia Wakf Department has been comparatively successful. It is the first time that the Baharna have had an opportunity of working together and managing their own affairs and, in spite of frequent intrigues and attacks from outside, the department has done much valuable work which is of benefit to the whole Shia community. The results have been more successful than I anticipated, and it is evident that this is appreciated by the general public, not only the Shias, for at the time of writing there is a movement afoot among the Sunni ulemas and some of the Sunni notables for setting up a similar council to administer the Sunni wakf property.

The work of the Shia Wakf Department is not an easy task, as the wakf property is made up of nearly two thousand isolated pieces of gardens, fish-traps, houses and shops, and in many cases only a proportion of the property is wakf and the remainder is owned by individuals. The normal income from the wakf property should be about Rs 40,000/- per annum, but during recent years it has been difficult to collect the rents, and at the beginning of 1936 the balance outstanding against the tenants amounted to about Rs 15,000/-.

**Future Development.** A possible development in the future would be the education at Government expense of two or three young men who could be sent to Iraq or elsewhere to study the work and methods of the wakf ministry. The members of the council, although most of them are illiterate, are fully capable of dealing with the practical work, such as supervising the cultivation and the upkeep of the gardens and buildings, but they lack the administrative experience and enterprise which is necessary for the management of a public department.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF THE DEPARTMENT

| *Year.* | *Revenue.* Rs | *Expenditure.* Rs |
|---|---|---|
| 1349 (1930-31) ... | 18,700/- ... | 17,900/- |
| 1350 (1931-32) ... | 17,700/- ... | 18,300/- |
| 1351 (1932-33) ... | 21,000/- ... | 20,200/- |
| 1352 (1933-34) ... | 24,100/- ... | 22,400/- |
| 1353 (1934-35) ... | 28,600/- ... | 24,100/- |
| 1354 (1935-36) ... | 18,300/- ... | 18,000/- |
| 1355 (1936-37) ... | 18,100/- ... | 18,700/- |

**Sunni Wakf Administration.** The administration of the Sunni wakfs is in the hands of the three Sunni Qadis and, although the Government contributes to the expenses of the clerks who do the work, it has no knowledge of the methods or results of the administration.

Bahrain Government receives 50% of the profits of the oil industry. 652
The Eastern Bank, since it was established in 1919, has served as the State's Treasury and a Budget is published every year showing the revenue and expenditure of the State.

The Customs Directorate is in the centre of the Manama sea front 651
and there are subsidiary offices in Muharraq Town, at the Airport 439
and at Sitra. All goods of any kind which are imported or exported 504
must pass through the customs. The Customs Pier at Manama, which was originally built in 1917, has frequently been lengthened and enlarged and now extends for a quarter of a mile out to sea. Owing to shallow water, vessels in the Manama harbour have to anchor some three miles from the shore and passengers and cargo are conveyed to and from the steamers by launches, barges and sailing dhows. The port and storage facilities in Bahrain are better than elsewhere in the Gulf and importers are allowed to retain their goods in the customs premises for ninety days before re-exporting them. There are usually about 90-100 sailing vessels and launches alongside and anchored off the pier, these come from other Gulf ports, from the west coast of India and from the Red Sea. Walking down the customs pier one sees many interesting types of vessels and sea-faring Arabs from all parts of the Gulf and beyond it.

On the west of the entrance to the Pier is the Passport Office. 486
Passport Officials go aboard all passenger vessels and are present at the Airport when aircraft arrive. Bahrain has had its own passports since 1929.

On the south side of the Square, which has a little garden in the 344
centre of it, is the "Bab al-Bahrain," the Gateway of Bahrain, consisting of two large blocks of office buildings with an archway in the centre. On the south side of the western block there is a fine old Arab door and on the balconies of the buildings as well as around the garden in the Square there are cement panels containing Arabesque patterns copied from old buildings in Bahrain.

The Bab al-Bahrain contains the finance and accounts department 344
where all payments to the Government for electricity, water, etc., etc., 655
are made, the Land Department which deals with sales and registration 423
of property and questions about boundaries and ownership of land, the registration of sales being compulsory, and several other government offices. His Highness has a reception room overlooking the 643
square on the first floor of the building where he sits on Wednesday mornings. Here he receives any visitors who wish to call on him and sees people who present petitions. On Monday mornings he visits the Municipal Buildings at Muharraq where he holds a similar reception.

East of the Customs, on the sea front, is the Law Courts Building 692
which contains a number of different courts including religious courts presided over by the Qadis of the Sunni and Shia sects. Certain foreigners, including British, Americans, Pakistanis and Indians are under the judicial authority of H.B.M.'s Political Agent. In mixed

491 south past the Jebal ad-Dukhan and the oil field. This last road, which deteriorates after leaving Awali, after passing Jebal Amr crosses the plain and ascending the rim-rock reaches the Ruler's Hunting Lodge at Rumaitha. From here the road goes due west to another Hunting Lodge at Matalla and joins the road from Zellaq to Ras al-Barr, the southern end of Bahrain Island.

The third main road leading from Manama runs parallel to and about 1-2 miles from the north coast of Bahrain. Passing through some of the most flourishing gardens in the islands, with thick green hedges by the road's edge, the driver is shaded by rows of tall date palms that cast a shadow over the road during most of the day and form an umbrella against the sun. After leaving the village of Jidhafs the road crosses patches of desert, clumps of tumuli alternate with gardens, and for the last few miles before reaching Budaiya, on the north-west corner of Bahrain, there is a shrubby desert where camels, sheep and goats graze. Beyond the Government Experimental Garden the road reaches the sea, and swinging south by the Police Post it enters the village of Budaiya. From here it bears south, through a number of villages and across the pipe-line road from Rifaa to Jesra, and finally to Zellaq.

The fourth road out of Manama, in fact a continuation of the sea road, leads across the Muharraq causeway to the town and island of that name, and after following the Muharraq sea road swings inland and crosses a short stretch of sand before reaching the edge of the Airport. Here the road branches; one branch leads to the north in the direction of the Airport and the other follows the curve of Arad Bay and then goes straight across the desert to the town of Hedd. Other roads branch off from this to the villages which fringe the coasts of Muharraq and to the gardens of Arad.

To return to the main island of Bahrain. Along the length of the Awal Road and particularly where it passes through the gardens, there are various roads and lanes leading to Zinj and Bilad al-Qadim to Saar and Salmabad, while a little distance to the south of Suq al-Khamis is the turning to the south towards the Adari Pool. Further south again a well-surfaced but somewhat winding road connects the Awal and Budaiya Roads, coming out on to the latter about half a mile west of Jidhafs. Shortly after passing Radhm al-Qawari, second class roads to the east and west lead respectively to the villages of the north-east coast, Tubli, Sanad and Ikur, and to Aali and beyond. Further on along Awal Road there is a road junction with a main road branching off to the south-east in the direction of the Refinery and Sitra. This road, after crossing the Awali-Sitra Road skirts the Refinery and then follows the east coast to the villages of Asker, Jaw and Dour.

It is impossible to describe in detail the many roads in Bahrain, but these are shown on the map of Bahrain and most of them branch off from the main roads which have been mentioned.

505 Communication with the other islands of Bahrain are mentioned
● 423 in Part III and visits can usually be arranged to them by private agree-
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ment with launch or dhow owners, but it should be remembered that some of them are private property. Umm as-Sabaan is the private property of Mr. Max W. Thornberg, Jidda being a penal settlement, is forbidden ground, and Umm an-Nasaan may only be visited with permission of H.H. The Ruler. The others, the small islands south of Muharraq, Nebih Salih, Jezira and the Howar islands are free to all visitors and a visit to them makes a change from drives around the islands.

Transport in Bahrain includes both bus and taxi, the former are not the luxurious affairs seen in Europe and England but have wooden bodies built in Bahrain and attached to an imported chassis. Taxis, however, are not too expensive if care is taken to pay the correct fare which is recorded in a fare book that should be carried by every driver. It is rumoured that taxis will soon carry meters, which will certainly simplify matters, but till that happy day passengers who have complaints to make about being over-charged should make them to the Traffic Department of the State Police.

Petrol and oil are cheap in Bahrain, which is not surprising, and the import tax on cars and motor cycles is only 10%, so that to own and run a private car is cheaper than in England or the States, as many fortunate people have discovered. Most makes of cars are obtainable in Bahrain, garage facilities have increased and the improvement in the roads has enabled English cars to be used with comfort.

The old-fashioned form of transport in Bahrain was the donkey. It was used for every task, for bringing the produce of the country for sale in the town, for pulling carts and for riding. The white Bahrain donkeys used to be well known all over the Middle East and they were exported from Bahrain to places as far distant as the East African coast. Today buses are replacing donkeys, there are bus services between most of the villages, though many of the young men prefer to use bicycles. Lorries too have successfully competed with donkeys and now carry most of the goods between the towns and villages, but in the gardens and in the narrow country lanes one still meets many donkeys though few of the fine white beasts for which the islands were famous long ago. However, the donkey will never entirely die out, for he has certain advantages over other methods of transport, he can reproduce young donkeys, he can find his own way along small and narrow tracks in the gardens and he produces manure, which is a valuable commodity in Bahrain.

## CHAPTER V

## BAHRAIN'S OIL INDUSTRY

THE man who was chiefly responsible for the discovery of Bahrain's oil resources was an Australian, Major Frank Holmes, who came to Bahrain on behalf of the Eastern and General Syndicate, a British prospecting company. Major Holmes, after drilling a number of artesian wells and thus discovering something about the composition

226 There are many different ways of fishing in Bahrain. Most of the fish is caught in "hadhra", fish traps built from palm branches. From the air these traps are a conspicious feature in the Persian Gulf, looking like huge arrow-heads with two long wings and a small circular head set along the shore and pointing out to sea. On closer inspection it can be seen that the sides of the arrow consist of fences built of date branches fastened into the ground and tied with rope, these lead to a circular enclosure at the end of the trap. The principle is simple ; as the tide comes in the fish approach the shore, when the tide recedes it carries them into the arms of the trap and eventually into the trap itself where they are left flapping about in the shallow water. The owner of [423] the trap then comes from the shore and collects the catch. The sites of the traps are very valuable and are registered in the Land Department. Some sites have been sold for as much as 30,000 rupees. Poaching fish in the area of a fish trap is regarded as a serious offence.

Another type of fish trap is like a giant lobster pot, made from wire and as much as eight feet in diameter. This is filled with ground bait, the fish enter it through a narrow funnel in its side and once there they are unable to escape. Fish of many sizes and varieties are caught in these traps, which can be seen on the shore along the Muharraq water front.

Nets of various kinds are used including circular throwing nets and drifters. The sight of an experienced net thrower is always fascinating and fishermen using this form of net can often be seen in the shallow seas to the south of the Manama-Muharraq Causeway. Drifting nets with pieces of date palm bark in place of corks are also popular and are used by the villagers on the coast. Fishing with hook and line is practised mostly by sporting amateurs and those who fish for amusement off the Causeway and elsewhere, The local fishermen depend mainly on traps, nets and Sim.

Sim, which literally means "poison," is the seed of the Persian Lilac tree and is much used in Bahrain during the hot weather. The seed, when dried, is pounded up into a mixture of dead crabs, small fish and paste which serves as bait. The fishermen choose a calm warm day when the tide is coming in and sprinkle the mixture on shallow water so that it will drift over the area where they expect to find fish. After a short wait small fish appear flapping about on the surface, apparently chasing their tails or else diving steeply. Soon the larger fish appear, behaving in the same manner. The fishermen then slip into the sea and set about catching the fish, which is by no means easy, for though the fish are doped they are still able to elude the grasping hands of the fishermen. Sometimes very big hauls of fish are caught in this manner. The effects of the drug are not lasting and the fish who have eluded the fishermen recover and swim away. Although Sim has a stupifying effect on fish it does no harm to people who eat them. Much of the fish which is sold in the markets of Manama, Muharraq and Hedd has been caught in this way.

[Minor's Estates Department]



657 736 Disbursements for maintenance amounted to Rs. 108,800, almost exactly the same sum as was paid out in the previous year. At the beginning of the year the number of orphans and widows who were drawing allowances was 442, of these 36 attained majority and took over their property, cash payments to them totalled Rs. 182,500.

657 662 The Department built four houses in Manama and Muharraq and carried out repairs to a number of other buildings, the expenditure under this heading was Rs. 78,000.

As usual the funds held by the Department together with funds placed at its disposal by the Government were given out on loan to the public, at interest, secured by title deeds of immovable property or gold. The rates of interest charged by the Department are low in comparison to those prevailing in the market.

During the year the Government placed with the Department a further 2¼ lakhs, making its total deposit Rs. 10,80,000.

Interest on loans collected during the year was Rs. 1,46,000, there is a scale of interest depending upon the amount of the loan, the average rate of interest during the year was 6 per cent.

Loans repaid to the Department during the year amounted to Rs. 19,29,000, about 3 lakhs more than in 1371, new loans, made to the public, were approximately 24¼ lakhs. At the end of the year 24¼ lakhs were on loan to the public.

## DEPARTMENTAL ACCOUNT

| Receipts | | | Expenditure | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Balance from 1371 .. | Rs. | 16, 585 6 10 | Maintenance allowances, etc. | Rs. | 1,08,876 9 0 |
| From estates and compensation cases | | 1,31,249 1 8 | Purchase of properties .. | | 9,330 0 0 |
| Rents .. .. | | 1,96,394 13 4 | Upkeep of buildings and additions .. | | 78,325 15 11 |
| Refund of Loans .. | | 19,29,600 0 0 | Payments to the beneficiaries | | 1,82,511 10 0 |
| Interest on Loans .. | | 1,46,040 0 0 | Loans advanced .. | | 24,40,250 0 0 |
| Deposits .. .. | | 2,09,051 12 5 | Balance in the Eastern Bank | | 1,25,205 9 1 |
| Loan from Government | | 2,50,000 0 0 | | | |
| By sale of properties .. | | 50,451 4 3 | | | |
| Debts recovered .. | | 15,127 5 6 | | | |
| Total | Rs. | 29,44,499 12 0 | Total | Rs. | 29,44,499 12 0 |

## LAND REGISTRATION DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Mr. Abdul-Aziz Al Saleh, acting Superintendent of the Department)

423 651 425 **Land Registration.** There were 1,072 transactions during the year which included 628 sales, 262 registration of titles and 182 gifts; the properties which were dealt with consisted of 273 plots of ground, most of them being building sites, 82 gardens, 47 shops and 26 miscellaneous lots. Fees amounting to Rs. 1,27,975 were collected of which Rs. 1,20,781 was derived from sales and Rs. 7,194 from registration of titles, etc

## JUDICIAL

(From the report of Mr. Salim Al Arayedh, Superintendent, Judicial Department)

The number of cases of all kinds which were filed in the Senior Court, consisting of Shaikh Daij bin Hamed and Shaikh Ali bin Ahmed, sitting separately except on one day of the week when both sit together with the Adviser, was 1158. This was 258 more than in the previous year. The cases consisted of 451 civil suits of which 15 related to administration of estates, 430 criminal charges, including a number of trivial matters which would not usually be dealt with by a senior court, and 227 land registration cases. The increase over the previous year was mainly due to the court having acquired jurisdiction over nationals of other Gulf States. Of these cases 167 were civil suits. 691

In all the courts civil suits predominate and a high proportion of them are concerned with immovable property. The high value of land, especially in the towns, has made the public more conscious of the importance of boundaries and the worth of property. There has been much litigation over inheritance and shares in houses and gardens. Heirs in estates who in the past were content to live together in one building now apply to the courts for an order to divide the property so that they may sell their shares in it. Because such high prices can be obtained for land anybody who can claim even a small share in a building or a garden takes his case to the courts. 691 423 428

It has been noticed in the Appeal Court too that questions of land ownership and boundaries have predominated.

There were no important civil cases and, apart from traffic offences, no serious crimes. A man stabbed his brother during a quarrel, inflicting "grievous hurt" for which he was sentenced to four years rigorous imprisonment and in two fatal traffic accidents drivers of vehicles were sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment and to pay fines of Rs. 5,000/-. In certain traffic offences the occupants of cars ran away which suggests that they were probably under the influence of liquor when the accidents occurred. 681 697

Fines amounting to Rs. 7,623/- were paid into court and the sum collected in court fees was Rs. 43,599.

In the small courts 1,964 new cases were filed, 1,668 cases were disposed of and at the end of the year 692 cases were pending. The courts issued 506 execution orders leaving 155 to be dealt with at the end of the year. 691

The Sunni and Shia Courts heard 269 and 172 cases respectively leaving 119 and 51 cases pending. Out of 129 cases which were referred to the Majlis Tajara for an opinion 94 cases were returned to the courts and 35 cases were pending.

The Sunni Shera Court did not work smoothly during the year owing to differences of opinion among the three Kadis, two of them being of the Maliki and one of the Shafi Sect. At one time all cases were judged according to the Maliki tenets, this being the sect of the Ruling Family, but some years ago the Government issued a direction to the court according to which if the plaintiff, or both parties, followed the Shafi doctrine then their case should be tried according to Shafi law. 692 693

There has also been criticism of the Maglis Tajara which consists of a group of leading merchants appointed by the Government who give opinions on commercial matters and local custom. They are busy men and they receive no pay and when it is inconvenient for them to attend the court, and it is frequently inconvenient, they do not appear. Often less than half of the number are present. In addition, they are closely connected either as competitors or partners and it is sometimes difficult for them to give impartial opinion.

The Shia Appeal Kadi gave judgment in 18 cases, the Senior Appeal Court heard 27 cases and the Junior Appeal Court dealt with 28 cases.

## GENERAL

648 **Distinguished Visitors.** Among the many notable persons who visited Bahrain during the year were H.R.H. The Duchess of Kent and H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, who were on their way to the Far East. H.H. Shaikh Abdulla As Salim, Ruler of Kuwait paid his usual visit to the country ; H.E. Ghulam Mohammed, Governor General of Pakistan, stayed for a night on his way to Saudi Arabia. Other visitors were H.E. Dr. Mohammed Fadhel Al Jamali, Prime Minister of Iraq ; Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck ; His Eminence Jirgis, Daoud Kandila, Metropolitan of the Syrian Catholic Church ; a group of British Members of Parliament ; numerous rulers of the Shaikhdoms of the Trucial Coast ; foreign diplomats ; journalists of many nationalities and senior British and American Army, Navy and Air Force Officers.

**Coronation of King Faisal.** H.E. Shaikh Isa, the eldestson of His Highness, represented his father at the coronation in Baghdad in June of H.M. King Faisal II. He was accompanied by several of his relations. The Bahrain delegation travelled to and from Baghdad by air.

655 **Postage Stamps.** A Bahrain 1½ Anna stamp, for internal postage, bearing a portrait of His Highness Shaikh Sulman, was brought into circulation during the year. Some progress was made in the process of the Government gradually taking over the administration of the postal services.

000 **"Caltex Bahrain."** The new oil tanker, *Caltex Bahrain*, was launched in December, in England. The launching ceremony was performed by Lady Belgrave.

471 274 **Pepsi Cola Factory.** Mr. Husain Ahmedi, a local merchant, built a factory on the south-west of Manama for making Pepsi Cola. This is the first enterprise of this type which has been undertaken in Bahrain.

423 656 **Stamped Paper and Title Deeds.** The Government adopted a new design of stamped paper, which is used for agreements, receipts, powers of attorney, etc. New forms were also introduced for title deeds.

797 **Anglican Church.** The building of an Anglican Church was completed on a site east of the Fort which was presented to the Anglican Community by His Highness Shaikh Sulman.

000 **Agriculture.** No report on agriculture has been included this year as Mr. J. Edmond, the Agricultural Officer, completed his period of contract with the Government and proceeded on leave, pending retirement, on 15th September, 1952.

Mr. Van Ollenbach was appointed Agricultural Officer and began his duties on 5th January, 1953.

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## HIS HIGHNESS SHAIKH SULMAN'S VISIT TO ENGLAND

648 His Highness Shaikh Sulman left Bahrain, by air, on 13th May and arrived back in his country on June 26th. His party consisted of his youngest son, Shaikh Mohammed bin Sulman, Sir Charles and Lady Belgrave, Mr. Husain Yateem and two secretaries.

He travelled by air to Beirut where he stayed for one night ; by sea, in S.S. *Esperia*, to Venice where he stayed for three days ; by train to Montreux, on the Lake of Geneva, where he spent four days, and on by train to Paris where he stayed for two nights. He reached London on May 28th.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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Manamah in shops and offices who had to leave their houses in Muharraq and live in Manamah owing to the difficulty of crossing to and fro are now able to live in Muharraq and to cross the channel and come into Manamah by bus.

In addition to the convenience of the road, it has provided work for thousands of men, who cut stone from the sea and bring it ashore in boats during times of unemployment. Everything in the road, except the cement in the parapet and the wooden beams in the culverts, is produced locally. In my opinion, it can be reasonably supposed that not less than 75% of the money expended has been spent in the Bahrain bazaars by the labourers who earned the money and has stimulated local trade.

## LAND REGISTRATION

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**Survey.** This department began its work about twelve years ago, and for the first six years it was mainly occupied in making a survey of the villages and cultivated area in Bahrain. The work, with the exception of two small areas, was completed before the financial depression necessitated reduction of the staff of the Land Department, which put an end to the survey.

When the survey first began it met with considerable opposition from the Shia villagers, who were suspicious of the Government's intentions, but after a short time the object of the work was appreciated by the people and no further difficulties were made.

The results of the work are contained in a quantity of maps showing gardens with their boundaries with reference numbers to registers which contain particulars of owners, water rights, and details about the property. At the time of the survey, information about boundaries, water rights, etc., was obtained from the landlords and from their tenants. Usually in Bahrain the landlords know very little about their gardens and rely almost entirely on the tenants for information about boundaries and water rights. In cases where original documents existed these were examined and checked, but in a great many cases property owners have no title deeds. Before completing the records, the Land Registration Department published a proclamation calling on the public to notify the department if the particulars for registration were not correct.

In addition to the survey of villages and gardens, the department made a survey and a large scale map of Manamah town, and also Hedd and Muharraq; the work in the case of these towns did not include registration of rights. The map of Manamah was made when the electric scheme was first considered and the map was used for planning the layout.

**Reports on Land Cases.** In addition to general survey work, every year the department provides plans and reports to the courts on cases of land disputes. During some years several hundreds of reports have been made, and these reports are usually the decisive factor in settling cases. The Land Department deals with cases in the Bahrain courts and also in the Agency courts.

**Registration of Sales and Titles.** The registration of property in Bahrain is not compulsory, but every year there is an increase in the number of people who apply for the registration of their houses or gardens. The public now realise the value of a Government title deed, and they appreciate the fact that when the title deed has been issued nobody can contest it. The only people who during the last ten years have attempted to set aside a Government title deed are certain members of the Ruling Family. Their claims failed, but if they had succeeded the valuable work of the Land Registration Department over many years would have been seriously affected.

**Mortgages.** The registration of sales of property was made compulsory in 1929, and in 1931 a proclamation was issued to the effect that no claim for foreclosure of a mortgage on immovable property would be heard in the courts unless the property had been previously registered on a Government title deed. The result of this is that nobody can mortgage property unless he holds a Government title deed for it. The actual transaction of the mortgage

5; Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 . MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

need not be registered, but the existence of a Government title deed ensures that the property is free from claims. Before this rule was made, cases frequently occured in the courts in which the same property was mortgaged to two different people.

**Government Title Deeds.** Government title deeds are hand-written documents in Arabic, describing the property with all measurements, boundaries, water rights, and particulars, and on the reverse of each title deed there is a plan of the property with measurements shown in feet and inches. The documents are signed on both sides by the Ruler, the Adviser, and the Superintendent of the Land Department. A person wishing to register his property makes a written application to the Land Registration Department. The property is surveyed by the Land Department surveyors in the presence of the owner or his agent, or, in the case of a sale, in the presence of both parties; if necessary, boundary pillars are erected. A proclamation is then issued, calling on all persons having any claim on the property to submit claims in writing within fifteen to thirty days in the case of a sale, and ninety days in the case of registration of ownership. Claims are forwarded to the Bahrain Court by the Land Department and are decided by the court, which also examines all applications for titles before the final documents are issued. The procedure is somewhat slow, but it is effective, and since it has been in force the number of disputes about land, boundaries, water rights, and fish-traps is gradually declining. Fees are charged for registration of sales according to a sliding scale in the case of sales, depending upon the sale price, and at a fixed rate in the case of registration of ownership. The fees in the latter case are low and do not cover in some cases the cost of the work, but it is to the advantage of the public and the Government that as much property as possible should be registered and, to encourage registration, fees are small. Between 400 and 500 title deeds have been issued by the department every year during the last ten years, and each year there has been a gradual but steady ncrease in applications for registration of ownership.

**Fish-Traps.** In 1353 (1934) all fish-traps round the coast of Bahrain and the various islands were registered, and rules were laid down with the object of preventing people from erecting and then claiming ownership to fish-traps on Government property. It was enacted that the owners of fish-traps had no rights over the boundaries mentioned in their title deeds, except as far as protection from other persons who might wish to erect fish-traps within the area described. In many cases great pieces of the sea were described in old documents as being the boundaries of a certain fish-trap, and if full ownership to these areas was admitted, valuable land along the foreshore would be lost to the Government if the owners chose to reclaim it. The department dealt with the question of a batch of very valuable traps close to the Bahrain Petroleum Company's pier at Sitrah, and was mainly responsible for arranging a settlement between the Bahrain Petroleum Company and the owners of the traps.

**Land Leases and Government Forms.** In addition to survey and registration work, the Land Department is responsible for leasing Government land, mostly in the neighbourhood of Manamah, to persons who live upon it in Barastis. The rents are very low, but the existence of a regular agreement between the Government and the occupier of the ground ensures that the Government retains its ownership of the land. In Bahrain, ten years' undisputed and uhinterrupted occupation is sufficient to establish the ownership of the ground. Printed Government forms, the use of which is compulsory in the case of senads, powers of attorney, and diving 'barwas,' etc., are sold by the Land Department, and every year over 15,000 of these forms are purchased by the public.

The revenue collected by the Land Department does not cover the cost of the department, but the value of land registration to the Government and to the public is very great. The continued success of the registration work can only be ensured as long as the principle that Government title deeds, when once issued, cannot be contested is maintained. Frequent attempts have been made, usually by influential personages, to set aside title deeds, but so far without success. If one case of this kind should meet with success, the whole system would be seriously affected.

5: Bahrain G-5, (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Ruler's house at Sakhir with the exchange by means of a line from Manamah through the Bahrain Petroleum Company's exchange. Telephonic communication now exists over a great part of the islands; from the aerodrome in Muharraq it is possible to talk to steamers lying off Sitra, as a submarine cable was laid by the Bahrain Petroleum Company to the Sitra anchorage, or to distant points on the oil field far down at the south end of the island.

At the end of 1355 (1936-37) there were 40 telephone subscribers, and it is expected that during the next year this number will increase to 60. The trunk line to the Bahrain Petroleum Company's Camp was duplicated in order to deal with the increased traffic. The possibility of installing an automatic switchboard (100 lines) is now under consideration. The advantages would be the elimination of operators and the language difficulties and the prevention of listening-in.

### SUMMARY OF SEVEN YEARS' WORKING

| Year. | Units Generated. | Units Sold. | Revenue Rs | Connected Load in Kw. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1349 (1930-31) ... | 88,080 ... | 47,340 ... | 20,750/- ... | 102 |
| 1350 (1931-32) ... | 111,367 ... | 65,813 ... | 22,486/- ... | 46 |
| 1351 (1932-33) ... | 120,629 ... | 79,550 ... | 27,463/- ... | 23 |
| 1352 (1933-34) ... | 134,744 ... | 83,241 ... | 30,987/- ... | 9 |
| 1353 (1934-35) ... | 147,050 ... | 100,449 ... | 36,797/- ... | 16 |
| 1354 (1935-36) ... | 163,751 ... | 116,440 ... | 43,828/- ... | 27 |
| 1355 (1936-37) ... | 232,320 ... | 151,255 ... | 60,108/- ... | 58 |

The revenue figures are shown to the nearest rupee.

## AGRICULTURE

Until a few years ago agriculture in Bahrain consisted of cultivating dates and lucerne fairly extensively and growing citrus fruit and a few poor vegetables such as onions, tomatoes, radishes, and melons. In 1930 the Government attempted to encourage agriculture by employing an agricultural expert from Iraq, but owing to lack of funds his services were dispensed with before he could make much progress.

The encouragement of agriculture presents many difficulties. Bahrain Arabs regard all agricultural work as derogatory; I have never met one who worked in a garden or a date grove. All the cultivators are Shia aboriginals or Hasawis imported from the mainland as labourers. This feeling against working on the land, and also the question of land tenure have, I believe, restricted the increase of agriculture during the last century. There is ample evidence to show that in the past a great deal more land was cultivated than is to-day. The people who do work on the land are intensely conservative and view all methods except their own with dislike and suspicion.

**Land Tenure.** Most of the open cultivatable land, which is along the coast, is claimed by the Ruling Family, who make no use of it themselves, but prevent the Baharna from extending their existing gardens. In the past, Shaikh Sir Isa was in the habit of issuing papers to various of his relations, gifting to them whole districts of Bahrain. These 'hiba' documents, which were often written on scraps of paper, included large areas described as 'sehat,' containing roads, villages, springs, privately owned property as well as open land. The Shaikhs who acquired 'hibas' enjoyed feudal rights over the territories which were mentioned in their documents, and in the past they were allowed to make what they could out of them by independent taxation of the people living in the villages, by employing forced labour and by using open land as grazing grounds for the animals which they used to own before the days of motor cars. When the 'hiba' system began, long before the introduction of artesian wells, the possibility of increased cultivation was not visualised, but now the holders of 'hibas'

have interpreted them as giving actual and exclusive ownership of all land which is not privately owned which is really State land. As a result of this condition, nearly all the land from Manamah to beyond Zellaq, along the coast, is claimed by various members of the Ruling Family.

**Date Cultivation.** Dates are the most important crop in Bahrain; though not as good as the Hassa dates, they are said to be more lasting. Most gardens contain a large proportion of inferior species which are used only for feeding animals. Few gardens are well kept. More than half of the gardens belong to the Khalifah, who for years have spent no money on improving them, but in spite of this they complain incessantly that the rents have fallen off, which is owing to the decrease in the market price of dates by over 60%, and the deterioration of the gardens from lack of care and expenditure on improvements. Dates form part of the staple diet in Bahrain and are much used for provisioning the pearl fleet, but the home-grown crop is not enough to meet the local demand, and every year about six lacs' worth of dates are imported from Hassa and Iraq. There is no land tax and no tax on date trees in Bahrain, so it is impossible to give an estimate of the number of date palms, but the whole area under cultivation is very small, perhaps one-fiftieth of the total area of the islands. Recently the number of date gardens has been slightly increased, as a few people, notably the Ruler himself, have sunk artesian wells and planted land with trees. The date crop could undoubtedly be improved if more care was taken over the cultivation. In Bahrain, date cultivation is a casual affair, trees are never manured, and there is no regular system of planting. In one of the Ruler's gardens the experiment was made some years ago of manuring the roots of the trees, and the result of this was that the trees produced better crops than those which had not been manured. The use of any form of fertiliser, either decayed leaves and camel thorn or animal manure, was unknown a few years ago, but it is now being used in gardens, but not for date trees.

**Lucerne.** Lucerne is used extensively as fodder for cows and donkeys. It grows rapidly and is easily cultivated on poor soil. Both Hassa and Bahrain seeds are used, the latter being more expensive, and when once established it will grow for as long as ten years and will give a crop every month. It is very hardy in growth, but is liable to attacks by a kind of small caterpillar which appears once or twice every year and destroys all the lucerne in whole districts of the country. Experiments have been made by the camel section of the police in drying lucerne and using it as dry fodder when out on patrol; this has been found very successful.

**Cereals.** At one time it was the custom of the people of Rafsa to sow barley before the rainy season on the plain below the town, and for many years successful crops were harvested, but the crop occasionally failed owing to lack of rain. For some years now this practice has ceased, partly because the people of Rafsa are more prosperous than before, as almost all the able-bodied men of the town have obtained employment with the Bahrain Petroleum Company.

An experiment was made in growing California barley by the Government some years ago on irrigated land, and this was found to be a success.

Last year, millet was raised in the Fort garden. It sprang from the camel manure which was used in the soil. It grew sufficiently well to show that there were possibilities of its being grown on a large scale. Maize or Indian corn has also been grown in small quantities.

Three years ago a crop of rice was grown by Khan Bahadur Abdul Aziz Gonaibi, who is a large landowner and interested in agriculture. The rice was grown in rich, well-watered land near Sehlah; the seed was from Hassa, where it is cultivated extensively, and the crop yielded a small profit.

A little maize or Indian corn is grown in some gardens, and finds a ready sale in the bazaar; the quality is poor, probably because no care is taken to procure good seed.

**Cotton.** In the time of the Caliphs, cotton from Bahrain used to be sent to Baghdad, but it is not certain that this cotton was grown in the islands, as at that time much of the mainl[illegible] was also known as Bahrain. In 1930 an experiment was made in growing

August 2, 1928, which developed in detail the matters discussed in the preceding note and affirmed Persian sovereignty over Bahrein. England answered on February 18, 1929, developing the arguments in her first note and reiterating her previous contentions.

Meanwhile, the Bahrein Government instituted visa regulations and established a land registry office. Since the promulgation of the decree of December 21, 1927, all real properties had to be registered, but no one except "a subject of Bahrein" had right to own property in the island.

Obviously this was to deprive Persians of their rights of ownership in Bahrein. Many sold their land and migrated to Persia, and those who stayed behind had to accept Bahrein citizenship.[1]

Also, previously passports had not been required from Persians travelling to Bahrein, and Persia protested against the change. According to the Persian note, the change "was the explicit recognition by the English authorities of the indisputable right of Iran [Persia] over Bahrein."

Publication of the news of oil concessions obtained previously by Major Holmes from the Bahrein Government, provoked on July 23, 1930, another note from Persia, in which she declared the concession invalid and "reserved—the right to reclaim or to demand restitution of all profits resulting eventually from that concession, without prejudice of all damages relating to it." This strong protest did not deter the English syndicate from ceding its rights to the Standard Oil Company of California, which began systematic exploitation.

The concession to prospect and explore for oil in Bahrein had been obtained on December 2, 1925, to Major Frank Holmes, representing Eastern and General Syndicate, a British company headed by Edmond Davis. For two years, the syndicate tried without success, to interest first British, and later American concerns, in the development of the Bahrein concession. Finally, on

1. This decree was still stiffened by the decrees of 1930 and that of May 23, 1941.

## MUNICIPALITIES

### MANAMA MUNICIPALITY

(From the report of Mr. Mohamed Saleh Shater, Secretary of the Manama Municipality)

At the beginning of the year, owing to sectarian differences between Sunni and Shia members in 1371 which caused the resignation of the Shia members, Municipal affairs were being dealt with by a committee of Sunnis. This was the situation until the middle of the year when the Government succeeded in persuading the Shia members to resume their duties on the Council. They returned on the understanding that they would serve for only one year after which an election should be held.

During the latter part of the year the Council functioned in a more or less normal manner; by shelving all matters which might cause controversy between the sects the Council succeeded in performing its duties without serious differences. The situation, however, was not satisfactory.

**Finance.** The Financial Committee which drew up the budget was formed from the temporary Sunni committee. Estimated revenue for 1372 was Rs. 7,04,000 and expenditure was assessed at the same figure. The actual revenue exceeded the estimate by Rs. 1,16,000, the expenditure was Rs. 61,000 more than was expected and at the end of the year a surplus of revenue over expenditure amounting to Rs. 61,000 was added to the Reserve which was then Rs. 2,83,000.

The increase in revenue was due to a great extent to higher receipts from house and shop taxes. There were many new buildings in the town and higher rents were charged for existing buildings, both for houses and shops. House taxes and shop taxes on buildings which are leased are charged on a percentage basis of the rent. Taxation on houses which are occupied by their owners is extremely low in comparison with that of rented premises. A large proportion of the rented houses are occupied by foreigners and most of the houses in which the owners live are occupied by people of the country.

During the year the Municipality sold land to the public at the price of Rs. 35,200 and it purchased a new fire engine for Rs. 48,000. The Government presented to the Municipality a motor-driven trailer fire pump and jeep, a rubbish carrying vehicle and a gully emptying vehicle.

**Municipal activities.** Town cleaning was effected during the year by two trucks and 30 donkey carts, town rubbish was utilised to reclaim a large portion of sea on the shore at Hora, opposite Cable and Wireless premises. The method of employing donkey carts to carry town refuse is not a satisfactory one. An order was placed in England during the summer for small rubbish-carrying vehicles which can be used in narrow streets.

A number of roads in the town were metalled, the area dealt with was about 380,000 square feet on which was used 480,000 cubic feet of stone and 105,000 cubic feet of sand, the whole costing approximately Rs. 1,76,000.

Some progress was made in widening streets in the bazaar area, 112 new street lights were installed and more trees were planted on the roads, unfortunately each year a number of trees are destroyed, by wind or sometimes by rain which when it falls strongly seems to kill both plants and trees.

There was much building activity both in the town and on the outskirts of the town, numbers of small houses were built for occupation by their owners and more European style bungalows and flats were built for letting. House rents are excessively high, landlords expect to recover the cost of their property in less than ten years, so building houses for letting is at present a profitable investment. However, so many houses are now being built that it seems possible that in a short time there may be more houses than tenants.

During the year permits for new buildings were issued by the Municipality for 144 stone houses and 100 barasti huts and permits for repairs and additions to 186 shops and 717 houses were also granted.

1 [A.D 1951-52 - Analyst]

[Minor's Estates Department]



657 736 Disbursements for maintenance amounted to Rs. 108,800, almost exactly the same sum as was paid out in the previous year. At the beginning of the year the number of orphans and widows who were drawing allowances was 442, of these 36 attained majority and took over their property, cash payments to them totalled Rs. 182,500.

657 652 The Department built four houses in Manama and Muharraq and carried out repairs to a number of other buildings, the expenditure under this heading was Rs. 78,000.

As usual the funds held by the Department together with funds placed at its disposal by the Government were given out on loan to the public, at interest, secured by title deeds of immovable property or gold. The rates of interest charged by the Department are low in comparison to those prevailing in the market.

During the year the Government placed with the Department a further 2¼ lakhs, making its total deposit Rs. 10,80,000.

Interest on loans collected during the year was Rs. 1,46,000, there is a scale of interest depending upon the amount of the loan, the average rate of interest during the year was 6 per cent.

Loans repaid to the Department during the year amounted to Rs. 19,29,000, about 3 lakhs more than in 1371, new loans, made to the public, were approximately 24¼ lakhs. At the end of the year 24¼ lakhs were on loan to the public.

## DEPARTMENTAL ACCOUNT

| Receipts | | | Expenditure | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Balance from 1371 .. | Rs. 16, 585 6 10 | | Maintenance allowances, etc. | Rs. 1,08,876 9 0 | |
| From estates and compensation cases | 1,31,249 | | Purchase of properties .. .. | 9,330 0 0 | |
| Rents .. .. .. | .. 1,96,394 13 4 | | Upkeep of buildings and additions .. | 78,325 15 11 | |
| Refund of Loans .. | 19,29,600 0 0 | | Payments to the beneficiaries | .. 1,82,511 10 0 | |
| Interest on Loans .. | .. 1,46,040 0 0 | | Loans advanced .. | ..24,40,250 0 0 | |
| Deposits .. .. | .. 2,09,051 12 5 | | Balance in the Eastern Bank | .. 1,25,205 9 1 | |
| Loan from Government | .. 2,50,000 0 0 | | | | |
| By sale of properties .. | .. 50,451 4 3 | | | | |
| Debts recovered .. | .. 15,127 5 6 | | | | |
| Total | Rs. 29,44,499 12 0 | | Total | Rs. 29,44,499 12 0 | |

## LAND REGISTRATION DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Mr. Abdul-Aziz Al Saleh, acting Superintendent of the Department)

423 651 625 **Land Registration.** There were 1,072 transactions during the year which included 628 sales, 262 registration of titles and 182 gifts; the properties which were dealt with consisted of 273 plots of ground, most of them being building sites, 82 gardens, 47 shops and 26 miscellaneous lots. Fees amounting to Rs. 1,27,975 were collected of which Rs. 1,20,781 was derived from sales and Rs. 7,194 from registration of titles, etc.

**Sales and Land Values.** The aggregate value of the property which was sold was approximately 40 lakhs, £300,000. In the previous year prices reached a somewhat higher figure but they included several sales of large areas of land on the edge of Manama. There has been no fall in land prices and there are no indications of a change in the situation. High prices are still being paid for building sites in Manama on which European style houses, flats and bungalows, are being built, which are let at excessively high rents. When the demand for houses of this type begins to lessen then rents will decrease and there are some signs that this event is not far off, several recently built houses have "To Let" notices on their doors. At present as much as Rs. 1,000/- per month is being charged for a three-bedroom, dining-sitting-room bungalow on the Jufair Road.

A recent satisfactory development has been the demand by working class men to buy small building plots in Manama, Muharraq, Hidd and Rafaa. The building loan schemes of the Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company have stimulated this development. At one time people were satisfied to live in hired houses or barastis for which they paid rent but now, partly owing to the rapaciousness of landlords and partly because it has become everyone's ambition to own the house in which he lives, there is an active demand for plots of ground on which small houses can be built. Unfortunately the Government owns very little land in and around Manama and nobody wishes to live even at a short distance from the bazaar, the schools and the cinemas.

The most important sales were an Arab style house in the southern district of Manama, on Shaikh Isa Road, which was sold for Rs. 200,000 and a plot of land in the Qudhabia district which was bought by the Government as a site for workmen's dwellings for Rs. 2,57,000, at Rs. 2/5 per square foot. The Government sold 87 plots of land, in various places, for Rs. 3.50,000. Land on the edge of the towns of Manama and Muharraq was sold at prices ranging from Rs. 1/4 to Rs. 3/- per square foot. Thirty building plots were sold at East Rafaa, on the plain below the town, to residents of Rafaa, at 2 Annas per square foot. Land on this site was marked out as a residential area with rows of plots of uniform depth along future roads. At the end of the year a few purchasers had begun to build stone houses on the ground which they bought.

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The imposition of this ordinance caused some resentment among foreigners especially among Saudi Arabians and Persians who in the past have acquired extensive property in Bahrain. This ordinance was probably the cause of some reduction in the number of large land sales during 1372.

One of the reasons why the Government now has so little land at its disposal in Manama and on the outskirts of the town is because in the past large pieces of land were either sold or given to Persians and Saudi Arabians. In the former category is one of the principal landowners in the town. The only area of any size, suitable for development as a housing area, is the land on the south-west of Manama which is now occupied by the installations of Cable and Wireless Ltd. Arrangements are being made for the Company to move out into the country to a site on the Aali plain, but this move will take some time to be carried out.

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5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M22



600 season. The men go out and dive in this coöperative way for one summer, but they are back again the next year as parts of the old machine. What drives them back? From a distance it looks like insanity, but any one acquainted with the local conditions knows this result is inevitable. The Arabs simply cannot coöperate to that extent. They cannot trust each other even in such an association. In a community where simple business partnership between two men in the bazaar is almost unknown, it is futile to expect a dozen divers to coöperate successfully in an enterprise like diving, where mutual forbearance and mutual confidence would be essential, and where the catch might be good sometimes but quite certainly would be bad at other times. The road out of the diver's present trouble is obvious enough, but it is not a possible road for the Arab as he is constituted at present. No road could be more impossible. A little coöperation would save him from the exactions of dishonest captains and greedy pearl merchants, but of that coöperation the Arab is incapable. So since he is unable to organize his industry for his own benefit, it is organized for him by others for their interest, and it goes without saying that the organizer exploits the men under him to the utmost limit.

464 The fundamental difficulty is in the divers themselves.
466 The majority of the divers of Bahrein are Persians, or
●426 belong to that semi-Persian community known as the "Baharina." They are cheated and defrauded by their employers to a degree almost beyond belief. Their economic condition is pitiable. Not so the comparatively small number of divers who come in from the desert. The Bedouins who come and dive are never exploited. A captain who attempted to cheat them would lose his

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East

Bahrain MK2
Qatar MK3



head and he knows it. Therefore these Bedouins, who avoid debt as they would the plague, receive a much better reward for their work than the others. These wild men bow to no authority except that of Allah in Heaven, and are not easy victims. They usually club together and dive in boats by themselves. They keep out of debt, and so have no limitations to their independence. I asked one of them once in a jocose way whether he was sure that the captain was honest in the reports that were submitted as to the prices secured for pearls and the season's proceeds. "Ah," said the diver with the broadest sort of an engaging smile. "What is that you say? Does the captain lie about the price of the pearls he sells for us? No, indeed, he does not lie. He tells the truth. If he should try to cheat us, ha-a." Here the smile extended till it took in his whole face, and he drew the edge of his hand across his own neck in a gesture the meaning of which could not be misunderstood.

The most conspicuous example, however, of divers who are out of debt and therefore out of bondage, is to be found in Katar. Here is a small diving community where practically all of the men are out of debt, and the atmosphere of freedom and equality, good fellowship and comfort is a refreshing contrast to the conditions in Bahrein. The men show real independence and self-respect. These divers can change their employers if the treatment they receive is not satisfactory. They can move to another city to live. In a word, they are free men. Yet the system under which they work is no different from that obtaining in Bahrein. It is the divers who are different. They are Bedouins or descended from Bedouins. They keep out of debt and as a result the system works very well.

## MUNICIPALITIES

### MANAMA MUNICIPALITY

(From the report of Mr. Mohamed Saleh Shater, Secretary of the Manama Municipality)

633 795 At the beginning of the year, owing to sectarian differences between Sunni and Shia members in 1371 A.H. which caused the resignation of the Shia members, Municipal affairs were being dealt with by a committee of Sunnis. This was the situation until the middle of the year when the Government succeeded in persuading the Shia members to resume their duties on the Council. They returned on the understanding that they would serve for only one year after which an election should be held.

During the latter part of the year the Council functioned in a more or less normal manner; by shelving all matters which might cause controversy between the sects the Council succeeded in performing its duties without serious differences. The situation, however, was not satisfactory.

633 **Finance.** The Financial Committee which drew up the budget was formed from the temporary Sunni committee. Estimated revenue for 1372 was Rs. 7,04,000 and expenditure was assessed at the same figure. The actual revenue exceeded the estimate by Rs. 1,16,000, the expenditure was Rs. 61,000 more than was expected and at the end of the year a surplus of revenue over expenditure amounting to Rs. 61,000 was added to the Reserve which was then Rs. 2,83,000.

651 427 The increase in revenue was due to a great extent to higher receipts from house and shop taxes. There were many new buildings in the town and higher rents were charged for existing buildings, both for houses and shops. House taxes and shop taxes on buildings which are leased are charged on a percentage basis of the rent. Taxation on houses which are occupied by their owners is extremely low in comparison with that of rented premises. A large proportion of the rented houses are occupied by foreigners and most of the houses in which the owners live are occupied by people of the country.

425 653 368 During the year the Municipality sold land to the public at the price of Rs. 35,200 and it purchased a new fire engine for Rs. 48,000. The Government presented to the Municipality a motor-driven trailer fire pump and jeep, a rubbish carrying vehicle and a gully emptying vehicle.

364 **Municipal activities.** Town cleaning was effected during the year by two trucks and 30 donkey carts, town rubbish was utilised to reclaim a large portion of sea on the shore at Hora, opposite Cable and Wireless premises. The method of employing donkey carts to carry town refuse is not a satisfactory one. An order was placed in England during the summer for small rubbish-carrying vehicles which can be used in narrow streets.

368 A number of roads in the town were metalled, the area dealt with was about 380,000 square feet on which was used 480,000 cubic feet of stone and 105,000 cubic feet of sand, the whole costing approximately Rs. 1,76,000.

363 247 Some progress was made in widening streets in the bazaar area, 112 new street lights were installed and more trees were planted on the roads, unfortunately each year a number of trees are destroyed, by wind or sometimes by rain which when it falls strongly seems to kill both plants and trees.

362 427 There was much building activity both in the town and on the outskirts of the town, numbers of small houses were built for occupation by their owners and more European style bungalows and flats were built for letting. House rents are excessively high, landlords expect to recover the cost of their property in less than ten years, so building houses for letting is at present a profitable investment. However, so many houses are now being built that it seems possible that in a short time there may be more houses than tenants.

633 342 During the year permits for new buildings were issued by the Municipality for 144 stone houses and 100 barasti huts and permits for repairs and additions to 186 shops and 717 houses were also granted.

1 [A.D. 1951-52 -- Analyst]

## HIDD MUNICIPALITY

651 633 **Finance.** The total revenue was Rs. 28,739, slightly higher than in 1372. At the end of the year there was a surplus of Rs. 6,102. The amount expended was almost the same as in the previous year. At the end of the year His Highness granted Rs. 25,000 to the Municipal funds for building property to increase the Municipal revenue.

The town was clean and well kept and some progress was made in widening the one main street which passes through the length of the town.

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## RAFAA MUNICIPALITY

### which includes East, West and North Rafaa

(From the report of Shaikh Abdulla bin Khalid, President of the Municipal Council)

651 633 363 This Municipality, the last one to be formed in Bahrain, having been established in 1371, carried out its duties successfully during the year. Its revenue was Rs. 37,000 of which Rs. 20,000 was a grant from the Government.

Houses were registered and numbered for the purpose of charging house tax and a piece of land below East Rafaa was laid out as a building area, in conjunction with the Land Department. The Municipality began work on widening the road which passes through East Rafaa and removed part of some houses in order to widen this road.

365 Repairs were carried out to Ain Hinainiyah, the old well on the plain below East Rafaa which provides fresh drinking water, which used to be sold in Manama at a high price, being of superior quality to the artesian well water.

364 Ancient rubbish heaps, which disfigured the edge of the town, were removed and the material was used to fill in deep pits, inside the town, where mud had been dug for building houses.

The Municipality began to establish a regular town cleaning service.

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## MINORS' ESTATES DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Mr. Mohammed Dowaiger, Superintendent of the Department)

471 657 The Department took over the administration of 18 new estates and dealt with 28 compensation cases relating to persons in the employment of the Bahrain Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The value of the estates was Rs. 131,000. Compensation paid by the Bahrain Petroleum Company in cases of death or disablement of employees is passed by the Government to the Minors' Estates Department which pays the persons who are entitled to receive compensation.

657 427 Rents of property administered by the Department produced almost 2 lakhs, the number of properties, including shops, houses, gardens, etc., was 530. The Department sold nine lots of property during the year, for approximately half a lakh and made purchases amounting to Rs. 9,000. The sum of Rs. [illegible]000 was recovered from divers who were in debt to various estates.

**Sales and Land Values.** The aggregate value of the property which was sold was approximately 40 lakhs, £300,000. In the previous year prices reached a somewhat higher figure but they included several sales of large areas of land on the edge of Manama. There has been no fall in land prices and there are no indications of a change in the situation. High prices are still being paid for building sites in Manama on which European style houses, flats and bungalows, are being built, which are let at excessively high rents. When the demand for houses of this type begins to lessen then rents will decrease and there are some signs that this event is not far off, several recently built houses have "To Let" notices on their doors. At present as much as Rs. 1,000/- per month is being charged for a three-bedroom, dining-sitting-room bungalow on the Jufair Road.

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The most important sales were an Arab style house in the southern district of Manama, on Shaikh Isa Road, which was sold for Rs. 200,000 and a plot of land in the Qudhabia district which was bought by the Government as a site for workmen's dwellings for Rs. 2,57,000, at Rs. 2/5 per square foot. The Government sold 87 plots of land, in various places, for Rs. 3.50,000. Land on the edge of the towns of Manama and Muharraq was sold at prices ranging from Rs. 1/4 to Rs. 3/- per square foot. Thirty building plots were sold at East Rafaa, on the plain below the town, to residents of Rafaa, at 2 Annas per square foot. Land on this site was marked out as a residential area with rows of plots of uniform depth along future roads. At the end of the year a few purchasers had begun to build stone houses on the ground which they bought.

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The imposition of this ordinance caused some resentment among foreigners especially among Saudi Arabians and Persians who in the past have acquired extensive property in Bahrain. This ordinance was probably the cause of some reduction in the number of large land sales during 1372.

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5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

need not be registered, but the existence of a Government title deed ensures that the property is free from claims. Before this rule was made, cases frequently occured in the courts in which the same property was mortgaged to two different people.

**Government Title Deeds.** Government title deeds are hand-written documents in Arabic, describing the property with all measurements, boundaries, water rights, and particulars, and on the reverse of each title deed there is a plan of the property with measurements shown in feet and inches. The documents are signed on both sides by the Ruler, the Adviser, and the Superintendent of the Land Department. A person wishing to register his property makes a written application to the Land Registration Department. The property is surveyed by the Land Department surveyors in the presence of the owner or his agent, or, in the case of a sale, in the presence of both parties; if necessary, boundary pillars are erected. A proclamation is then issued, calling on all persons having any claim on the property to submit claims in writing within fifteen to thirty days in the case of a sale, and ninety days in the case of registration of ownership. Claims are forwarded to the Bahrain Court by the Land Department and are decided by the court, which also examines all applications for titles before the final documents are issued. The procedure is somewhat slow, but it is effective, and since it has been in force the number of disputes about land, boundaries, water rights, and fish-traps is gradually declining. Fees are charged for registration of sales according to a sliding scale in the case of sales, depending upon the sale price, and at a fixed rate in the case of registration of ownership. The fees in the latter case are low and do not cover in some cases the cost of the work, but it is to the advantage of the public and the Government that as much property as possible should be registered and, to encourage registration, fees are small. Between 400 and 500 title deeds have been issued by the department every year during the last ten years, and each year there has been a gradual but steady ncrease in applications for registration of ownership.

**Fish-Traps.** In 1353 (1934) all fish-traps round the coast of Bahrain and the various islands were registered, and rules were laid down with the object of preventing people from erecting and then claiming ownership to fish-traps on Government property. It was enacted that the owners of fish-traps had no rights over the boundaries mentioned in their title deeds, except as far as protection from other persons who might wish to erect fish-traps within the area described. In many cases great pieces of the sea were described in old documents as being the boundaries of a certain fish-trap, and if full ownership to these areas was admitted, valuable land along the foreshore would be lost to the Government if the owners chose to reclaim it. The department dealt with the question of a batch of very valuable traps close to the Bahrain Petroleum Company's pier at Sitrah, and was mainly responsible for arranging a settlement between the Bahrain Petroleum Company and the owners of the traps.

**Land Leases and Government Forms.** In addition to survey and registration work, the Land Department is responsible for leasing Government land, mostly in the neighbourhood of Manamah, to persons who live upon it in Barastis. The rents are very low, but the existence of a regular agreement between the Government and the occupier of the ground ensures that the Government retains its ownership of the land. In Bahrain, ten years' undisputed and uninterrupted occupation is sufficient to establish the ownership of the ground. Printed Government forms, the use of which is compulsory in the case of senads, powers of attorney, and diving 'barwas,' etc., are sold by the Land Department, and every year over 15,000 of these forms are purchased by the public.

The revenue collected by the Land Department does not cover the cost of the department, but the value of land registration to the Government and to the public is very great. The continued success of the registration work can only be ensured as long as the principle that Government title deeds, when once issued, cannot be contested is maintained. Frequent attempts have been made, usually by influential personages, to set aside title deeds, but so far without success. If one case of this kind should meet with success, the whole system would be seriously affected.

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## JUDICIAL

(From the report of Mr. Salim Al Arayedh, Superintendent, Judicial Department)

The number of cases of all kinds which were filed in the Senior Court, consisting of Shaikh Daij bin Hamed and Shaikh Ali bin Ahmed, sitting separately except on one day of the week when both sit together with the Adviser, was 1158. This was 258 more than in the previous year. The cases consisted of 451 civil suits of which 15 related to administration of estates, 430 criminal charges, including a number of trivial matters which would not usually be dealt with by a senior court, and 227 land registration cases. The increase over the previous year was mainly due to the court having acquired jurisdiction over nationals of other Gulf States. Of these cases 167 were civil suits. 691

In all the courts civil suits predominate and a high proportion of them are concerned with immovable property. The high value of land, especially in the towns, has made the public more conscious of the importance of boundaries and the worth of property. There has been much litigation over inheritance and shares in houses and gardens. Heirs in estates who in the past were content to live together in one building now apply to the courts for an order to divide the property so that they may sell their shares in it. Because such high prices can be obtained for land anybody who can claim even a small share in a building or a garden takes his case to the courts. 691 423 428

It has been noticed in the Appeal Court too that questions of land ownership and boundaries have predominated.

There were no important civil cases and, apart from traffic offences, no serious crimes. A man stabbed his brother during a quarrel, inflicting "grievous hurt" for which he was sentenced to four years rigorous imprisonment and in two fatal traffic accidents drivers of vehicles were sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment and to pay fines of Rs. 5,000/-. In certain traffic offences the occupants of cars ran away which suggests that they were probably under the influence of liquor when the accidents occurred. 681 697

Fines amounting to Rs. 7,623/- were paid into court and the sum collected in court fees was Rs. 43,599.

In the small courts 1,964 new cases were filed, 1,668 cases were disposed of and at the end of the year 692 cases were pending. The courts issued 506 execution orders leaving 155 to be dealt with at the end of the year. 691

The Sunni and Shia Courts heard 269 and 172 cases respectively leaving 119 and 51 cases pending. Out of 129 cases which were referred to the Majlis Tajara for an opinion 94 cases were returned to the courts and 35 cases were pending.

The Sunni Shera Court did not work smoothly during the year owing to differences of opinion among the three Kadis, two of them being of the Maliki and one of the Shafi Sect. At one time all cases were judged according to the Maliki tenets, this being the sect of the Ruling Family, but some years ago the Government issued a direction to the court according to which if the plaintiff, or both parties, followed the Shafi doctrine then their case should be tried according to Shafi law. 692 693

There has also been criticism of the Maglis Tajara which consists of a group of leading merchants appointed by the Government who give opinions on commercial matters and local custom. They are busy men and they receive no pay and when it is inconvenient for them to attend the court, and it is frequently inconvenient, they do not appear. Often less than half of the number are present. In addition, they are closely connected either as competitors or partners and it is sometimes difficult for them to give impartial opinion.

The Shia Appeal Kadi gave judgment in 18 cases, the Senior Appeal Court heard 27 cases and the Junior Appeal Court dealt with 28 cases.

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## WAKF ADMINISTRATION

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**Nature of Wakfs.** Much valuable property in Bahrain is wakf property, dedicated in the past for public and religious purposes, such as the upkeep of mosques, the payment of muezzins and priests, and in the case of the Shias, towards religious observances during the month of Muharram and the expenses of the matems, which can be described as village halls supported by religious endowments. In addition to the charitable wakfs, which are intended to benefit the general public, there are private wakfs which are frequently in the nature of entails of property to the heirs of a certain person and, among the Shias, property and money is often left in trust to pay for prayers to be said over a long period of time on behalf of a deceased person. Another common form of religious endowment is the dedication by will of one-third of the estate for charity or for certain specific charities, but this note only refers to wakfs of a public nature.

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**Shaikh Khalaf.** Until the year 1346 (July 1927—June 1928) all wakf property in Bahrain, both Sunni and Shia, was administered by the Qadis and by anybody who was sufficiently powerful to retain the administration of the property in his hands. It is not an exaggeration to state that most of the proceeds of the property found its way into the pockets of the administrators and was not distributed to the poor for whose benefit it was intended. In 1345 (1926-27), Shaikh Khalaf, who was then the Shia Qadi, was compelled to resign owing to agitation among the Baharna which was caused by his habit of taking bribes. Twice before during his long tenure of office he had been compelled to retire owing to irregular practices, but in spite of this he retained a great influence over many of the country villages. Shaikh Khalaf had been one of the leading personalities in Bahrain for many years, and it was partly owing to his support that the diving reforms were carried out in 1923. No Qadi since Shaikh Khalaf has had such influence over the Shia community as a whole.

**Syed Adnan's Administration.** His successor was Syed Adnan, a young man who had been educated in Iraq and who had a well-deserved reputation for piety, learning, and honesty. In addition to this, he was more progressive in his ideas than any of the previous Qadis. On his appointment he made an effort to register the wakf property and to start a regular system of administration. With the support of the Government he compelled many of the people who held wakf property to lease it through him and to submit to him an account of revenue and expenditure. He died very suddenly about a year after his appointment, but during the time that he was Shia Qadi he accomplished much valuable work, and his books containing the descriptions and registrations of wakf properties were of great use to the wakf department when it was formed.

**Appointment of a Council.** After the death of Syed Adnan, the wakf property was administered for some time by Shaikh Mohomed Ali Medani, the executor of the late Qadi, but this arrangement was distasteful to most of the Shia community who, quite rightly, placed no confidence in Shaikh Mohomed Ali Medani, who was afterwards convicted of misappropriating funds belonging to some minors and orphans. Two Qadis, Shaikh Ali bin Hassan of Senabis and Shaikh Abdulla bin Mohomed Saleh of Manamah, were then appointed. The former, when he was appointed, stipulated that he should have nothing to do with the administration of the wakf property; the latter very soon demanded that the wakf property should be handed over to him. He was persuaded to appoint a committee of leading Shia notables to assist him in the administration of the property. After a short time the country people, who form the majority of the Shia community and who have the greatest interest in the wakfs, objected to this arrangement and made a petition on the subject to the Ruler, who had hitherto taken no interest in the question of the Shia wakf administration. The public asked that the administration of the property should be entirely in the hands of the people and not under the control of the Qadi of Manamah. A council was appointed, consisting of six men from the country and four from Manamah, and the wakf property was handed over to their charge. A local merchant was appointed as treasurer, but no president was chosen in order to placate the feelings of Shaikh Abdulla and Shaikh Mohomed Ali Medani, both of whom were comparatively satisfied as long as the other was not in control.

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**Previous attempts to organise Wakf Department.** About four years before an attempt had been made by the Government to alienate the wakf property from the Qadis. Both Sunnis and Shias combined in such furious opposition to the proposal that it was soon dropped. The same result was obtained, with no disturbances, when it appeared that the idea had come from the public themselves. The expenses of the department, pay of the treasurer and the clerk, and accommodation were provided by the Government, as it was desirable and in the interests of a large portion of the community that wakf property should be properly dealt with.

**Progress of Administration and Elections.** By 1930 the wakf department had become an established institution, entirely unconnected with the Shia Qadis, who were only referred to by the council in question concerning shara law. The department opened an account at the bank, regular accounts were kept, wakf lands were leased by the department, and no payments were made except with the approval of the council. Each member was responsible for supervising and reporting on the wakf property in his district, and for this purpose Bahrain was roughly divided into sections, each section being represented by a member of the council. The Government issued a proclamation, ordering all persons to register wakf property within a certain time, failing which the administrator would be liable for prosecution. In response to this order, much wakf property was discovered which was previously unknown. In 1353 (1934-35) the revenue collected by the department was about Rs 24,000 /-.

In 1349 (1930-31), the third year of its existence, the revenue of the department decreased considerably owing to the general depression, particularly because its income was mainly derived from date gardens, and many of the tenants were ugable to pay their rents in full. In spite of two or three bad years which followed, the department was able during this time to purchase more gardens and to improve the existing property by planting many thousands of new trees, repairing irrigation streams, and in some cases sinking artesian wells in order to cultivate new ground. At various times the department suffered somewhat owing to the intrigues of the religious leaders, who stirred up the tenants against the council, but the members were sufficiently influential and independent to withstand these difficulties.

A new election was held in 1350 (1931-32), and this time voting was by ballot and took place in a village in the centre of every district. Although this was a novel procedure, the people adopted it with enthusiasm, and in some villages there were keen contests to return certain members. The department began to register wakf property in the Land Department and became involved in much litigation with various Sunni landowners who claimed wakf property as part of their own gardens. In some cases, members of the Ruling Family objected to the registration of wakf property, claiming that it was included in gift documents held by them for whole districts. Cases regarding the Shia wakfs, which were referred occasionally to the Sunni shara courts, were not always dealt with impartially. The Sunni Qadis, who still retain control of the Sunni wakfs, resented the Shia wakf department and council, fearing that public opinion would compel them to hand over control of their wakfs to a similar committee. Many of the Ruling Family were also unsympathetic to the wakf department, thinking that the Shias might be encouraged to claim gardens which were originally wakf property but had been confiscated by the Khalifah many years ago.

In 1351 (1932-33) the accounts of the wakf department were audited by a chartered accountant, but as there were more than 1,800 separate accounts, one for each different endowment, it was impossible to check every account, but various suggestions were made to simplify the method of book-keeping. During this year there was some agitation against the department, organised by one of the Qadis, and numerous petitions of doubtful authenticity were made to the Government, asking that the council should be dismissed and that the Government should take over complete control of the wakf administration. This was not done. The department continued its work during the year, improving the gardens, repairing mosques and matems, and occasionally purchasing small gardens, but the accumulation of debts owing to the department increased, and a very large sum was outstanding at the end of the year.

During 1352 (1933-34) the work of the department was carried out without any disturbances and the revenue improved slightly. In 1353 (1934-35) there was some adverse criticism of the

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

421 department by the public, who complained, with justification, that wakf property dedicated to the Shia Qadi received more attention than other property.

429 In 1935 there was renewed opposition to certain members of the council, including Syed Ahmad bin Syed Alawi, the treasurer, which owed its origin to a bitter quarrel between two factions of the Shia community in Manamah, which came to a head when Shaikh Abdullah bin Mohomed Saleh was tried and convicted by a special court for misappropriating money which he was administering on behalf of an orphan. The members of the council took opposite sides, and the routine of the department was disturbed. It was therefore thought advisable to hold a new election. This was done early in 1936. The council was increased from 10 to 15 members and the offices of the department were moved from two rooms in the Manamah school, which they had previously occupied, to rooms in the Bahrain court-house. The new council includes several of the leading Shias, who are more businesslike and capable than their predecessors. One of their first decisions was to appoint a sub-committee for dealing with accounts and another committee for inspecting gardens and property on the lines of the municipal council's methods. After the last election the two Qadis again requested the Government to take over the administration of the wakfs, but this request was again refused.

**Results.** The formation of the Shia Wakf Department has been comparatively successful. It is the first time that the Baharna have had an opportunity of working together and managing their own affairs and, in spite of frequent intrigues and attacks from outside, the department has done much valuable work which is of benefit to the whole Shia community. The results have been more successful than I anticipated, and it is evident that this is appreciated by the general public, not only the Shias, for at the time of writing there is a movement afoot among the Sunni ulemas and some of the Sunni notables for setting up a similar council to administer the Sunni wakf property.

The work of the Shia Wakf Department is not an easy task, as the wakf property is made up of nearly two thousand isolated pieces of gardens, fish-traps, houses and shops, and in many cases only a proportion of the property is wakf and the remainder is owned by individuals. The normal income from the wakf property should be about Rs 40,000/- per annum, but during recent years it has been difficult to collect the rents, and at the beginning of 1936 the balance outstanding against the tenants amounted to about Rs 15,000/-.

**Future Development.** A possible development in the future would be the education at Government expense of two or three young men who could be sent to Iraq or elsewhere to study the work and methods of the wakf ministry. The members of the council, although most of them are illiterate, are fully capable of dealing with the practical work, such as supervising the cultivation and the upkeep of the gardens and buildings, but they lack the administrative experience and enterprise which is necessary for the management of a public department.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF THE DEPARTMENT

| *Year.* | | *Revenue.* Rs | | *Expenditure.* Rs |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1349 (1930-31) | ... | 18,700/- | ... | 17,900/- |
| 1350 (1931-32) | ... | 17,700/- | ... | 18,300/- |
| 1351 (1932-33) | ... | 21,000/- | ... | 20,200/- |
| 1352 (1933-34) | ... | 24,100/- | ... | 22,400/- |
| 1353 (1934-35) | ... | 28,600/- | ... | 24,100/- |
| 1354 (1935-36) | ... | 18,300/- | ... | 18,000/- |
| 1355 (1936-37) | ... | 18,100/- | ... | 18,700/- |

**Sunni Wakf Administration.** The administration of the Sunni wakfs is in the hands of the three Sunni Qadis and, although the Government contributes to the expenses of the clerks who do the work, it has no knowledge of the methods or results of the administration.

228 The Bahrain Government has tried hard to encourage the diving
656 industry, by the remittance of the registration fees on diving boats,
178 by customs concessions and by other means, but it is certain that the industry will never return to its palmy days when so many of the people of Bahrain were connected with it or depended on it.

228 Visitors to the pearl banks are advised to set out at about midnight
● 431 from Bahrain. Launches can be hired in Manama or Muharraq and
609 if they leave at twelve midnight, the banks will be reached at two or three in the morning. The remainder of the night can be spent lying at anchor and in the early morning the opening of the shells can be watched, followed by the preparations for the day's work and the actual diving. The divers have no objection to being photographed at their work and welcome foreigners on board their boats, they do, however, appreciate a present from visitors and it is a good plan to take out some fresh dates or other fruit, for the boats, particularly at the end of the season, are usually low in fresh provisions and such a gift is very welcome.

## CHAPTER VII

## LOCAL INDUSTRIES

### THE POTTERIES

323 PEARLING is not the only ancient industry in Bahrain, for the presence
[438] in many parts of the islands of pottery sherds indicates that pottery has been made here for many centuries. Today this industry is restricted to the village of Aali whose inhabitants work in the same way as did their forefathers, scorning modern innovations.

[472] From the hills around Rifaa the clay is brought to Aali ; brown and red clay for the coarser objects and white clay for finer work. The raw clay is beaten and then mixed with water until it is ready for throwing by the younger members of the potter's family, for each pottery is a separate family concern. All the processes which go into the making of pottery take place in small sheds, in each one a potter can be seen at work, his feet in a pit working the wheel which is on a level with his waist. Rapidly he flings lumps of clay on to the spinning wheel and with deft fingers works the shapeless mud into graceful jars, bowls and other utensils. When each piece is completed it is set in the sun to dry before being taken to the oven. Most of the ovens
[172] are built in the prehistoric tumuli south of the village, which have been excavated. A hole is made in the roof of the tomb and another at the side; in the former the objects to be baked are placed and the latter is filled with firewood. When the fires are lit the tombs become miniature volcanoes with thick smoke belching from their peaks, slowly the fires die down, the smoke clears and the baked pottery is removed and the ovens are prepared for the next baking.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M22.
Maritime Arabs MK2



fering to the common people. Nothing of that sort has ever happened in the pearl market. French dealers from Paris maintain an establishment throughout the year in Bombay where any man may come to sell his pearls. These men speak Arabic fluently and they buy the pearls in person. For about three months of the active season they send up one of the partners of the firm to act as purchaser in Bahrein itself, so that the Paris market is practically available to the poorest merchant and diver in Bahrein. It is a pleasure to testify to the fine character and courteous business-like dealings of these buyers. If Arabia's contact with the West could be confined to men of their type, her path would have fewer thorns and stones. A host of smaller Arab and Indian buyers pick up a certain percentage of the catch and handle it, partly with an eye to legitimate business and partly as a speculative venture. There is always a large amount of speculation in Bahrein and Bombay in connection with the fluctuations in the value of the pearls. Like every other sort of speculation, it carries with it a great temptation, and many are fascinated by the prospect of buying cheap and selling high. They often work with large sums borrowed from others and end with a crash, completely bankrupt. Fluctuations in the pearl market are very wide; pearls worth a thousand *rupees* this season may be worth double that or half of it the following season. Indeed on rare occasions they may drop to one-half their value overnight. Almost every one gets the fever for speculation during the season. I remember seeing an old slave bring to a pearl dealer a few small and misshapen pearls. "I bought these," he said, "for eight *annas* (sixteen cents); I am hoping to sell them for twelve *annas*."

464 Europeans. For the latter the company provides many amenities.
382 In the town of Awali there is a cinema, a club and other recreational
511 facilities. There is a Commissary for the supply of foods and goods
466 unobtainable elsewhere in Bahrain; a school for American and European children with qualified teachers and hospitals for the various nationalities employed by BAPCO. A cinema, swimming bath and mosque are also being constructed in the Arab Camp, and a swimming bath and cinema in the Indian and Pakistani camp at Rifaa. The company also maintains dispensaries in some of the villages and has built three schools for the Bahrain Government. There is cordial co-operation between the Bahrain Government and BAPCO in all fields of social service and although it may seem strange that an oil company should be encouraged to occupy itself with so many activities not directly connected with the production of oil, yet it is now recognised in the Middle East that it is an obligation of oil companies not only to work for their shareholders but also for the benefit of the people of the country from which they derive their profits.

471 In 1940 a Supplementary Agreement was signed between the Ruler
382 and the Bahrain Petroleum Company in which the latter received an extension to its concession including all lands, shoals, reefs, waters and submerged lands of "the present and future domains" of the Ruler of Bahrain.

315 It is a comparatively rare thing for people visiting Bahrain to see the actual oil which has made the Islands famous, gone are the days when to "strike oil" meant that a huge gusher of oil would leap skywards covering everything about it with what is termed, in the hackneyed phrase of the journalist, "black gold." Today the drilling of a well is normally a tidy process ; when oil is struck the drillers have complete control over its flow and quickly cap the well with a "Christmas Tree," the nickname for the mass of taps and valves which are placed over the well head. From the well the oil is piped to the Refinery and then to the storage tanks at Sitra. But in every part of its processing little is seen of the oil except by the workers in the laboratories.

433 The oil industry today is the most important factor in Bahrain's economy and is recognised as such by the Government and the people of the country.

## CHAPTER VI

## JEWELS OF THE DEEP

228 Pearl diving is probably the oldest industry in Bahrain and has been the reason why an otherwise small and comparatively unproductive group of islands has been the scene of so many bitter wars and has been over-run by so many invading armies. From earliest times Bahrain has been famous for its pearls ; in an Assyrian inscription of some 2000 B.C. a parcel of "fish eyes" from Dilmun is believed to be

471 228 The financing of a pearl boat is a complicated affair. Formerly most boats were owned by their captains, but today the majority of the larger boats belong to land merchants. In cases where boats belong to captains but are financed by land merchants, the latter make a profit of about 10%, but in cases where the merchants both own and provision the boats they receive 20% of the profits. After deducting costs, the remainder of the profit is shared in fixed proportions, the nakhuda receiving five parts, the diver two and the Saib one.

437 228 When the nakhuda sells the catch he must always be accompanied by two members of the crew, to see fair play. Sales are carried out in an unusual way. If the nakhuda and the purchaser or broker do not want the audience to know the amounts offered for the pearls, and as the sales take place in the quarter of the pearl brokers there are always interested bystanders, they spread a cloth over their hands and bargain by a sort of deaf and dumb language. Once they have agreed on the price the nakhuda must obtain the consent of the two witnesses before the sale is considered valid. The value of the pearls is established in 804 a special way. In the case of ordinary pearls, they are collected in 435 great numbers, sorted for size by a set of graded sieves, and each group 228 is weighed and counted and their value in "chows," a form of measurement derived from the weight of the pearls, is discovered from a book printed for the purpose. Once a pearl or pearls have been assessed at so many chows, the question of the value per chow is settled by bargaining, the price per chow depending on the average shape, texture and colour in the case of bunches of pearls or in single pearls. In the case of pairs of pearls their value depends greatly on how well they are matched. Seed pearls, the smallest form of pearls, are sold entirely by weight, while a single pearl has been known to sell for as much as £15,000, as in the case of the Bahrain pearl which was eventually bought by a well known American lady.

228 433 It is very difficult to estimate the value of the Bahrain catch in past years, the figure for 1833 was estimated at £240,000, £400,000 in 1835 and £303,941 in 1896. In more recent years the Bahrain Government has given official figures which outline the history of the industry during the past quarter of a century. In 1833 it was also said that there were 1,500 boats leaving Bahrain annually for the pearl banks, and in 1896, 900. The largest number of Bahrain pearling boats has been given as 2,000 but this figure is probably an exaggeration. That the industry has declined is proved by the figures, in 1930, 509 boats manned by 19,300 men found pearls worth Rs. 2,125,000, while in 1948 there were only 83 boats with a crew of 2,000 and finding a catch worth Rs. 855,000. Although the numbers of boats and divers decreased by about 6 times and 9 times respectively it is noticeable that the catch only decreased in value by 2½ times and in 1950 the catch was worth Rs. 1,650,000, more than half of the 1930 figure.

228 178 433 The reason for the decline in the industry, which started in 1930, was the severe trade depression which began in that year and which reduced the wealth of those in Europe who were in the habit of buying

pearls, and also the large scale manufacture of cultured pearls in Japan. It was indeed lucky for Bahrain that oil was found in 1932, or else she would have seen her principal industry slowly decline with nothing with which to replace it. Once the oil industry was established, however, it in its turn served to precipitate the decay of the older industry by providing employment with better conditions and higher pay than were to be found on the pearl banks. The decline had also been unwittingly aided by the reforms of the late Ruler, Shaikh Hamed, who, on becoming Deputy Ruler in 1923, found the working conditions of the industry in a shocking state. The pearl banks were productive and much money was being made but little of it went to the divers, many of whom had involved themselves in a form of financial slavery to the nakhudas. Divers were given advances by the captains before the season, to provide for their families while they were away at sea, and at the end of the season, while the sales of the pearls, were being carried out. The eventual result was that the captains gave advances far in excess of the money due to the divers at the end of the season and to repay these loans the divers were forced to work for the same captain in the following season. But each year the advances were again in excess of the divers' earnings and so they got deeper and deeper into debt to the captains. At the same time the latter were indebted to shore merchants for supplies, for which they were charged high rates of interest, although this was contrary to the Sheria Law. The captains passed this interest on to the divers, who thus paid a minimum of 50% of their original debt each year. Diving debts were bequeathed, sons of divers whose fathers died owing money to captains were forced to work for them, and a diver, if he became too old to work, was only released from diving if he was replaced by his son or some other relation. In addition to this, indebted divers were often made to work on land for their creditors, or were handed over as workers to merchants to whom the nakhuda owed money.

228 178 433 452 228 178 466

Shaikh Hamed was determined to abolish all these practices and was supported by some of the more progressive Arabs and the Shiite and Sunni judges, who disapproved of the whole system. Amongst the bitterest opponents of the reforms were the divers themselves who were persuaded by the nakhudas and merchants into believing that they were going to lose by them. The reforms were, however, introduced and resulted in fixed advances, the amounts of which were announced annually by proclamation, the restriction of interest on advances, and all advances in excess of the legal amounts to be unreclaimable in court. The divers were also entitled to seek other work on the condition that they repaid a certain proportion of their diving debt each year. Many thousands of debts were reduced and the special diving court, which had favoured the captains and merchants, was abolished and all diving cases were heard by the ordinary courts. Finally, the debts of a diver died with him and could not be inherited by his heirs. The result of these reforms was that the industry, although reduced in size was put on a much sounder footing and its workers were not forced to dive but did so because they wanted to.

228 178 452 185 [698]

Bahrein produces dates of very good quality, though inferior to the Iraqi and especially to the Persian variety known in the United States as the Bassorah date. The entire date production of Bahrein is consumed locally, either fresh or dried, or in a powder which is used like wheat flour for the making of bread, the common food of the rich.

The economic value of the date palm does not stop with the fruit. All other parts of the palm yield products of practical value to Bahreinis; their life would be impossible without it. The trunk furnishes timber for houses and boats; the midribs of the leaves go into crates and furniture; the leaf bases are used for fuel; the small leaves are used in basketry, the fiber for cordage and packing, and the fruit stalks for rope and fuel.

Under the shade of their palm trees and around their springs, the Bahreinis live their relatively simple life, producing some vegetables, weaving a few shawls, making sailcloth or reed mats, and breeding their donkeys. The Bahrein donkeys, or "Bandari," were bought by donkey lovers for their endurance, their height, and other celebrated qualities.

The main occupations of the townspeople are commercial and maritime, mostly fishing and handling the transit shipments which are one of Bahrein's largest sources of revenue. The greatest economic asset of the islands, however, despite the value of the recently discovered oil, is still the pearl fisheries.

## PEARL FISHING

The chief source of income of the islands before the discovery and exploitation of oil reserves in the nineteen thirties was pearl fishing. Before the rise of competition from the Japanese pearl fisheries and worldwide economic crisis of 1930, the industry employed more than 20,000 persons annually, and revenue from the pearls, which were exported principally to Paris and London, amounted to about £2,000,000[1] annually. Single pearls often bring enormous prices; for example, the most beautiful

1. Except where otherwise specified, pounds referred to throughout are English pounds sterling.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

pearl found in the 1929 season was sold to one of the four leading dealers for 1,500,000 francs, or about $75,000.[1] The industry at times has produced as much as $8,000,000 worth of pearls, to which should be added about $100,000 in revenue from mother-of-pearl shell which is highly valued in the Western world, though of less interest to Orientals. The real profits, however, begin with the Arab and Hindu dealers in Bombay, whence the pearls are shipped to the jewel markets east and west, at each exchange acquiring a greater value and thus ministering to human ostentation.

The Big Four among the pearl dealers were formerly the Houses of Rosenthal, Pack, Mohammad Ali and Bienenfeld, all of Paris,[2] but after the beginning of World War II the market moved to Bombay.

The banks that are fished most often are the shallow waters of the Arabian coast and those that lie between the twenty-fourth and twenty-seventh parallels north, and the fiftieth and fifty-fifth east. The most famous are situated between the islands of Sir Beni Yas and Shiltaye.

The pearl may be described as the result of a kind of "occupational disease" of the oyster, which in opening its shell to obtain food often takes in gritty particles which cause irritation. Nature provides a remedy in the form of a secretion that covers the offending particle with a smooth coat of nacre. Once started, the process continues indefinitely, each year adding to the size of the pearl which results. Many kinds of molluscs of both fresh and salt water varieties produce pearls of some kind, varying greatly in shape, size, color, and commercial value. The most prolific of the pearl producing oysters in the Gulf, the *Mahharahs*, grow to about two inches in diameter, and are collected when three years old. Large pearls are called "Unions"[3]

1. We are not far from the time of Pliny, when the price of Indian and Arabian pearls was second only to that paid for the *adamas*, or diamond.
2. It is reported that some Gulf pearls sold to Cartier were purchased by the Duchess of Windsor for $20,000, and a single pearl of the same origin was finally sold to Barbara Hutton for $15,000.
3. Cf.: If all the world were but one ring
   Ormuz should the union bring.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



228 pearl-trade during the war. Sea fisheries are also extensive, the fish being taken in nets and in tidal weirs or enclosures (*hadhrahs*) made of reeds, some of which surround large areas in the shallow waters round the coasts; 500 lb. of fish a day were supplied without 241 difficulty to the Indian Expeditionary Force in 1914. Agriculture is carried on by irrigation, the chief products being fruit (dates, citrons, limes, melons, figs, &c., but few of the first quality), lucerne, and a few vegetables; a great belt of date-groves on Bahrein Island runs S. from Manāmah to the village of Būri, a distance of about 231 7 miles. Domestic animals include about 2,000 donkeys, less than 100 horses owned by the Sheikh and his family, about 100 camels, chiefly used in carrying water to Manāmah for sale, and a small but fine local breed of cattle, in high repute for their milking qualities. Of the donkeys, some 200 are of the famous breed imported from Hasa, from 12 to 13 hands, and white in colour.

433 The chief handicrafts are sail-making, weaving of abbas, lungis, and checked sheeting, and the manufacture of mats from Hasa reeds. Palgrave described the *Bahārinah* as excelling in the crafts of the weaver, the tailor, the dyer, and the worker in metal, wood, or leather. Boat-building, with timber imported from India, employs about 200 carpenters; Bahrein builders can turn out an excellent forty-ton boat in less than a month. Many boats are sold to purchasers in El-Qatar and Oman.

504 Trade at the port of Manāmah was for years hindered by the unsatisfactory arrangements for handling cargo, distribution being 439 delayed, and goods left to deteriorate without any proper protection. In 1910 the control was given to a European, but in the following year native sentiment demanded native control, and two Arabs were appointed, with lamentable results. Since then matters have improved; a Hindu has been placed in charge, and the construction of a jetty and storage-shed has modified the worst of the [651] former defects. The Sheikh is entitled by treaty to an *ad valorem* duty of 5 per cent. on merchandise. Bahrein is the principal market for the pearl-industry, the export of pearls in a good year attaining about £2,000,000. But it is also an important emporium for the east coast of Arabia, distributing merchandise from India and from countries bordering on the Persian Gulf, to El-Qatar, Qatīf, and 'Oqair, from which last two ports goods are carried into the oases of Hasa and Qatīf, and beyond into southern Nejd. This local trade is carried in native boats without manifests, so that exact statistics cannot be obtained.

439 The total average imports of Manāmah for the three years 1911–14 amounted to £2,061,038, and exports £2,106,766. During the

nama, Muharraq and Hedd and the 3 villages of East and West Rafaa and Sakhir was less than 1 per cent.

## Social Economy

Prior to the opening of the Bahrain oil fields, the economy of the islands was based upon pearl fishing and the transshipment of goods between Iran, India and other countries and the neighboring Arabian ports. The waters of the Persian Gulf contain famous pearl fishing banks, and, since ancient times, Bahrain has been recognized as the traditional center of the industry. It constituted the principal source of wealth for centuries, but it reached a low level in the 1920s, due in part to the competition of Japanese cultured pearls in the world markets. Early records are nonexistent, but the former Bahrain pearl fleets probably consisted of 600 to 1,000 vessels. The number has declined progressively: only 83 departed for the banks in 1950. In that year, about 2,000 Bahrainis were engaged in pearl fishing during the season from mid-April to October, undoubtedly a fraction of the total employed when the demand for pearls was at its height.

In previous decades, dhow building also was one of the major industries of Bahrain, but its decline has paralleled that of the pearl fisheries. Nine boats were constructed in 1949, as against 100 reported in 1928-29.

Today, oil is the foundation of Bahrain's prosperity. The royalties derived from the industry not only have bolstered the declining resources of the government, but have made possible the expansion of public works and social services. Operations are conducted by the Bahrain Petroleum Company, Ltd., which holds long-term concessions from the Sheikh of Bahrain for the development of the petroleum resources of the islands. Oil was discovered in the Jabal ad Dukhan region, near the center of Bahrain Island, in 1932, and production started in 1934. The proven reserves of this field are estimated in the neighborhood of 200 million barrels. The company also operates a

505 ment with launch or dhow owners, but it should be remembered that some of them are private property. Umm as-Sabaan is the private 423 property of Mr. Max W. Thornberg, Jidda being a penal settlement, 486 is forbidden ground, and Umm an-Nasaan may only be visited with permission of H.H. The Ruler. The others, the small islands south of Muharraq, Nebih Salih, Jezira and the Howar islands are free to all visitors and a visit to them makes a change from drives around the islands.

489 Transport in Bahrain includes both bus and taxi, the former are not 493 the luxurious affairs seen in Europe and England but have wooden bodies built in Bahrain and attached to an imported chassis. Taxis, however, are not too expensive if care is taken to pay the correct fare which is recorded in a fare book that should be carried by every driver. It is rumoured that taxis will soon carry meters, which will certainly simplify matters, but till that happy day passengers who have complaints to make about being over-charged should make them to the Traffic Department of the State Police.

435 Petrol and oil are cheap in Bahrain, which is not surprising, and the 493 import tax on cars and motor cycles is only 10%, so that to own and run 651 a private car is cheaper than in England or the States, as many fortunate people have discovered. Most makes of cars are obtainable in Bahrain, garage facilities have increased and the improvement in the roads has enabled English cars to be used with comfort.

492 The old-fashioned form of transport in Bahrain was the donkey. 489 It was used for every task, for bringing the produce of the country for sale in the town, for pulling carts and for riding. The white Bahrain donkeys used to be well known all over the Middle East and they were exported from Bahrain to places as far distant as the East African coast. Today buses are replacing donkeys, there are bus services between most of the villages, though many of the young men prefer to use bicycles. Lorries too have successfully competed with donkeys and now carry most of the goods between the towns and villages, but in the gardens and in the narrow country lanes one still meets many donkeys though few of the fine white beasts for which the islands were famous long ago. However, the donkey will never entirely die out, for he has certain advantages over other methods of transport, he can reproduce young donkeys, he can find his own way along small and narrow tracks in the gardens and he produces manure, which is a valuable commodity in Bahrain.

## CHAPTER V

## BAHRAIN'S OIL INDUSTRY

315 THE man who was chiefly responsible for the discovery of Bahrain's 471 oil resources was an Australian, Major Frank Holmes, who came to Bahrain on behalf of the Eastern and General Syndicate, a British prospecting company. Major Holmes, after drilling a number of artesian wells and thus discovering something about the composition

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178 was the severe trade depression which began in that year and which
433 reduced the wealth of those in Europe who were in the habit of buying

**Sales and Land Values.** The aggregate value of the property which was sold was approximately 40 lakhs, £300,000. In the previous year prices reached a somewhat higher figure but they included several sales of large areas of land on the edge of Manama. There has been no fall in land prices and there are no indications of a change in the situation. High prices are still being paid for building sites in Manama on which European style houses, flats and bungalows, are being built, which are let at excessively high rents. When the demand for houses of this type begins to lessen then rents will decrease and there are some signs that this event is not far off, several recently built houses have "To Let" notices on their doors. At present as much as Rs. 1,000/- per month is being charged for a three-bedroom, dining-sitting-room bungalow on the Jufair Road.

A recent satisfactory development has been the demand by working class men to buy small building plots in Manama, Muharraq, Hidd and Rafaa. The building loan schemes of the Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company have stimulated this development. At one time people were satisfied to live in hired houses or barastis for which they paid rent but now, partly owing to the rapaciousness of landlords and partly because it has become everyone's ambition to own the house in which he lives, there is an active demand for plots of ground on which small houses can be built. Unfortunately the Government owns very little land in and around Manama and nobody wishes to live even at a short distance from the bazaar, the schools and the cinemas.

The most important sales were an Arab style house in the southern district of Manama, on Shaikh Isa Road, which was sold for Rs. 200,000 and a plot of land in the Qudhabia district which was bought by the Government as a site for workmen's dwellings for Rs. 2,57,000, at Rs. 2/5 per square foot. The Government sold 87 plots of land, in various places, for Rs. 3.50,000. Land on the edge of the towns of Manama and Muharraq was sold at prices ranging from Rs. 1/4 to Rs. 3/- per square foot. Thirty building plots were sold at East Rafaa, on the plain below the town, to residents of Rafaa, at 2 Annas per square foot. Land on this site was marked out as a residential area with rows of plots of uniform depth along future roads. At the end of the year a few purchasers had begun to build stone houses on the ground which they bought.

**Legislation.** In Safar (October 1952) an important Ordinance was issued which prohibited all persons subject to Bahrain jurisdiction from disposing of any property except to Bahrain subjects. An extension of this order was issued later providing for the contingency of heirs in an estate of a Bahrain subject being themselves foreign subjects. The result of these Ordinances was that not only were Bahrain subjects restricted from selling their property to foreigners but all persons subject to Bahrain jurisdiction, Persians, subjects of Saudi Arabia and of other Gulf States, were restricted from selling their property to each other or to nationals of other countries. Only foreigners not under the jurisdiction of the Bahrain Courts were free to sell their property to other foreigners. The object of the Government is to prevent land in Bahrain from being alienated and it is hoped that in future this legislation will be further extended to preclude all foreigners in Bahrain from disposing of their property to any persons who are not Bahrain subjects.

The imposition of this ordinance caused some resentment among foreigners especially among Saudi Arabians and Persians who in the past have acquired extensive property in Bahrain. This ordinance was probably the cause of some reduction in the number of large land sales during 1372.

One of the reasons why the Government now has so little land at its disposal in Manama and on the outskirts of the town is because in the past large pieces of land were either sold or given to Persians and Saudi Arabians. In the former category is one of the principal landowners in the town. The only area of any size, suitable for development as a housing area, is the land on the south-west of Manama which is now occupied by the installations of Cable and Wireless Ltd. Arrangements are being made for the Company to move out into the country to a site on the Aali plain, but this move will take some time to be carried out.

**Rents of Government Shops.** The Department collected rents amounting to Rs. 51,000/- from the shops in Barrett Road and from the flat above the Post Office and Rs. 20,000/- from rents of 26 plots of land which were let on leases. Temporary leases of land produced Rs. 3,800.

504 and for cargo, as at present only very small boats can come alongside when the tide is at its lowest. While work was being done on the Manamah-Muharraq road it was inadvisable to start more stone work at the pier, but when the road is complete the pier extension will probably be begun.

651 4/39 It is also proposed that a small office for customs and passport officials should be built on the Muharraq aerodrome.

| Year. | Customs Receipts. | No. of Steamers. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1344 | 8,82,000 | — | A poor pearling season. |
| 1345 | 9,62,000 | — | Increase in all imports, especially rice, wheat, flour, and sugar. Persia increased taxes on tea and sugar. |
| 1346 | 10,58,000 | — | Increase of Rs 95,000/- from sugar and piece goods. Good pearling season. |
| 1347 | 10,59,000 | 118 | Bazaars becoming overstocked. |
| 1348 | 8,95,000 | — | Budget expectations not fulfilled. Decrease in wholesale costs of all imports; silk and cotton goods depreciate 25% in value, carpets and abbas 40%. |
| 1349 | 6,36,000 | 96 | Slump in pearl trade; prices of rice and wheat decrease 50%; export of sugar almost ceased. Chief exporter became bankrupt. |
| 1350 | 6,19,000 | 97 | Decrease in prices of all goods. Pearl market very dull. Very large export of gold from Bahrain to India through Indian and Jewish firms. Japanese monopolise piece-goods trade. |
| 1351 | 5,46,000 | 104 | Continued decline in price of staple commodities; one quarter less packages imported. Increase in Japanese goods and import of cheap Japanese silk. Customs dues on luxury articles raised from 5% to 7½%, and then to 10%, and on tobacco to 15%, and liquor, previously free, to 15%. Iraq wheat takes place of Persian wheat in Bahrain market. |
| 1352 | 5,58,000 | 149 | Continued fall in value of commodities. In five years Japanese imports rose from Rs 5,000/- to Rs 13,42,000/-. |
| 1353 | 6,01,000 | 174 (20 oil tankers) | Prices still decreasing, but quantity of imports increased. |
| 1354 | 6,50,000 | 195 (19 oil tankers) | Steady improvement in imports and increased activity in trading. |
| 1355 | 8,28,000 | 251 | Steady improvement in imports and increased activity in trading. |

## PRICES OF COMMODITIES

● 4/35

| Commodity | Year 1929. | Year 1934. | Year 1935. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ballam rice | 16/- | 9/8 | 10/8 |
| Karach rice | 13/- | 7/8 | 8/- |
| Rangoon rice | 13/- | 7/8 | 8/- |
| Sugar, Java | 19/- | 12/- | 10/8 |
| Sugar, crystal | 16/- | 11/- | 9/8 |
| Sugar, loaf | 14/- | 9/- | 8/8 |
| Wheat flour, Indian | 17/- | 11/- | 11/- |
| Wheat flour, Iraqi | — | 7/8 | 6/8 |
| Tea, black | 65/- | 40/- | 75/- |

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Saudi Arabia MJ1
Kuwait MI1
Bahrain MZ2



A 565 511 adds a reckless lack of thrift which leads him to spend his income, however large, cheerfully when it comes in, with no regard at all for tomorrow when he may face absolute want. The natural results are seen in the pitiful condition of the men who do the work in the gardens of Mesopotamia and the pearl divers of Bahrein. A trifle further down in the scale of misery is the slave community of Dibai.

A 556 622 435 The greatest development of the avarice of the rich is seen where the introduction of western ideas of the sacredness of life and property has permitted its unchecked growth. Under the primitive Arab government it is not allowed to flourish unchecked. There are various methods by which the ruler tries to counteract the rapacity of the rich. Various articles of food have their price fixed and any exactions over the given figure are rigorously punished. Within limits this is a useful measure. I K 435 612 692 once sat in Mubarak's judgment hall in Kuwait when the leading merchant of the city was publicly rebuked and ordered to reduce his freight rates on dates from Basra to Kuwait. As a permanent method, however, it is a failure, for it simply means that a particular industry languishes. In Bahrein, for instance, the price of fish B 435 has been arbitrarily fixed at a point far below their real value. The result is not cheap fish but no fish at all. It is easy to prevent men from charging more than a certain price for fish, but even an Arab sheikh cannot make men fish if they have no adequate inducement for doing so.

A 427 675 622 692 A more effective means of keeping the balance somewhat even is the cancellation of oppressive contracts, especially when unforeseen circumstances arise, as for instance in Katif when the date crop has been a partial or complete failure. The original contract to deliver to the

visa either directly to the Bahrain Government or to the nearest British Consulate which will, after reference to the Bahrain Government, accept or reject the application on the latter's behalf. Passengers arriving in Bahrain without visas are likely to find themselves on the next plane outward bound. 486

Travellers from Bahrain who require visas for other countries must apply for them to H.B.M.'s Political Agency. In some cases the Agency is able to issue these visas on behalf of the foreign countries, but in the case of others it will be found necessary to apply for visas directly to the nearest consulate of the country concerned. H.B.M's Political Agency are in a position to inform prospective travellers about the latest regulations on this subject.

### TAXES

There is no income tax in Bahrain, but for owners of houses and other premises within the Municipal areas of Manama, Muharraq, Hedd and Rifaa there is a small Municipal tax. 651

### WATER AND ELECTRICITY

Within the Municipal area of Manama both water and electricity is provided by the State. 312 377

Within the Municipal area of Muharraq electricity only is provided by the State. 655

Rates for these amenities are as follows :—

| *Electricity.* | *Water.* |
|---|---|
| First 50 units per month, 4 *annas* per unit. | 1,000 gallons *Rs.*1 *As.*14. |
| Next 200 units per month, 3 *annas* per unit. | Meter rent, 8 annas per month. |
| Over 250 units per month, 2 *annas* per unit. | Minimum charge, *Rs.*1 *As.*14 per month. |
| Meter rent 8 *annas* per month. | |
| Minimum charge *Rs.*1 or 4 units per month. | |

### CURRENCY

Local currency in use in Bahrain at the time of writing is the Indian Rupee, worth, at the current rate of exchange, 1/6d. 436

Coinage is as follows :—

12 pice make 1 anna.
4 pies make 1 anna.
16 annas make 1 rupee.

The following coins and notes are in circulation :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 pice (1/12 anna) | .. copper | 1 rupee | .. nickel and note |
| 1 pie (1/12 anna) | .. copper | 2 rupees | .. .. note |
| 1 anna .. | nickel and brass | 5 rupees | .. .. note |
| 2 annas .. | nickel and brass | 10 rupees | .. .. note |
| 4 annas .. | .. nickel | 100 rupees | .. note |
| 8 annas .. | .. nickel | | |

804 The Chow is also used as the nominal weight in Bombay by the pearl traders, but the Bombay Chow weighs only one-fourth the Bahrein.

## CURRENCY

436 Indian money is the national currency. The rupee, a silver coin about the size of a United States half-dollar, is the basic unit and is worth about thirty cents, its sterling equivalent being ls. 6d. The rupee is divided into 16 *annas* (sing., *anna*).

Other silver coins are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Half rupee | = 8 annas |
| Quarter rupee | = 4 annas |
| Eighth rupee | = 2 annas |
| Pice | = ¼ anna |
| ½ Pice | = ⅛ anna |

Copper coins less than one anna in value are also in circulation. There are 12 pies to an anna, or 192 pies to a rupee.

Indian paper currency is also in general use.[1] Besides the rupee the Persian *rial*[2]; (about $0.29), the Saudi Arabian *riyal*,[3] the Maria Theresa Thaler, (about $.45), and the Turkish pound, or *lira*, (about $3.60), are also in limited use.

## STAMPS

205 Up to 1947, the stamps of Bahrein were the old stamps of British India, with the word "Bahrain" over-printed across in black ink.[4] However, since the division of Indian colony into Dominions of India and Pakistan, the stamps used in Bahrein are those of United Kingdom with the word "BAHRAIN" and values in rupees over-printed in black ink. The Sheikdom has adhered to the International Postal Union and its membership in that organization is the only international agreement signed by Bahrein.

[648]

1. One hundred thousand rupees is called a *lakh*, and is written Rs. 1,00,000.
2. The Persian rial is fixed by the law of 1932 at a value of 0.07322382 grammes of gold.
3. The Saudi Arabian riyal was declared in 1940 to be equivalent to the Indian rupee.
4. The British and American differ in spelling the name of the island. Throughout the book we have followed the American use.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
BahrainMZ2
QatarMK3



so much that was orderly and progressive had been done already. In the days of Shaikh Hamad (1923–42) conditions in the pearl industry had been reformed, and municipalities, education, and other public services had been developed. These are now being further expanded. The state provides free medical services for all its people and free education in primary and secondary schools and in a technical school; in 1953 there were 4,700 boys and 2,300 girls at school, at a budget cost of 2½ million rupees per annum.

Socially, the impact of good employment in the oil company has been more widespread in Bahrain than in Kuwait, firstly because of the much longer period during which the company has been operating and secondly because it policy, unlike that of the Kuwait Oil Company, is to transport its local workers daily from homes in neighbouring towns instead of constructing a special township near the oilfield. Both policies present certain advantages; one effect of the former is to integrate the oil company into the daily life of the state. Yet there are so far no Bahrainis in BAPCO's senior administrative grades since all local men of this calibre have so far preferred to find jobs in commerce, with its prospects of a larger and speedier return for effort. As in Kuwait, more and more well-to-do merchants are sending sons abroad for education and it is an open question how these will react to the autocratic rule of a family in years to come.

The unit of currency in Bahrain is the Indian rupee. Imports constituted in 1952 about double the value of exports and re-exports (£14·6 million as against £7·4 million). More than half the latter were to Saudi Arabia, the balance chiefly to Qatar and to Persia with which, despite Persia's shortage of hard currency, there continues to be a considerable volume of barter trade.

## QATAR

The Shaikhdom of Qatar comprises the peninsula of that name, lying midway along the western coast of the Persian Gulf. It has an area of about 8,000 square miles with a population of some 25,000. From a dangerous coast-line the land rises to a low, monotonous plateau. The main water-supplies are from wells. Its only land frontier—that with Saudi Arabia—has never been demarcated.

Qatar has been in relations with Great Britain since 1882. An agreement with Britain of 3 November 1916 had provisions similar to those with the other Trucial shaikhs, and included a clause making the grant of pearling concessions or other mono-

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



## Currency

436 Rupees and other Indian coins are the most popular medium of exchange, but the *riyāl* or Maria Theresa dollar is largely current during the pearling season, as the divers, who are chiefly Arabs from the mainland, are used to it and averse from change. The Turkish *lira* passes at about Rs. 14. The ordinary unit for small values is an imaginary coin called the Bahrein *qrān*, worth two-fifths of a rupee. The *tawīlah* of Hasa (see p. 302) is accepted, though not gladly, as the equivalent of ½ anna.

## Weights and Measures

804 A want of uniformity in local weights hampers the retail trade carried on by British Indian subjects, and the introduction of standard weights is much to be desired. The following is a table of local weights :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ruba' Mithqāl | = | 0·04 lb. English. |
| Nisf Mithqāl | = | 0·08 ,, |
| Mithqāl | = | 0·16 ,, |
| Nisf Ruba' eth-Thamīn | = | 0·32 ,, |
| Ruba' eth-Thamīn | = | 0·64 ,, |
| Thulth Thamīn | = | 0·86 ,, |
| Nisf Thamīn | = | 1·29 ,, |
| Qiyās | = | 1·54 ,, |
| Thamīn | = | 2·57 ,, |
| Alf | = | 3·09 ,, |
| Ruba' | = | 4·11 ,, |
| Mann | = | 57·60 ,, |
| Rafa'ah | = | 576·00 ,, |

The following is a table of linear measure :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6 Sha'arāt Bardhūn (mule hairs) | = | 1 Habbat Sha'īr (barley corn). |
| 6 Habbat Sha'īr | = | 1 Asba' (finger breadth), plur. Asābi'. |
| 4 Asābi' | = | 1 Qabdhah (fist), plur. Qabdhāt. |
| 6 Qabdhāt | = | 1 Dhrā' (cubit), plur. Adhru'. |
| 4 Adhru' | = | 1 Bā' (fathom). |
| 1,000 Bā' | = | 1 Mīl (plur. Amyāl) Hāshimi (mile). |
| 3 Amyāl | = | 1 Farsakh (hour's walk). |
| 4 Farsakh | = | 1 Barīd (post runner's stage). |
| 3⅓ Barīd | = | 1 Darjah (degree). |
| 360 Darjah | = | 1 Dā'irat el-Ardh (circuit of the earth) |

boat, sucking cigarettes or sipping bitter Arab coffee, but when the water is warmer a longer period is spent in the sea. Food is not eaten during the diving hours as it is considered bad for the diver's health. 228

The splash and swirl of the blue waters of the Gulf, often as smooth and clear as glass, the glistening bodies of the sun-burnt divers, the deep-throated chanting of the Saibs and the mounting piles of dark encrusted shells, are sights and sounds never to be forgotten. From time to time the cabin boy, who is found on each boat, collects the shells in sacks and piles them along the sides of the boat. As the sun sets the crew eat their light meal of dates, fish, bread and coffee and then sink down with pleasure into deep sleep along the decks. Then all that there is to disturb the silence of the night is the crackling of the fire burning on the portable mud hearth, the creaking of ropes and the splash caused by the line of the midnight fishermen catching to-morrow's meal.

Next morning the members of the crew are up early and gather around the heaps of shells which are more easily opened after having been left in the night-air, and with deft flicks of little curved knives they examine the oyster's meat so that not even the smallest seed pearl is missed. The despoiled shells are tossed aside, to be collected later and thrown back into the sea. As the pearls are found, their finders stick them between their toes until they have collected a number, which are then handed to the nakhuda or captain. The latter stores them in a great wooden chest, studded with brass nails after tying them in small squares of red cloth, that being the colour which is believed to show pearls to their best advantage. When all the shells have been opened the remains are thrown overboard, the decks swabbed down and the day's diving commences.

From time to time boats return to Bahrain to collect fresh provisions and for the medical treatment of the crew. Fresh water, surprisingly enough, is less of a problem, for near many of the pearl banks there are submarine fresh water springs, some of which have been controlled by pipes affixed by the Bahrain Government. The monotony of the diver's day is also broken by the visits of "Tawawish," pearl buyers, who come out in launches to the banks to offer ready cash for their purchases, and by visits of hospital and police launches from Bahrain. The end of the diving season, as well as the date of its commencement, is laid down by the annual proclamation of the Bahrain Government. [312] [437] [656]

Despite the tales of travellers, sharks and saw-fish are not a very great menace to divers, they are in fact a rarity and for many years no diver has been attacked by either fish. The blue jelly-fish is more feared than either, for with its long tentacles it can give a most unpleasant sting, and it is to combat it that in the jelly-fish season many divers wear a form of cotton combinations covering all parts of the body except hands and eyes. The detrimental effect of diving on the men's health is often exaggerated, and with the better diet and medical treatment the divers of today are a healthy set of men and compare favourably with workers in other industries. [136]

471 228 The financing of a pearl boat is a complicated affair. Formerly most boats were owned by their captains, but today the majority of the larger boats belong to land merchants. In cases where boats belong to captains but are financed by land merchants, the latter make a profit of about 10%, but in cases where the merchants both own and provision the boats they receive 20% of the profits. After deducting costs, the remainder of the profit is shared in fixed proportions, the nakhuda receiving five parts, the diver two and the Saib one.

437 228 When the nakhuda sells the catch he must always be accompanied by two members of the crew, to see fair play. Sales are carried out in an unusual way. If the nakhuda and the purchaser or broker do not want the audience to know the amounts offered for the pearls, and as the sales take place in the quarter of the pearl brokers there are always interested bystanders, they spread a cloth over their hands and bargain by a sort of deaf and dumb language. Once they have agreed on the price the nakhuda must obtain the consent of the two witnesses before the sale is considered valid. The value of the pearls is established in 804 435 228 a special way. In the case of ordinary pearls, they are collected in great numbers, sorted for size by a set of graded sieves, and each group is weighed and counted and their value in "chows," a form of measurement derived from the weight of the pearls, is discovered from a book printed for the purpose. Once a pearl or pearls have been assessed at so many chows, the question of the value per chow is settled by bargaining, the price per chow depending on the average shape, texture and colour in the case of bunches of pearls or in single pearls. In the case of pairs of pearls their value depends greatly on how well they are matched. Seed pearls, the smallest form of pearls, are sold entirely by weight, while a single pearl has been known to sell for as much as £15,000, as in the case of the Bahrain pearl which was eventually bought by a well known American lady.

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228 178 433 The reason for the decline in the industry, which started in 1930, was the severe trade depression which began in that year and which reduced the wealth of those in Europe who were in the habit of buying

228 The Bahrain Government has tried hard to encourage the diving
656 industry, by the remittance of the registration fees on diving boats,
178 by customs concessions and by other means, but it is certain that the industry will never return to its palmy days when so many of the people of Bahrain were connected with it or depended on it.

228 Visitors to the pearl banks are advised to set out at about midnight
431 from Bahrain. Launches can be hired in Manama or Muharraq and
609 if they leave at twelve midnight, the banks will be reached at two or three in the morning. The remainder of the night can be spent lying at anchor and in the early morning the opening of the shells can be watched, followed by the preparations for the day's work and the actual diving. The divers have no objection to being photographed at their work and welcome foreigners on board their boats, they do, however, appreciate a present from visitors and it is a good plan to take out some fresh dates or other fruit, for the boats, particularly at the end of the season, are usually low in fresh provisions and such a gift is very welcome.

## CHAPTER VII

## LOCAL INDUSTRIES

### THE POTTERIES

323 PEARLING is not the only ancient industry in Bahrain, for the presence
● [438] in many parts of the islands of pottery sherds indicates that pottery has been made here for many centuries. Today this industry is restricted to the village of Aali whose inhabitants work in the same way as did their forefathers, scorning modern innovations.

[472] From the hills around Rifaa the clay is brought to Aali ; brown and red clay for the coarser objects and white clay for finer work. The raw clay is beaten and then mixed with water until it is ready for throwing by the younger members of the potter's family, for each pottery is a separate family concern. All the processes which go into the making of pottery take place in small sheds, in each one a potter can be seen at work, his feet in a pit working the wheel which is on a level with his waist. Rapidly he flings lumps of clay on to the spinning wheel and with deft fingers works the shapeless mud into graceful jars, bowls and other utensils. When each piece is completed it is set in the sun to dry before being taken to the oven. Most of the ovens
[172] are built in the prehistoric tumuli south of the village, which have been excavated. A hole is made in the roof of the tomb and another at the side; in the former the objects to be baked are placed and the latter is filled with firewood. When the fires are lit the tombs become miniature volcanoes with thick smoke belching from their peaks, slowly the fires die down, the smoke clears and the baked pottery is removed and the ovens are prepared for the next baking.

The products of Aali are simple in the extreme, pots, bowls, water jars and dishes, utensils which have always been used by the people of Bahrain and which still find a ready market though the increased prosperity of the people enables them to buy cheap imported goods. It is not necessary to go to Aali itself to see the products of the potteries for at the Suq al-Araba in Manama on Wednesday mornings and at the Suq al-Khamis market on Thursday mornings the people of Aali bring their goods for sale.

At Aali the photographer will find many subjects for his camera. The potters in their workshops with the sun shining on the damp yellow clay, the symmetrical stacks of jars drying in the sun, the small boys in bright clothes running up and down the steep sides of the tumuli with objects to be baked and finally the removal of the finished articles, all these scenes provide fascinating pictures.

## NURA (LIME)

Aali, as well as being the centre of the Bahrain pottery industry, is the principal place where lime is produced. Stone for the purpose is hewn from the ground in many parts of Bahrain, especially near Rifaa, and is taken in lorries or in donkey carts to Aali. Here the blocks of limestone are arranged on layers of wood, usually date palm trunks, and the wood is then fired. Men with large wooden flails stand round the piles of lime-stone and beat it into powder, chanting as they work and timing the singing to the down strokes of the threshers. When the lime becomes fine powder it is sieved and then placed in sacks. The produce of Aali commands a ready sale, for all the white-wash used in Bahrain is made there or in the neighbourhood and with the present building activities the people of the country have their work cut out to supply the local demand.

There is also in Bahrain a lime factory, owned by a member of the Ruling Family, where lime is produced by modern methods.

## FISHING

Fish and fish oil are used for many purposes in Bahrain. The former is one of the staple items of food among the poorer classes, it is used for manure in gardens and for feeding cows and donkeys. Fish oil is used for oiling wooden boats to make them seaworthy. The fact that Bahrain cows are fed on fish, together with dates, date stones, lucerne and bran, leads people to expect that the local milk will taste unusual. This is not true despite the reports of journalists, who hear about the fishy diet without tasting the milk and describe its flavour as unpleasant. Milk from Bahrain cows, if they receive a balanced diet, is unusually good and has a higher average fat content than the milk of ordinary English cows. The use of fish oil on the boats along the shore has little to commend itself to visitors, the smell is extremely disagreeable and drives the people who live in houses near the sea to shut all their windows when the boats are being treated.

316 339 is quarried, lorry loads of wood are brought out, and, as in the manufacture of lime, layers of gypsum are interspersed with layers of wood and the pile fired. The slabs of gypsum are then removed and beaten into a fine powder which, when mixed with water, acts like cement. It has the advantage of being quick setting and is still used by those who cannot afford to buy imported cement.

### WEAVING

288 438 291 [697] Weaving is carried on in some of the villages of Bahrain, in Abu Saiba, south of the Budaiya Road and elsewhere. "Awzars," simple garments worn by the villagers around their waists in the summer, are woven from imported cotton, while in many coastal villages the sailors spend the winters weaving sail-cloth. The prisoners on Jidda Island are also employed in weaving, on imported Irish looms, but their activities can hardly be classed as a local industry.

## CHAPTER VIII

## THE ANTIQUITIES OF BAHRAIN

### THE WORLD'S LARGEST GRAVEYARD

172 764 THE tumuli of Bahrain have never been counted, but their number has been estimated at 50,000. In these tumuli Bahrain possesses one of the unsolved mysteries of archaeology, for despite the numerous expeditions that have been made to discover their origin, this is still in dispute.

There are three groups of tumuli in Bahrain. The largest group is that which lies on the plain between Aali and the Rifaas. The second group is to the far north of Bahrain, on each side of the Manama-Budaiya Road between Jidhafs and Diraz. The third group, consisting of a few dozen graves, is in the clearing to the north of the Suq al-Khamis Mosque.

The first group of tombs is daily passed by hundreds of people travelling between Manama and Awali, but the best examples of tumuli in this group are not along the main road but are near the village of Aali. These mounds are the largest in Bahrain and while some of them are used by the villagers for baking their pottery, the majority are just as they were left after their opening by various archaeologists. Most of these tombs face south-west and P. B. Cornwall[1] has suggested that the reason for this is that the builders of the mounds worshipped the Evening Star, Venus, which at sunset lies to the south-west. The majority of the tumuli have two storeys and, in the chamber tombs, there are niches cut into the sides of the passages. The sides and roofs of the graves themselves are of local stone and were originally covered with a layer of gypsum. Some of the tumuli are surrounded by low walls of mud and gravel. Finds in these tumuli have included the bones of men and animals, ivory statues, pieces of circular boxes, golden ornaments and earthenware vessels decorated with black stripes.

There is little agreement among the experts as to the origin and dating of these burials and each has drawn his own deductions from the

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643 agreement similar to that accepted by the Sultan of Oman. By this
648 treaty he undertakes, in return for a subsidy, to alienate no part of his territory except to the British, to conform to British policy, and to accept no help, pecuniary or other, from any foreign power. A British Political Agent, under the Resident at Bushire, is stationed at Manāmah.

The present ruler, Sheikh 'Īsa ibn 'Ali el-Khalīfah, now an old man, owed his accession in 1867 to our influence, and has been supported by us against other claimants of his family, notably Khalīfah ibn Hamed ibn Mohammed el-Khalīfah, who has intrigued with the Porte. Although Sheikh 'Īsa is not without natural sagacity, he has proved to be lacking in the force of character and practical ability which distinguished his contemporary, Sheikh Mubārak of Koweit. In addition, he has sometimes shown himself sensitive of control, even to the point of obstructing reforms, encouraged in such courses, perhaps, by a certain impatience of foreign influence prevalent in Bahrein; he has thus on at least one occasion incurred the censure of the Indian Government. But in spite of these shortcomings, he has avoided serious complications; in the difficult times which began with the crisis in the pearl industry in 1913, and have been aggravated by the war, he has shown ability and reasonable goodwill. His heir, Sheikh Hāmid, is described as a man holding moderate views.

## Islands

### 1. *Bahrein*

361 The general nature of Bahrein Island has been described in a
438 previous section (p. 311). In the present place the chief centres of population may be noticed. The island has nearly 100 villages and hamlets, of which the following are the most important:

*Hālah Bin Anas*, a short distance E. of Manāmah, with 85 huts of Sunnis, who are pearl-divers and fishermen.

*'Askar*, on the E. coast, 4¼ miles ENE. of Jebel Dukhān. 75 stone houses and reed-huts of Āl Bu 'Ainein, pearl-divers, owning about 20 boats; 1,500 date-palms; a little live stock.

*Bilād el-Qadīm*, about 1½ mile SW. of Manāmah fort; about 350 mud and reed huts. The inhabitants are *Bahārinah*, who gain a livelihood as pearl-merchants, cultivators, or tailors; many ruined stone houses. It has a suburb to the SW. called *Bilād er-Rāfi'*, and on the NW. side the *Sūq el-Khamīs*, where a large market is held on Thursdays. About ½ mile to the W. are the ruins of the Madrasat Abu Zeidān, the minarets of which, in combination with Jebel

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Dukhān, form a landmark for vessels entering Manāmah harbour. In the ruined part of the village is the fine spring of *Abu Zeidān*, over which a modern Shiah mosque has been erected; the water fills a tank much resorted to for bathing in hot weather. There are nearly 12,000 date-trees, with other fruit trees, and a little live stock.

*Būri*, 7 miles SW. of Manāmah at the SW. extremity of the great date-belt. A few stone houses and 150 huts of *Bahārinah* date-growers. About 10,500 date-palms; a little live stock. *Dirāz*, 1 mile ENE. of Budayya' town (p. 322) and ¾ mile from the sea. Several well-built houses, and 150 huts of *Bahārinah* cultivators, weavers, and pearl-divers; a considerable quantity of cloth for abbas woven; 1,500 date-palms; live stock. *Beni Jamrah*, ¾ mile E. of Budayya'; 50 huts of *Bahārinah* weavers; good well; 1,300 date-palms; live stock. *Jau*, on E. coast, 5 miles ESE. of Jebel Dukhān. A few well-built houses and about 400 huts. The people are Sunni pearl-fishers, owning about 30 boats. *Jidd Hafs*, 1¼ miles SE. of the ruined Portuguese fort, *Qal'at el-'Ajāj*, which is 3½ miles W. of Manāmah fort. Large village of 300 houses, occupied by *Bahārinah* date-growers, carpenters, lime-burners, and pearl-merchants. Irrigated gardens with lucerne, vegetables, and fruits. 16,000 date-palms; live stock. The smaller village *'Ain ed-Dār* (50 houses) is practically a suburb.

*Jufeir*, N. of the cape of the same name; 80 reed huts of Bahārinah cultivators and fishermen. Near the point of the cape is a large stone house belonging to the Wazīr of Bahrein. About 900 date-palms, lucerne fields; live stock; 15 pearl-boats. *Karzakkān*, ¾ mile from the W. coast, 7 miles below Budayya'; 150 huts of *Bahārinah* cultivators and sail-makers; large date-groves; 16,500 trees; donkeys and cattle.

*Ma'āmīr*, on E. coast, opposite Sitrah Island; 130 houses, including stone buildings; population, *Bahārinah* pearl-fishers, owning more than 20 boats. *Mālikīyah*, near W. coast, 8 miles below Budayya', and close to the landing-place for passengers from *Hasa* called *'Aqārīyah*; 100 huts of *Bahārinah* cultivators; about 6,000 date-palms; some 20 donkeys. Near the village, a stone-built Shiah shrine. *Rifā' esh-Sharqi*, large village with watch-towers on a bare site 7 miles S. of Manāmah, at the NE. corner of the central depression, which it overlooks. There are two large masonry houses, one occupied by Sheikh Khālid ibn 'Ali, brother of the Sheikh of Bahrein, who governs the place, the other by another member of the ruling family. The village itself consists of 300 mud houses occupied by Maliki Sunnis, whose living is made by selling in Manāmah the excellent drinking-water from the wells of *Haneini* in

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361 the depression below (17 fathoms or more); another good well,
438 *'Ain Khālid*, is in the centre of the village. The people own 85 donkeys and 16 horses. This village, like the next following, serves as a sanitorium for the island.

*Rifā' el-Gharbi*, in a similar position to the above, from which it is distant 1¼ miles WNW. One large masonry house is occupied by a member of the ruling family, though the village is under the jurisdiction of Sheikh Khālid; there are 40 reed huts, the inhabitants of which are Maliki Sunnis, chiefly of the 'Utūb tribe. The people gain a livelihood by selling Manāmah drinking-water from the well *Umm Ghuweifah* on the plateau near the village, carrying it thither on camels. No cultivation; some live stock. The village, like the preceding, is a sanitorium for the island. *Sanābis*, on the N. coast; a long village with a mosque, inhabited by 1,500 *Bahārinah*, engaged in boat-building, fishing, and the pearl trade; 30 pearl boats; 900 date-palms; some live stock. *Zallāq*, on the W. coast, 11 miles below Budayya'; 3 stone and 200 mud houses, inhabited by Dawāsir engaged in the pearl fisheries. There is a ruined fort. The people own 30 boats; live stock includes 30 donkeys and cattle.

The following are the principal towns:—

504 1. **Manāmah,** the commercial capital, is an open town situated on the coast at the NE. corner of the island; the anchorage is good, but steamers of 19 feet draught cannot come nearer than the outer anchorage 4 miles to the NW. of the town; smaller vessels can run up to an inner anchorage 2 miles off shore in the same direction. The bottom shelves so gradually that at low water even boats cannot get within ¼ mile of the beach, but must discharge passengers and cargo by means of donkeys; the harbour has many nets and fish-
361 weirs always set. Manāmah with its suburbs extends 1½ miles along
438 the sea-front, and has a depth inland of about ½ mile. The general appearance of the town is dingy and unprepossessing; the beach quarter is occupied by fishermen's huts, and the shore is formed of a dirty shingle. The larger buildings are of small stones cemented by mud or inferior mortar, which is apt to fall out, suggesting neglect and decay; while the ground floors are used as go-downs and business offices. The bazaar (450 shops), in the centre of which is the market-place, has been described as 'a filthy labyrinth of narrow lanes lined by shops and generally covered over with mats to keep out the sun'. In the outskirts dwellings are usually matting huts standing in courtyards enclosed by hurdles of upright date-fronds. The best buildings are the British Political Agency towards the NE. end; the American Mission and Hospital; Qal'at ed-Dīwān

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or Manāmah fort, the Sheikh's summer residence, a large bastioned structure, standing in the open plain between the town and the date gardens behind it; a well-built house rather farther inland, belonging to Sheikh Hāmid, the heir apparent, and a further large house, near the SW. end, formerly occupied by another member of the ruling family. With the exception of the new Jāmi' mosque, places of worship are mostly unpretentious. The former villages of *Ras Rummān* (or *Farīq Hamidah*) and *Na'īm Kebīrah* now form suburbs; the first covers a point of the same name beyond the British Agency, and is inhabited by pearl-divers, fishermen, and ferrymen serving the strait to Muharraq; the second, at the west end, is inhabited by poor *Bahārinah* occupied in boat-building and pearl-fishing.

The population of Manāmah and its suburbs is about 25,000, of whom three-fifths are Sunnis and the remainder Shiahs; the former, who show a noticeable infusion of negro blood, include 5,000 *Hūwalah*, about 400 Arabs from Koweit, Hasa, and Nejd, 1,000 Arabs of uncertain origin, 500 'Utūb, and more than 2,000 negroes, enslaved and free; the Shiahs are composed of 12,000 *Bahārinah* of Bahrein, 1,250 *Bahārinah* from Hasa and Qatīf, 1,500 Persians, and a few Arabs from Basra. The Arabs from Nejd are mostly Wahabite. The small non-Mohammedan residue of a few hundred souls consists of Hindus, Jews, and Oriental Christians.

Drinking-water is obtained from a well called *'Ain Muqbil*, sunk in the coral rock between the British Agency and the American Mission, and from a cistern called *Qufūl*, about a mile W. of the fort, filled by the surplus water of several springs. These are used by the poorer inhabitants; the first is brackish, the second contaminated by ablution of men and animals. Other inhabitants buy their drinking-water from camel-men of Rifā' esh-Sharqi and Rifā' el-Gharbi, who bring it for sale from the wells in their villages (see above). For washing purposes water can be reached anywhere at about 6 feet, and almost every house has its well. For the trade of the port see p. 314 f. The town and suburbs possess about 150 pearling and other boats. The date-groves beyond the fort begin the large belt already mentioned. The number of trees belonging to the town proper is limited to about 500; a rather larger number belong to the suburb of Na'īm el-Kebīrah. There is a British Indian post office.

Should Manāmah be used as a temporary base for troops, the best site for a camp would be on the east side of the plain behind the town, where perhaps a division could be accommodated. Disembarkation can be carried out in three places, at the beach of

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361 Qasabīyah clear of the town, at the customs pier, and at the jetty
438 of the British Agency.

2. **Budeyya'**, near the NW. corner of Bahrein Island, stretches for about a mile along the sea with a depth of about 300 yards. It has three quarters with about 8,000 inhabitants, *Farīq el-'Amāmarah*, *Farīq ed-Dām*, and *Farīq el-Budayya'*, containing a considerable number of stone houses, five or six buildings of solid masonry with upper storeys, and a tower. The people are all Sunnis, the most numerous Arab communities belonging to the Dawāsir (800 houses) and 'Amāmarah (100 houses). There are a large number of negro slaves (450 houses) and free negroes (200 houses), with about 50 households of *Hūwalah*. Most of the people are engaged in the pearl-fisheries, and more than 100 boats are owned. The Dawāsir, whose Sheikh administers the town without interference from the Sheikh of Bahrein, chiefly occupy the Budayya' and Dām quarters, obtaining their water-supply from wells in the date-plantations of *Dirāz* and *Beni Jamrah* villages; the well of the 'Amāmarah quarter is a little to the E. of the houses.

### 2. *Muharraq*

101 This island lies immediately NE. of Bahrein, from which it is
131 separated by a narrow strait a mile and a half broad; it is of horse-shoe shape, with the open side to the S.; the maximum diameter is about 4 miles. The island is really a low sandbank surrounded by flat coral reefs which almost triple its surface at low tide; from this projects on the NW. a rocky spit called *Ras el-Khaseifah*, extending seaward for nearly 4 miles and constituting the chief danger to ships entering Manāmah harbour. Several marine
361 springs rise near the coasts of the island. There are some 15
438 villages or hamlets in addition to Muharraq town, the more important of which are: *'Arād*, on a promontory on the S. coast; 100 huts of *Bahārinah* date-growers, fishermen, and pearl-divers. There is a rectangular ruined fort, with sides about 90 ft. long, at the E. point of 'Arād Bay. Plantations with about 12,000 date-palms. *Buseitīn*, on the W. coast, 1 mile N. of Muharraq town; 400 houses, some of stone, but most of date-mats. The people are Sunnis, chiefly of the Madhāhakah tribe, owning about 50 boats, mostly used for pearl-fishing. Date-palms number about 1,000; carrots and lucerne are cultivated beneath the trees. Two wells in the date-grove, with brackish water. *Deir*, on NW. coast, 2 miles N. by E. of Muharraq town; 300 houses of mud or date-mats; 3 mosques. Inhabitants are *Bahārinah* engaged in the

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pearl-fisheries, and owning more than 20 boats. Date-groves with about 1,700 trees, among which are several large wells (water at 15 ft.) serving to irrigate the groves, and fields of lucerne. *Hālat Abu Māhur*, on a small island some hundred yards S. of Muharraq town; and connected with the larger island at low tide; 500 houses and huts inhabited by Sunnis, chiefly Āl Bin Maqla, with a number of negroes, enslaved and free. A number of boats are constantly engaged in taking to Muharraq water from the submarine well 600 yards E. of the fort of Abu Māhur at the S. end of the island, now used by the Sheikh as a stable. *Qalāli*, on the NE. coast: 150 mud and reed huts with two good masonry houses. The inhabitants are Sunnis, chiefly of the Manāna'ah tribe, engaged in pearl-dealing or diving and sea-fishing. About 60 boats; no cultivation.

The principal towns are the following:—

1. **Muharraq**, the residence of the Sheikh for eight months in the year, lies on the W. side of Muharraq Island, on the strait dividing it from Bahrein, and about 2 miles from Manāmah. The fort of *Abu Māhur*, which has now no military value, stands on a small island 800 yards S. of the town, near the celebrated submarine spring of the same name which supplies the town with most of its drinking-water. At high water Muharraq is surrounded by the sea on the E., S., and W. sides, a great sanitary advantage, as the sea daily removes the rubbish shot within its reach. The population is estimated at about 20,000, half of whom are *Hūwalah*. There are about 3,000 'Utūb, 2,000 Āl Bin 'Ali Arabs, nearly 1,000 Ziyā'inah, 1,000 *Bahārinah*, and 2,500 negroes, free or slaves, with smaller numbers of other tribes and aggregations. Of this population all but the *Bahārinah* and a few Persians are Sunnis. The people are general merchants, shopkeepers, pearl-merchants, pearl-divers, sailors, boatmen, fishermen, small traders and craftsmen, the pearl-divers forming a much larger proportion of the community than at Manāmah. The place possesses about 700 vessels, nearly one-half of which are used as pearl-boats. More than 200 donkeys, 150 head of cattle, and 80 horses are owned in the town.

Muharraq has fifteen quarters, mostly named after the tribes inhabiting them; there is a bazaar of 300 shops, but the town has no date-palms. During the hot weather the greater part of the population migrates across the strait and encamps in the NE. part of Bahrein Island. As the principal residence of the Sheikh, Muharraq is the political, as Manāmah is the commercial, capital of the principality. It is drier and brighter of aspect than the latter city, and architecturally more impressive when viewed from the sea.

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2. **Hadd,** on the SE. promontory. The town contains perhaps 200 well-built stone houses, and possibly as many as 1,500 mud-and-stone or mat dwellings. The population, estimated at about 8,000, consists of Sunnis, chiefly of the Sādah and Beni Yās tribes. Hadd is the greatest pearl-diving centre in the principality, owning about 170 pearl-boats. There is no cultivation. Water is obtained from wells in a date-grove called *Zimmah*, half a mile to the N. Live-stock consists chiefly of more than 100 donkeys.

### 3. *Sitrah*

This island lies off the E. coast of Bahrein, from which it is separated by a narrow channel. It measures 4½ miles from N. to S., with a maximum breadth of 1½ miles at the N. end, where there are date-groves of exceptional growth, watered from springs and wells; the narrower S. end is a low expanse of sand. Sitrah is a part of the fief held by Khālid ibn 'Ali, brother of the Sheikh, who in summer resides in a bastioned house at *Khārijīyah*. The inhabitants of the N. part are *Bahārinah*, occupying seven villages or hamlets, of which the more important are: *Hālah* or *Hālāt* on the N. coast, a hamlet where passengers land from Manāmah or Muharraq. *Khārijīyah*, near the W. coast, 1 mile from the most northerly point; fort forming the summer residence of Sheikh Khālid; 50 reed huts of pearl-divers, fishermen, and mat-makers; 1,500 date-palms. *Marqūbān*, near the centre; 30 huts of pearl-divers and cultivators; about 5,000 date-palms. *Muhazzah*, on E. coast, near the N. end; 60 reed huts, about 30 boats, over 4,000 date-palms; a good spring feeding a tank. *Quryah*, near the NW. corner; 40 reed huts; gardens belonging to Sheikh Khālid; 7,000 date-palms; about 20 boats. Between Quryah and Hālāt is the fine spring of *'Ain er-Raha*, the water of which is collected in a tank for irrigation. *Sufālah*, on the E. coast, 1½ mile from the N. end; 50 mat huts; date-groves on N. side, with 4,000 trees; about 20 boats. Good water-supply from the spring at *Muhazzah*. *Wādiyān*, ¼ mile ESE. of Khārijīyah; 60 reed huts; 4,000 date-palms; a fine spring used for irrigation.

The only village in the S. part is *Hālat Umm el-Beidh*, inhabited by Sunnis.

There are three rocky islets off Sitrah; two, called *Qassārein*, are 500 yards from the N. side; the third, *Qassār Bin Tarīf*, is 250 yards from the NW. corner. On all three Na'īm Bedouins encamp during the hot weather.

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### 4. *Nebi Sālih, or Jezīrah*

This island lies in the inlet of Kabb on the E. side of Bahrein Island; it measures only ½ mile in each direction, and is practically one large date-grove, said to contain 16,000 trees. There are two villages inhabited by *Bahārinah* cultivators, pearl-divers, and fishermen; one, *Kāflān*, with 40 houses, the other, *Quryah*, with 35, owning about 10 boats. Two copious springs, *'Ain es-Safāhīyah* and *'Ain el-Khadhra*, supply abundant fresh water. The island is under the jurisdiction of Sheikh Khālid, brother of the Sheikh of Bahrein.

About 200 yards to the N. is a still smaller island, *Jezeyyirah*, covered with date-palms, now belonging to Sheikh Khālid, but formerly to a Shiah mosque of which only the ruins remain.

### 5. *Umm Na'asān*

This island lies about 2 miles off the W. coast of Bahrein Island, and measures less than 4 miles in length from N. to S. by about 2½ miles in breadth; it is uninhabited. Though low, it contains two peaks of inconsiderable height, and furnishes the best building-cement in Bahrein. There is a freshwater spring near the W. coast. The Dawāsir of Budayya' and Zallāq villages on Bahrein Island send their cattle to Umm Na'asān in the hot weather for grazing.

## D. EL-QATAR

### Area

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El-Qatar is a peninsula running N. and S. with a maximum length of 80 miles and a breadth, at the base, of 40 miles; it projects from the Arabian coast about midway up the Persian Gulf, and forms the eastern side of the Gulf of Bahrein. Its S., or land boundary, is not clearly defined. Beginning at the foot of the bay called Dōhat es-Salwa on the SW., it runs SE. to the wells of Sakak, continuing thence to the E. coast, either ENE., to the N. end of the Naqiyān sand-hills, which run parallel with the sea for 30 miles from a point 10 miles S. of Wakrah, or E. by S., to the S. end of the same hills, and the shore at the N. end of the Khōr el-'Odeid. The Sheikhs of El-Qatar claim territory even to the S. of this; but the British Government has recognized Khōr el-'Odeid as belonging to the Trucial Sheikh of Abu Dhabi (see p. 337).

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Bahrain Government receives 50% of the profits of the oil industry. The Eastern Bank, since it was established in 1919, has served as the State's Treasury and a Budget is published every year showing the revenue and expenditure of the State.

The Customs Directorate is in the centre of the Manama sea front and there are subsidiary offices in Muharraq Town, at the Airport and at Sitra. All goods of any kind which are imported or exported must pass through the customs. The Customs Pier at Manama, which was originally built in 1917, has frequently been lengthened and enlarged and now extends for a quarter of a mile out to sea. Owing to shallow water, vessels in the Manama harbour have to anchor some three miles from the shore and passengers and cargo are conveyed to and from the steamers by launches, barges and sailing dhows. The port and storage facilities in Bahrain are better than elsewhere in the Gulf and importers are allowed to retain their goods in the customs premises for ninety days before re-exporting them. There are usually about 90-100 sailing vessels and launches alongside and anchored off the pier, these come from other Gulf ports, from the west coast of India and from the Red Sea. Walking down the customs pier one sees many interesting types of vessels and sea-faring Arabs from all parts of the Gulf and beyond it.

On the west of the entrance to the Pier is the Passport Office. Passport Officials go aboard all passenger vessels and are present at the Airport when aircraft arrive. Bahrain has had its own passports since 1929.

On the south side of the Square, which has a little garden in the centre of it, is the "Bab al-Bahrain," the Gateway of Bahrain, consisting of two large blocks of office buildings with an archway in the centre. On the south side of the western block there is a fine old Arab door and on the balconies of the buildings as well as around the garden in the Square there are cement panels containing Arabesque patterns copied from old buildings in Bahrain.

The Bab al-Bahrain contains the finance and accounts department where all payments to the Government for electricity, water, etc., etc., are made, the Land Department which deals with sales and registration of property and questions about boundaries and ownership of land, the registration of sales being compulsory, and several other government offices. His Highness has a reception room overlooking the square on the first floor of the building where he sits on Wednesday mornings. Here he receives any visitors who wish to call on him and sees people who present petitions. On Monday mornings he visits the Municipal Buildings at Muharraq where he holds a similar reception.

East of the Customs, on the sea front, is the Law Courts Building which contains a number of different courts including religious courts presided over by the Qadis of the Sunni and Shia sects. Certain foreigners, including British, Americans, Pakistanis and Indians are under the judicial authority of H.B.M.'s Political Agent. In mixed

At Awali are the offices and the homes of the European employees of BAPCO, while outside the fence is the Arab camp for the few Bahrainis who prefer to live there rather than in their own towns and villages. Near Awali's eastern gate is the Training School for Bahrainis, where something is done to equip them for higher posts in the company. This is a field of activity which the company is beginning to develop and it is very important that is should succeed.

South of Awali, in the desert around the Jebal ad-Dukhan, is the oil field, the *raison d'etre* of BAPCO, an unimpressive area with many little squares of cement decorated with taps and valves and surrounded by low fences, which are the oil wells, while here and there derricks mark the search for more oil which is always in progress.

After the Abadan Refinery the one on Bahrain is the largest in the Middle East and supplies large quantities of refined products to India, Pakistan, East Africa and other countries "East of Suez." During the day it would be difficult to describe the refinery as anything but a large and ugly mass of iron and steel, with the great Cat. Cracker rising above the squat silver tanks. The air is hot and dusty and in the summer the iron-work is so hot that to touch it raises blisters ; but in the evening the refinery takes on the appearance of a slightly shapeless but nevertheless well decorated Christmas Tree, covered in lights and set against a background of flares of burning gas which illuminate the sky like a lurid orange back-cloth.

The Sitra anchorage has at all times an appearance of feverish activity, it is being improved so that it will be possible to load ships and tankers round the clock. In order to do this the jetty is being floodlit with great arc lamps.

On low-lying Sitra Island all that can be seen from the sea are the storage tanks, it is only on approaching nearer that the island itself becomes visible. The Tank Farm spreads across the middle of Sitra, and as it expands it threatens to cut the island in two. To the south of the Tank Farm is a large group of buildings from which a crashing sound is continually heard ; this is the Drum Plant. Further evidence of this is present in the thousands of newly painted drums that are piled in huge rows near the plant.

The oil industry is directed from the main office in Awali, where from air-conditioned coolness in the summer and air-conditioned warmth in the winter instructions go out to all parts of Bahrain where BAPCO has its installations. Bahrain is well situated for an oil industry. The oil wells are about eight miles from the Refinery, which itself is scarcely more than half that distance from the Pier and Tank Farm, while from Awali it is possible to see on a clear day both the Refinery and the Field. The radio-telephone and the aeroplane used in other Middle Eastern fields have no place in Bahrain where phones and cars are quite sufficent.

Of the 7,749 workers employed by BAPCO at the end of 1951, 4,937 were Bahrainis and 1,035 were British, American and other

## CUSTOMS REGULATIONS

There is usually little difficulty in importing goods into Bahrain, except the following, which are not allowed :—

(a) Arms and Ammunition,
(b) Alcoholic and intoxicating liquors (except under licence).
(c) Cultured, bleached or tinted pearls and undrilled pearls produced outside the Persian Gulf,
(d) Obscene, indecent or seditious literature or pictures,
(e) Dogs, except with special permission of the Director of Customs which will only be granted in the case of dogs accompanied by a veterinary surgeon's certificate of innoculation against rabies.
(f) Counterfeit coins,
(g) Opium and its allied products and cocaine and its allied products.

Books and printed matter, gold and silver bullion and coinage, samples, undrilled Persian Gulf pearls, implements and tools of trade for the use of the traveller are exempt from customs duties. For those arriving for the first time in Bahrain to take up residence, household effects, new clothing, silver and plate are also exempt from duties.

All travellers may bring into the country not more than 100 cigarettes, 50 cigars or ½ pound of tobacco, the containers of which must have been opened.

All other goods are liable to a customs duty. The duty on tobacco and liquor is 15%, luxuries pay 10% and necessities, 5%, but prospective travellers should not depend upon this as a hard and fast rule but are advised to ascertain the rates for each article. The Bahrain Government published a Customs Ordinance in 1950 in the form of a booklet, price Rs.2, which is obtainable from the Director of Customs, Manama, Bahrain.

## LANGUAGES

The official language of Bahrain is Arabic, but some English is spoken in most parts of the State; it is usually possible in cases of difficulty to find an English-speaking Arab

On the other hand the Arabs much appreciate foreigners who take the trouble to learn even the rudiments of their language, which, it must be admitted, is very difficult. For this purpose possibly the best book in print is Van Ess's *Spoken Arabic of Irak*. There are, of course, many other excellent books on Arabic, but for conversational purposes the one above approaches nearest to the particular brand of Arabic spoken in Bahrain.

## PASSPORTS AND VISAS

All intending visitors to Bahrain are required to have passports endorsed for Bahrain, and in addition they should apply for an entry

## REVIEW OF 1372

000 The two most important events during the year were the conclusion of a new oil agreement between the Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company and His Highness Shaikh Sulman's first visit to Europe to attend the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth.

471 651 439 The new oil agreement was on a 50—50 basis on the same lines as other agreements which have recently been made between governments and oil companies in the Middle East, it also provided for a payment to the State on oil imported into Bahrain for refining. As a result of this agreement the total revenue for the year under review was 373½ lakhs of rupees, approximately £2,800,000, though the new scale of payments was not in operation throughout the whole of 1372.

652 657 Expenditure was higher than in 1371. Excluding the one third of the oil revenue, which is paid to the Privy Purse, 48 per cent. of the State's expenditure was on social and public services; Education, Public Health, Public Protection and grants to Municipalities absorbed 18½ per cent., 15-3/8 per cent., 10-4/5 per cent., and 3 per cent. respectively, including capital expenditure on new schools, dispensaries and police quarters. The demand for more schools and hospitals is continuous and insistent but few Bahrain people realise the heavy recurrent cost of medical and education services which can be maintained on the present scale only as long as the present revenue continues.

651 511 342 471 Trade flourished and the revenue from customs was higher than in the previous year; during recent years customs collections have risen annually. Local prosperity was apparent from what might be described as a building boom. Many new houses and shops were built in the towns and suburbs by private enterprise. The type of house varied from European style bungalows and blocks of flats, built by merchants and shaikhs for letting, to small stone houses which are gradually replacing barastis, palm branch huts. Several serious fires in barasti areas, which destroyed many dwellings, gave an impetus to building. Working men who owned pieces of ground built small houses and the Government received hundreds of applications from people who wished to buy building plots. Unfortunately the Government owns very little land in and around the towns, much of it having been given away or sold cheaply many years ago.

511 167 161 The standard of living in Bahrain is very much higher than it was a few years ago and the health of the people is noticeably better than it used to be. For these reasons and owing to a steady influx of foreigners, mostly from Oman and the Trucial Coast, who come to Bahrain to work, it is believed that there has been a substantial increase in the population which at the time of the last census, in 1950, was found to be 110,000.

578 The state of public security was good in spite of the presence of large a number of foreigners who are not as naturally law abiding as the people of Bahrain. There were no political or labour disturbances.

648 439 Relations with Quatar deteriorated owing to incidents connected with the visit of a party of Bahrain schoolboys and school teachers to Zubara during the Spring holiday. The commercial development of Qatar tended to reduce Bahrain's transit trade and deprived some of the Bahrain merchants of agencies which used to include both Bahrain and Qatar. Relations with Saudi Arabia and Iraq were friendly, a deputation headed by Shaikh Isa bin Sulman, His Highness's eldest son, represented Bahrain at the coronation of King Faisal in Baghdad.

## DIVING INDUSTRY

228
464 There is little to report on this subject. Under present conditions it seems probable that in a few years the diving Nakhudas will find that it is impossible to obtain any recruits for diving in Bahrain. During the season only 12 boats went out to the banks from Bahrain and most of the divers who were engaged were from Persia and the Trucial Coast. So much money can be earned on shore that few men are willing to leave their shore jobs in order to dive during the summer months.

651
439 The tax on imported pearls imposed by the Government of India was in force throughout and after the diving season and this contributed to a large extent to the slackness in the pearl trade. Taking into consideration the small number of boats employed in diving the catch was
228 moderately good and pearl prices were not much lower than in the previous season.

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## MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

### 1372

(Report by Dr. R. H. B. Snow, M.B.E., Senior Medical Officer)

**Summary of the Year**

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751 A change is gradually infiltrating and making itself evident in the scope and policy of medical work which is increasing in every department and subconsciously affecting the life of the Island. Traditions are now being established which the new generation are growing up with, and health ideas which once were revolutionary are now accepted as the normal course of reasonable upbringing.

657 The medical department which started in a small way, and expanded slowly is seeing results which are very satisfying but which are taken for granted, although they took years of striving to achieve. From its small beginnings and tiny nucleus of key staff it has now spread out from something rather personal to more of a departmental outlook. This in the course of things is bound to be, but its danger is that lack of co-ordination may develop or that the department may absorb the individual expression. At present there seems to be no signs of this because the various heads of departments meet together continually to exchange ideas and align themselves in a common policy, and also they are readily accessible to the public.

743
758 Lines of expansion have shown themselves everywhere. The surgical work has been given great impetus by the advent of an F.R.C.S. specialist, Mr. R. D. Wilkins.

The operation theatre now runs a staff rota for every 24 hours of the day, made possible by recruiting Sister Ford and Sister Johnson from England. Sister Edwards was appointed to the Nursing Home to replace Sister Millson. The X-Ray department has an English Radiographer in charge—Mr. Havey. The Laboratory has a staff of six technicians. Four new Indian doctors arrived, one lady doctor for the Women's Hospital, and the others, male, were appointed to the Boys' Schools, The Port, and the Hospital. Mr. Burgin replaced Mr. Hanvey as Public Health Inspector, and Mr. Nambiar became the new Anti-Malaria Supervisor. Both hospitals recruited many more Indian trained nurses. The lack of sufficient staff has now been made good and at present meets all needs which recently have been very pressing. It meant also that more specialised apparatus could be installed being safely handled by expert hands. Such things include a more powerful X-Ray plant, a modern anaesthetic apparatus to administer all gases and curare, an electro-cautery unit and an electro-cardiograph.

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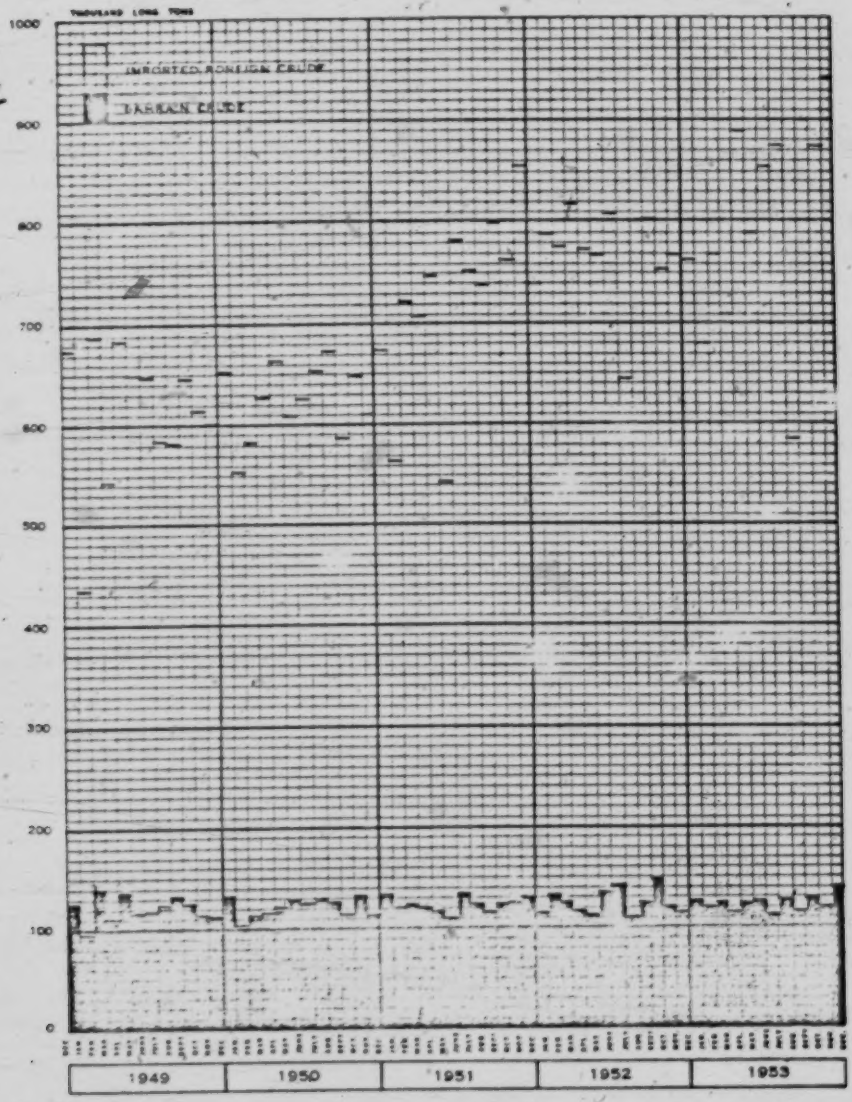
REFINERY THROUGHPUT. BAHRAIN 1949-1953.




[facing page 50 a]

## CASH RECEIPTS RETURN—1372

| | | Rs. | As. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 494 | TRANSFER FEES .. .. .. .. .. | 686 | — |
| 651 | TAXATION FEES .. .. .. .. .. | 89,606 | 1 |
| | NUMBER PLATES .. .. .. .. .. | 2,397 | — |
| | LICENCE HOLDERS .. .. .. .. .. | 663 | 8 |
| | DRIVING LICENCES .. .. .. .. .. | 14,525 | — |
| | LICENCE BOOKS .. .. .. .. .. | 1,922 | — |
| | TAXI BADGES .. .. .. .. .. | 75 | — |
| | DRIVING TESTS—Fees .. .. .. .. .. | 6,650 | — |
| | LICENCE LATE FEES .. .. .. .. .. | 335 | 8 |
| | PEDAL CYCLE TAX .. .. .. .. .. | 1,697 | — |
| | HIRE OF "L" PLATES .. .. .. .. .. | 99 | — |
| | LEARNERS LICENCE PERMITS .. .. .. | 1,063 | 8 |
| | REGISTRATION LATE FEES .. .. .. .. | 2,312 | — |
| | REGISTRATION INFORMATIO .. .. .. | 3 | — |
| | PUBLIC CONVEYANCE LICENCE .. .. .. | 865 | — |
| | TAXI DRIVERS LICENCES .. .. .. .. | 853 | 8 |
| | TRADERS LICENCES .. .. .. .. .. | 2,175 | — |
| | Total | Rs. 1,25,929 | 1 |

## OIL INSPECTION DEPARTMENT

(Report by Mr. G. B. Thompson, Government Oil Inspector)

382 439 505 The Refinery throughput of Bahrain Crude Oil remained about the same as the previous year, but the total Refinery throughput, including both Bahrain Crude Oil and Imported Foreign Crude Oil, increased from 9,254,140 Long Tons in 1952, to a figure of 9,654,390 Long Tons in 1953. The actual figures being :

| | |
|---|---|
| Bahrain Crude Oil .. .. | 1,480,638 Long Tons |
| Imported Foreign Crude Oil .. | 8,173,751 Long Tons |

There was a slight drop in the number of ship cargo inspections carried out :

| | |
|---|---|
| 1952 .. | 178 Ships, 476 Parcels, 1,741,861 Long Tons |
| 1953 .. | 170 Ships, 463 Parcels, 1,628,045 Long Tons |

* The term "Imported Foreign Crude Oil" has been used in place of the term "Arabian Crude Oil," used in previous years, the change having been made to allow inclusion of two shipments of Sumatran Crude made late in 1953, which were successfully processed through the Refinery.

Graphs showing the Refinery throughput and the Ship Inspection figures for the last five years are included. *

1 [A.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst] 2 [Graphs facing page 50a + b -- Analyst]

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 M22 Bahrain M22



## CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT

(Report by Mr. G. W. R. Smith, M.B.E., Director of Customs and Port Office).

651 The revenue collected by the Customs Department from all sources, including Boat Licences, exceeded last year's revenue by Rs. 8,26,600 -, and exceeded the amount which was anticipated in the budget by Rs. 21,49,632 -. This substantial increase in Customs Revenue was due to larger imports of rice with higher prices being obtained at source, increased cost of coffee at source, and heavy imports of flour and tea. A decrease in the amount of income from Direct Transhipment cargo may be attributed to the more frequent use of the port of Um Said by the Qatar Petroleum Co. There was a decrease in the price at source of woollen and cotton piece goods, compared to last year; in the case of woollens the decrease was 5 per cent., but in the case of cotton piece goods it was as high as 20 per cent. There was again an increase over the previous year in the number of ocean going vessels and native craft calling at the port of Bahrain. Japanese vessels were more frequent callers, but in the main the increase in ocean going vessels was due to a second call at the port for the purpose of taking bunkers. It will be noted that the number of Bills of Entry and Export Shipping Bills dealt with in 1372, were again more than in 1371, further emphasising Bahrain's growing importance as an entreport in the Persian Gulf.

439 During the year under review the period allowed for Intransit Cargo was increased from 90 days to six months, and for cargo in transit to Saudi Arabia Ports—from 20 days to 40 days. This has proved of great benefit to importers.

Two new storage sheds were erected and completed during the year with a capacity of 9,000 tons dead-weight. At the end of the year Customs cranage was increased by the arrival of a new 10-ton capacity Coles Mobine Crane. Work was commenced on the erection of a new Native Craft pier 1,200 feet long, to relieve congestion on the main Customs Pier.

000 **Accidents—within Port Limits.** On the 4th of May, 1953, a launch belonging to Messrs. Gray, Mackenzie and Co., Ltd., which was alongside near the Sea Front Road, caught fire by the bursting of a stove, and was partly destroyed. The craft was later repaired and returned to service. The Light Tender vessel *Relume* carried out her usual visits of inspection to the lights and buoys.

651 **General.** The estimated revenue for 1373, Rs. 90,00,000, is less than last year's revenue. This figure has been determined by the fact that there are indications of a definite downward trend in prices and there is overstocking of certain commodities, such as piece goods, tea, flour and cars, in the local markets.

### YEAR 1372

### ACTUAL RECEIPTS COMPARED WITH BUDGET ESTIMATES

| Budget Head | Estimated Collections | Actual Collections | Increase | Decrease |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| Customs and Import Yard .. .. | 83,47,500 - | 10[illegible],120.- | 20,74,620.- | — |
| Diving Licences .. .. | 2,500 - | 1,835 - | — | 665 |
| Miscellaneous .. .. .. | 50,000 - | 1,25,677/- | 75,677/- | — |
| Total .. | 84,00,000 - | 105,49,632 - | 21,50,297/- | 665 |

Increase over Estimates : Rs. 21,49,632 -

### COMPARISON OF DIFFERENCES

| | Customs (Increase) | Pearling and Craft Licences (Decrease) |
|---|---|---|
| Year 1371 | Rs. 27,24,030 - | Rs. 998 - |
| Year 1372 .. .. .. | Rs. 21,50,297/- | Rs. 665 - |

651

## COMPARISON OF ACTUAL RECEIPTS

| | Year 1371 | Year 1372 | Increase. | Decrease. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| Customs, Import Yard and Miscellaneous .. | 97,21,530/- | 105,47,797/- | 8,26,267/- | — |
| Diving and Craft Licences .. | 1,502/- | 1,835/- | 333/- | — |

Net Increase : Rs. 8,26,600/-

## COMPARISONS OF CUSTOMS CLASSIFIED RECEIPTS

| | Year 1371 | Year 1372 | Increase. | Decrease. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| A. Steamers .. .. | 69,09,644/- | 74,97,479/- | 5,87,835/- | — |
| B. Craft .. .. | 4,77,975/- | 4,86,620/- | 8,645/- | — |
| C. Passengers' Baggage .. | 86,130/- | 96,878/- | 10,748/- | — |
| D. Parcels .. .. | 6,88,343/- | 7,73,922/- | 85,579/- | — |
| E. D.T. Cargoes .. .. | 4,06,319/- | 3,10,788/- | — | 95,531/- |
| F. Export Duties .. .. | 5,404/- | 20,560/- | 15,156/- | — |
| G. Miscellaneous .. .. | 93,508/- | 1,25,677/- | 32,169/- | — |
| H. I.Y. Collections .. .. | 10,54,207/- | 12,35,873/- | 1,81,666/- | — |
| Rs. | 97,21,530/- | 105,47,797/- | 9,21,798/- | 95,531/- |

Increase : Rs. 8,26,267/-

## COMPARISON OF PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES

| Commodity. | Year 1371 | | Year 1372 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Quantity. | Value. | Quantity. | Value. |
| Rice, cwts. .. .. | 2,14,878 | 100,93,800/- | 3,39,805 | 191,23,735/- |
| Wheat, cwts. .. .. | 30,472 | 9,81,065/- | 26,200 | 8,93,665/- |
| Flour, cwts. .. .. | 1,35,453 | 50,20,735/- | 2,03,693 | 64,23,665/- |
| Tea, cases .. .. | 53,237 | 53,35,200/- | 92,357 | 73,4,265/- |
| Coffee, bags .. .. | 9,607 | 37,40,600/- | 11,777 | 40,70,265/- |
| Sugar (soft), cwts. .. .. | 1,89,545 | 87,43,735/- | 1,76,816 | 61,23,400/- |

439●

*Piece-goods* :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cottons .. .. | Rs. 127,82,935/- | Rs. 104,46,265/- |
| Woollens .. .. | 31,32,335/- | 23,46,400/- |
| Silks .. .. .. | 41,29,400/- | 41,87,665/- |

## COMPARISON OF AVERAGE UNIT VALUES

(Foodstuffs)

● 439

| Commodity | Unit | Year 1371 | Year 1372 |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Rs. | Rs. |
| Rice | bags of 160 lbs. | 82/- | 97/- |
| Coffee : | | | |
| African | maund of 56 lbs. | 114/141 | 149/- |
| Harari | maund of 56 lbs. | 157/- | 177/- |
| Habashi | maund of 56 lbs. | 141/176 | 165/- |
| Singapor | maund of 56 lbs. | 135/151 | 158/- |
| Sugar (soft) | bag of 2[illegible] lbs | 115/- | 80/- |
| Tea (Indian | chests of 112 lbs. | 280/- | 280/- |

## COMPARISON OF AVERAGE UNIT VALUES

(Piece-goods)

| Commodity | | ENGLISH | | INDIAN | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1371 | 1372 | 1371 | 1372 |
| | | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| [illegible] | piece of 20 yards | — | — | 23/- | 17/- |
| Prints, inferior | piece of 20 yards | 70/- | 50/- | 30/- | 25/- |

## COMPARATIVE VISITS OF NATIVE CRAFT

| Origin. | Year 1371 | Year 1372 |
|---|---|---|
| Arabian Mainland Ports | 114 | 79 |
| Kuwait | 51 | 51 |
| Oman Coast | 272 | 239 |
| [illegible] Coast | 828 | 902 |
| Iraq | 47 | 54 |
| India | 31 | 51 |
| Africa | 50 | 41 |
| Qatar | 58 | 53 |
| Muscat | — | 3 |
| Pakistan | 5 | 1 |
| Total | 1456 | 1474 |

## BAHRAIN CRAFT REGISTRATIONS

| | Wooden Barges. | Steel Barges. | Motor Launches and Lighters. | Sailing Craft. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEAR 1370 : | | | | | |
| Registered Craft .. .. .. | 12 | | 253 | 838 | 1185 |
| YEAR 1372 : | | | | | |
| New Built in Bahrain for hire ... | — | — | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Brought from Holland .. .. | — | 8 | 1 | — | 9 |
| Brought from U.S.A. .. .. | — | — | 1 | — | 1 |
| New Built in Bahrain for private use .. | — | — | 1 | — | 1 |
| Old, purchased from R.A.F. by Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Co., Ltd. .. | — | — | 4 | — | 4 |
| Old, brought from foreign ports .. | — | — | 7 | 6 | 13 |
| | 12 | 90 | 268 | 845 | 1215 |
| Old craft fitted with engines .. .. | — | — | 3 | 3 | — |
| Total | 12 | 90 | 271 | 842 | 1215 |
| LESS IN 1372 : | | | | | |
| Sold and removed .. .. | — | — | — | 1 | 1 |
| Lost at Sea .. .. | — | — | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Useless—broken-up .. .. | 1 | — | 2 | 21 | 24 |
| | 1 | — | 3 | 25 | 29 |
| Actual number of craft registered up to the end of 1372 .. .. ... | 11 | 90 | 268 | 817 | 1186 |
| Total .. | 12 | 90 | 271 | 842 | 1215 |

## EXPORT OF BAHRAIN OIL PRODUCTS WERE :

| | Year 1371 | | Year 1372 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Drums. | Tons. | Drums. | Tons. |
| Gasoline and Aviation Gasoline .. .. | 34,472 | 57,925 | 13,990 | 14,39,471 |
| Fuel Oil .. .. .. .. | — | 33,72,963 | — | 41,09,845 |
| Diesel Oil .. .. .. .. | 1,600 | 2,26,033 | 1,41,000 | 2,48,435 |
| Diesel Fuel .. .. .. .. | — | — | — | 95,197 |
| Kerosene .. .. .. .. | 8,249 | 7,46,084 | 14,550 | 5,74,433 |
| Gas Oil .. .. .. .. .. | 7,[illegible] | 62,566 | — | 1,03,95[illegible] |
| Gas Oil (Diesel) .. .. .. | 11,123 | 3,91,171 | 2,397 | 2,79,20[illegible] |
| Crude and Synthetic Cr[illegible] .. .. | 1,09,[illegible]00 | 9[illegible]79[illegible] | — | 72,346 |
| Motor Spirit .. .. .. .. | 27,607 | 1,4[illegible] | — | 61,115 |
| Petroleum Products .. .. .. | 1,18,700 | — | 44,308 | — |
| Vaporizing Oil .. .. .. | 396 | — | — | [illegible],793 |
| Total .. .. | 3,28,[illegible]29 | 66,96,072 | 2,16,245 | 69,85,788 |

505

**Staff :**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Number of Clerks (Customs) | 106 | |
| Number of Clerks (Food Control) | 10 | |
| | | 116 |

**Menials :**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Customs, including Guards and Crane Crew | 83 | |
| Food Control | 4 | |
| | | 87 |

**Salaries Paid :**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Customs Department | Rs. 3,49,193/- | |
| Food Control | 28,998/- | |
| | | Rs. 3,78,191/- |

**Menials Wages Paid :**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Customs Department | Rs. 1,25,899/- | |
| Food Control | 7,897/- | |
| | | Rs. 1,33,796/- |

**Bills of Entry.** The total number of Bills of Entry dealt with was 34,728, an increase of 6,080 over 1371.

Particulars are :

| | |
|---|---|
| Steamers | 24,013 |
| Craft | 3,157 |
| Baggage and Aircraft | 7,558 |
| Total | 34,728 |

**Shipping Bills.** The total number of Shipping Bills dealt with during the year amounted to 54,441, an increase of 6,218 over 1371.

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## FOOD CONTROL DEPARTMENT

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Holding ample stocks of rice at the beginning of the year under review, and having in mind the possibility of being able to discontinue rationing, the Government made no large scale purchases of rice and sugar in 1372. In all, only Rs. 6 lakhs were spent in the purchase of a small quantity of Persian rice.

During the year it became more and more obvious that there was plenty of rice available for export from Burma and Siam, so the Government called a meeting of leading importers, and informed them that if they were prepared to import sufficient rice for internal needs (about 85,000 bags, each of 160 lbs. per annum), the Government would cease to purchase and ration this important commodity. The Government would, however, continue to exercise a price control for at least a year. The importers agreed to do this and it was possible to cease rationing by the end of Ramadhan 1372. Since that date supplies have continued to arrive regularly to importers, who have retailed same to the public at prices below the controlled rate.

The Government issued to the public 8 lbs. of rice per adult for the first nine months of the year at prices ranging from Rs. 1.12.0 to Rs. 2.4.0 per ruba, since rationing ceased the price has not exceeded Rs. 2.6.0 per ruba, and is presently being retailed at Rs. 2.4.0 per ruba of 4 lbs.

Sugar was also de-rationed at the beginning of the year, plentiful supplies being available in the local market, and retailed to the public at prices ranging from Rs. 1.10.0 to Rs. 2/- per ruba of 4 lbs. The Government stock of sugar was reserved for *barter* for livestock from Iran and dates from Basrah.

Over the past three years the Government has subsidised the price of meat and dates to the extent of approximately £70,000/-, sugar costing from £6 to £7 10s. has been sold to importers of livestock and dates at £3 15s. per bag.

That this policy has been wise is shown in the figures of imports of livestock during Ramadhan and Shawal 1372, as under :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Ramadhan* 1372 : | Cattle | .. .. | 1019 head |
| | Sheep and Goats | .. | 13327 ,, |
| *Shawal*, 1372 | Cattle | .. .. | 526 ,, |
| | Sheep and Goats | .. | 10914 ,, |

The retail prices to the public of beef, mutton, and goat meat in Bahrain are very much cheaper, by half at least, than in the neighbouring countries of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

Fish supplies were more plentiful than in the previous year, with prices again well below neighbouring states :.

Imports of consumer goods increased during the year, and there are signs of over-stocking of certain commodities, particularly piece goods, flour, tea and motor cars.

During the year it was noticed there was a downward trend in the price of certain commodities such as timber, iron bars, windows, joists and muraba wood.

Large supplies of fresh fruits arrived in Bahrain from Lebanon. Persia, Australia, America and India, during the year with prices considerably lower than in the previous year.

Although the Government ended rationing during the year, it still maintains a price control on such essential commodities as meat, fish, rice, sugar, flour, wheat, tea and coffee.

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## STATE ENGINEER'S DEPARTMENT

(Report by Mr. D. Brammer, Assoc.I.E.E., M.A.S.E.E., State Engineer)

### The Electricity Undertaking

**The Power Station.** A new 750 K.W. Generating Set was completed and put into commission on 10th Ramadhan, increasing the total installed capacity of the station to 3,750 K.W.

Units generated amounted to 10,58,560, an increase of 28 per cent. on the previous year and the electricity supply to the public was maintained without any major interruption.

A notable achievement was the reduction in transmission losses from 13.25 per cent. to 6.26 per cent., a saving of some 360,000 units.

**Mains Department.** The four skilled linesmen who were recruited in India last year were discharged in Dhul Haj, 1372. Their work had become most unsatisfactory. The work of renewal and maintenance proceeded satisfactorily but the rate of connection of new consumers is still far too low and further efforts are now being made to recruit skilled staff in order to speed up this work.

A new underground H.T. cable was laid from the Power Station to "C" Sub-station and the H.T. overhead line between Muharraq Town and the Royal Air Force Station was re-erected and its capacity doubled.

The H.T. underground cable around Muharraq Town was completed giving an extra supply of 320 k.w. to district which had never before had an electricity supply, and some two miles of L.T. distribution were erected in the town, together with street lights.

701 625 suit them, they spoke no Arabic, and were regarded by the people of Bahrain as expensive foreign mercenaries; they were useless at ordinary police work, and the Indian Officers and N.C.O.'s caused constant trouble by incessant quarrels and intrigues. The Indians were enlisted for four years, but before this period had expired I began to enlist a force of local men as police, a project which I always strongly advocated. It was from this time that the present force was started, but the final transition was not completed until the end of 1932.

574 562 684 **Crime and Prostitution.** The number of serious crimes which are committed every year in Bahrain is small in comparison to the population, which is thought to be about 150,000. Usually about one or two cases of murder are dealt with by the police during the year, but it is possible that occasional murders take place which are not detected, especially murders of women and newly born children. Although in recent years Bahrain has progressed in many ways, there are still a number of Arabs living in Hedd and Muharraq who consider that they are justified in murdering their female relations if the women bring shame on the family. A few of the very old-fashioned Arabs even consider that because the Government does not ignore such murders it is encouraging immorality. The Kadis, however, although ultra conservative in their outlook, disapprove of men taking the law into their own hands and murdering women who misbehave. In some Arab countries the fear of punishment by death for immorality has a very salutary effect, but Bahrain, although described as an Arab state, has very little in common [162] with real Arab countries. The Baharna, who form about three quarters of the population, are not true Arabs, and the rest of the population includes all the nationalities who live around the Gulf. The only real Arabs in Bahrain are the Khalifah and a few families who came over with them from the mainland and a small number of members of mainland tribes who live almost entirely in Hedd, Muharraq, Budeya, and two or three small villages on the south coast.

[548] Immorality is undoubtedly increasing, but the increase in prostitution is not due to the Government but is a matter of supply and demand. During the last two years numbers of foreigners [164] earning good pay have come to Bahrain, usually without their families, from Persia, Iraq, and India, and this has undoubtedly caused an increase in prostitution. Venereal disease is rampant, and the proportion of persons suffering from it, especially in ophthalmic forms, is very high. The medical supervision of prostitutes would undoubtedly result in an improvement in the public health. This suggestion was discussed and approved by the Manamah Municipal Council some years ago, but it has not yet been possible to arrange the medical organisation to cope with this matter.

674 681 Most of the criminal cases which are dealt with by the police are cases of theft, assault, and immorality. Several important gangs of thieves have been rounded up during the last ten years. Some of these gangs were well provided with arms and had regular methods of disposing of stolen property in Bahrain or on the mainland. Foreigners, especially Hassawis, form the majority of the criminals. There are a number of inveterate thieves who spend the greater part of their lives in prison. Such persons, on the mainland, would be punished by cutting off of their hands and finally by decapitation. The punishments inflicted by the Bahrain courts are whippings, fines, and imprisonment, but imprisonment to many of these people is no hardship: the work is not hard, they are given better food than they would obtain themselves, and the only real punishment is being deprived of women.

273 276 **Drugs and Liquor.** Liquor and drugs, such as opium, are forbidden in Bahrain, but in spite of the severe penalties which are enforced by the Bahrain courts against persons contravening the liquor regulations, the habit of drinking liquor and smoking opium is, in my opinion, steadily increasing. Ten years ago very few people drank liquor, and the smoking of opium was entirely confined to foreigners, Persians, Indians, and Baluchis. To-day many of the younger Arabs have acquired a liking for spirits, partly because they have had opportunities for drinking while travelling abroad, and frequent cases have occurred in which Arabs have been found to be taking opium.

276 439 Opium is smuggled into Bahrain from Persia, usually in native crafts, but sometimes hidden in merchandise on the mail steamers. It varies in quality, most frequently it is in large lumps weighing four or five pounds, but some imes it is in paper-covered sticks sealed up in bundles. It is very

5: Bahrain G-5 (1925-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

expensive in Bahrain, and successful opium smugglers and retailers make large profits. Opium is easy to hide and lacks the strong smell which frequently leads to the detection of locally made liquor. In opium cases the police depend mainly on informers, who are usually men who are themselves concerned in the opium business but who consider that they have not had a fair share of the profits and so give their friends away. Opium has been discovered hidden in gramophones, clocks, flour-bins, and in the ceilings of rooms.

Illicit liquor used to consist entirely of locally distilled arak made from dates. Ten years ago it was manufactured only by two or three Iraqis and Jews, who were gradually rounded up, but in about 1930 there was a great increase in arak, and a number of Bahrain subjects took to making it, probably because it was such a profitable trade. The illicit liquor traffickers displayed great ingenuity in hiding their stills and their cellars: arak was made in ruined houses, in out-of-the-way date gardens and in subterranean rooms which still exist in a few old houses which were used in the past as places for hiding valuables in times of war. Distributors kept bottled supplies of arak in wells, in false walls, under rubbish heaps, and sometimes under the seats of motor cars. In one case the police discovered that the municipal lunatic asylum was a distributing centre, and the keeper and his wife were members of a liquor gang.

About two years ago, after numerous prosecutions, there appeared to be a decrease in the use of arak, but cases began to occur in which people used methylated spirits as a drink. During the last year this practice has increased very much, and a concoction consisting of methylated spirits mixed with eau-de-Cologne is rapidly taking the place of arak. It is probably more injurious to the health than arak, but it is very popular with women of the town, and apparently a small quantity causes drunkenness in a short time. Methylated spirit is only sold to reliable dealers, and is mixed before being sold with a chemical to make it unpalatable; there are no restrictions, however, on the sale of scent.

The Ruler, the religious leaders, and the majority of the people in Bahrain disapprove very strongly of drink, but there is a small section of the community which would like the restrictions on liquor to be removed. The great influx of well-paid foreigners from countries where the sale of liquor is allowed is the chief reason for the increase of cases against the liquor laws. There is undoubtedly an occasional leakage of liquor from the Bahrain Petroleum Company, but this is not sufficiently frequent to have any effect on the liquor question in general. The most effective way of preventing the increase in drinking is to deal very drastically with any cases which are proved in the courts.

**The State Jail.** The jail is in the Fort and consists of a number of cells and a yard. Prisoners are well fed—they usually put on weight during their term of imprisonment—and are provided with clothes. Convicts wear leg-irons, which is a measure to prevent their escape, as they work outside the Fort most of the day. There are no regular warders, but each section of the police takes in turn jail duties; this was found more satisfactory than having a permanent jail staff. Usually there are between twenty and thirty convicts in the prison. Debtors receive the same food as prisoners, but wear their own clothes and are not obliged to do any work apart from cleaning the prison. As most of the convicts serve for short terms, it has not been possible to organise any prison industries. There is no women's prison, but there are two cells adjoining the house of the senior police N.C.O., whose wife acts as a wardress if any women are confined in the Fort. The question of a small building for women prisoners is under consideration, and the present jail is also to be repaired during the coming year.

**The Present Police Force.** Although the existing police force was enlisted locally, the men are not all Bahrain subjects. The present strength of the police is 204 N.C.O.'s and men, including Bahrain Arabs, Shia Baharna, local Persians, and one or two Persians who served in the South Persian Rifles, Kurds, Yemenis, Iraqis, mainland Arabs, Swahilis, Somalis, Sudanese, and a number of manumitted slaves; the last category make very good policemen. In the past, service in the police was regarded as somewhat derogatory, but in the last few years the public attitude towards the police has changed: there is now keen competition to enlist in the force, and when a few recruits are required, hundreds of men present themselves at the Fort for enlistment. It is now possible to take only picked men whose height, chest measure-

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

651

**5. Landing Company.** The British India Steam Navigation Company's agents have a concession from the Bahrain Government to operate a landing company which is authorised to convey cargo from steamers to the pier. They charge landing fees according to a schedule authorised by the Government, and the Company pays to the Government 5% of its total collections.

The cost of importing normal cargo, at the 5% rate, including all outside costs such as landing fees, import yard charges, etc., amounts to approximately 10%. This amount is not high considering that there is no other form of taxation in Bahrain.

**(*a*) Mainland Cargo.** Bahrain is, to a great extent, a distributing centre for the mainland ports; most of the imports into Saoudi Arabia pass through Bahrain, and for this reason various special systems have been arranged to deal with the transit trade. Until about sixteen years ago, imports through Bahrain which were re-exported to the mainland were charged the same duty as imports into Bahrain. In 1921 the duty on re-exported goods was reduced from 5% to 2%, and during the last ten years further changes have been made.

**(*b*) Optional Cargo System.** In 1349 (1930-31) the *Optional Cargo System* was introduced. Under this system cargo imported into Bahrain, but intended for re-export to certain specified mainland ports, is charged full import duty, but is eventually liable for 2% only when the shipping bills are returned endorsed from the ultimate destination.

**(*c*) Transhipment Cargo.** Transhipment cargo is cargo transferred by boats from steamer to native craft direct; 1¾% duty is charged on such cargo for certain specified ports and 2% for other ports provided that not less than 100 packages are transferred at once.

**Transit Cargo.** Transit cargo is cargo destined to other ports which is landed in Bahrain awaiting shipment. On this cargo 1¾% is charged, and also the import yard charges.

The reduction in duty on goods for certain mainland ports in Saoudi Arabia from 2% to 1¾% was made in 1354 (1935-36) as the result of negotiations by a delegation sent by His Majesty King Ibn Saoud to Bahrain to discuss various commercial matters with the Bahrain Government.

Harbour dues are charged only in the case of foreign launches which are not registered in Bahrain; no harbour dues are charged on native craft, although they are charged in all other ports.

**Export Dues, Boat-Building.** The only exports from Bahrain are dates, shells, animals' skins, and pearls. There is no export duty on pearls, but on the other commodities export duty is levied which amounts to approximately 5%. The only local industry of any importance is boat-building. This in the past was a flourishing trade, but with the slump in the pearl market, boat-building has declined. This table shows the numbers of boats built in Bahrain:

[439] [396]

| *Year.* | *Boats.* | *Launches.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1346 | 76 | 10 |
| 1347 | 100 | 12 |
| 1348 | 70 | 28 |
| 1349 | 27 | 13 |
| 1350 | 18 | 2 |
| 1351 | 10 | 1 |
| 1352 | 21 | 2 |
| 1353 | 25 | 1 |
| 1354 | 21 | 4 |
| 1355 | 8 | 5 |

The customs collections during the last ten years are shown on the attached graph. The peak year was 1346 (July 27th, 1928); from 1346 until 1351 the revenue decreased each year to an alarming extent; in 1352 it began to improve, mainly owing to the increase in rates of duty which

651 was imposed on luxury articles, liquor, and tobacco at the end of the previous year. From 1352 onwards the revenue increased steadily, and at the end of the present year, 1356, it will probably ●439 reach the high level which it attained in 1346.

The decrease in revenue resulting from general trade depression in Europe, and particularly the slump in the pearl trade, was caused not so much by a reduced amount of imports but by a decrease in the price of commodities which continued for several years. The cost of rice, flour, and coffee became lower each year during the depression, and importation of comparatively expensive European cotton goods diminished as cheap Japanese goods increased. The shortage of ready money for several years, and the inability of the local Arabs to spend much money on clothes was the greatest stimulus to Japanese trade in the Gulf, and especially in Bahrain. If the spending power of the people had not been so restricted it would have been very much more difficult for the Japanese to monopolise the trade in piece goods and fancy goods. Though the customs collections declined owing to the low value of imports, the cheapness of goods enabled many people to live who would otherwise have found it difficult to exist. I give a table showing the prices of various commodities in different years. The amount of imports, etc., are published yearly in the Bahrain trade report.

653 **Customs Improvements.** The customs pier and the import shed were built about twenty years ago; the pier shed was built in 1924. In 1925 a trolley line system was laid down to facilitate removal of cargo from the pier head to the sheds and to the bazaar. The trolley line resulted in doubling the quantity of daily cargo removals.

In 1927 a small mole and three small docks were constructed on the east of the pier. The mole was too narrow to be of much use, and the docks, which were dry at low tide, were also too small for general use. In 1937 the mole was widened and the new customs house was built on the site of the docks and a large piece of land in front of and on each side of the customs house was reclaimed. The additional area has partially relieved the congestion on the pier, where the area for storing cargo was insufficient.

The lighting of the port was improved in 1931 by the erection of a powerful light on the customs pier, which can be seen from the outer (white) buoy. When electricity was introduced, standard lamps were erected on the pier, enabling work to be carried out at night which was previously done under considerable difficulties. In 1933 the Gray Paul Beacon was lighted with a red flash light which affords great assistance at night to lighterage of cargo. A five-ton crane was purchased in 1930.

505 **Steamship Lines.** In 1924 the port was served only by the British India Steam Navigation Company Limited, with a very occasional Strick Line steamer. In 1925 the first Hansa Line steamer made its appearance. These two lines, and the Strick-Ellerman lines, now call regularly at Bahrain with direct cargo from Europe. In 1934 the Yamashita line, and in 1936 the Mitsui line, commenced regular callings at Bahrain.

In 1931 the British India Steam Navigation Company Limited began the weekly calling here of their subsidiary down-mail which had previously called every fortnight. In October 1932 the first Imperial Airways liner called at Bahrain, and there is now a bi-weekly air service east and west, a service which is expected to become more frequent.

With the development of the Bahrain Petroleum Company, Sitra became the port of oil tankers, and on occasions special permission has been granted for cargo boats to discharge Bahrain Petroleum Company's cargo at Sitra. On these occasions any ordinary cargo not intended for the Company is conveyed by sea to the customs pier in Manamah. Although the Sitra anchorage is more sheltered than the Manamah anchorage, it is not proposed to develop Sitra in any way as a regular port. Customs officials are stationed at Sitra and attend on the aerodrome when ships or aeroplanes are in port.

504 **Future Improvements.** An improvement to the port which has been under consideration on and off for many years is the extension of the existing pier to the edge of the deep water, which is about 400 yards distant from the pier head. Even if the extension were only a narrow one, it would be of great convenience both for passengers

504 and for cargo, as at present only very small boats can come alongside when the tide is at its lowest. While work was being done on the Manamah-Muharraq road it was inadvisable to start more stone work at the pier, but when the road is complete the pier extension will probably be begun.

It is also proposed that a small office for customs and passport officials should be built on the Muharraq aerodrome.

| Year. | Customs Receipts. | No. of Steamers. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1344 | 8,82,000 | — | A poor pearling season. |
| 1345 | 9,62,000 | — | Increase in all imports, especially rice, wheat, flour, and sugar. Persia increased taxes on tea and sugar. |
| 1346 | 10,58,000 | — | Increase of Rs 95,000/- from sugar and piece goods. Good pearling season. |
| 1347 | 10,59,000 | 118 | Bazaars becoming overstocked. |
| 1348 | 8,95,000 | — | Budget expectations not fulfilled. Decrease in wholesale costs of all imports; silk and cotton goods depreciate 25% in value, carpets and abbas 40%. |
| 1349 | 6,36,000 | 96 | Slump in pearl trade; prices of rice and wheat decrease 50%; export of sugar almost ceased. Chief exporter became bankrupt. |
| 1350 | 6,19,000 | 97 | Decrease in prices of all goods. Pearl market very dull. Very large export of gold from Bahrain to India through Indian and Jewish firms. Japanese monopolise piece-goods trade. |
| 1351 | 5,46,000 | 104 | Continued decline in price of staple commodities; one quarter less packages imported. Increase in Japanese goods and import of cheap Japanese silk. Customs dues on luxury articles raised from 5% to 7½%, and then to 10%, and on tobacco to 15%, and liquor, previously free, to 15%. Iraq wheat takes place of Persian wheat in Bahrain market. |
| 1352 | 5,58,000 | 149 | Continued fall in value of commodities. In five years Japanese imports rose from Rs 5,000/- to Rs 13,42,000/-. |
| 1353 | 6,01,000 | 174 (20 oil tankers) | Prices still decreasing, but quantity of imports increased. |
| 1354 | 6,50,000 | 195 (19 oil tankers) | Steady improvement in imports and increased activity in trading. |
| 1355 | 8,28,000 | 251 | Steady improvement in imports and increased activity in trading. |

## PRICES OF COMMODITIES

| Commodity. | Year 1929. | Year 1934. | Year 1935. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ballam rice | 16/- | 9/8 | 10/8 |
| Karachi rice | 13/- | 7/8 | 8/- |
| Rangoon rice | 13/- | 7/8 | 8/- |
| Sugar, Java | 19/- | 12/- | 10/8 |
| Sugar, crystal | 16/- | 11/- | 9/8 |
| Sugar, loaf | 14/- | 9/- | 8/8 |
| Wheat flour, Indian | 17/- | 11/- | 11/- |
| Wheat flour, Iraqi | — | 7/8 | 6/8 |
| Tea, black | 65/- | 40/- | 75/- |

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

226 branches tied together with a string. It is fixed upright by means of ropes and stones and is set out near the shore or on banks which are dry at low tide, with the opening facing landward. At low tide the fish left stranded in the trap are collected.

The *basket,* or *gargur,* is usually constructed of palm branches, split bamboos, or twigs, with funnel shaped holes opening inward in such a way that the fish, once in, cannot get out again. The basket is weighted with stones, and five or six are placed near together in deep water, connected by a stout rope, the last basket with a rope and buoy attached. They are left for two or three days before they are pulled up and the fish removed.

## TRANSIT SHIPMENTS

439 Bahrein is an important center of distribution for the commerce of Nejd and Qatif, and a trading place for merchandise from Persia and India. In fact, the islands re-export a third of all imported merchandise, including rice, cotton, sugar, coffee, cattle for slaughter, and pearls from other parts of the Gulf. Trade is carried on principally with India, the Arabian coast, Persia, and Iraq. In 1928 the total value of transit shipments exceeded £3,000,000.

651 439 The customs is an important source of income, and the customs office is controlled by a British Director of Customs. General merchandise, in accordance with the provisions of the Convention of 1861, is subject to a 5% ad valorem tariff and luxury items are taxed 10%. Included in the category of luxuries are: carpets, bicycles, clocks, watches, electrical appliances, motor cars, tires and tubes, typewriters, and perfumes. Alcohol, tobacco, and cigarettes are taxed 15%.

There is no general tariff on exports with the exception of hides and dates, on which the duty is ten rupees per bundle of hides and two rupees per basket of dates. A duty of 2% is charged on all goods re-exported to Saudi Arabia, and 1¾% on those re-exported to other countries on the mainland.

439 Principal imports besides agricultural products are: broadcloth, cotton, woolen and silk goods, and wood, which is used

in the making of boats, houses, and other construction. A special permit is required to import arms and ammunition; alcoholic liquor is restricted, and cultured pearls forbidden. 439 [656]

The following table shows comparative figures on Bahrein imports and exports from 1941 to 1947. Figures are in rupees.

Table 6. **IMPORTS**

| Product | 1946-47 | 1944-45 | 1943-44 | 1941-42 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rice | 35,82,420 | 13,45,370 | 9,67,870 | 32,48,800 |
| Wheat | 51,96,490 | 45,40,270 | 62,38,560 | 96,410 |
| Wheat flour | 41,960 | 8,22,380 | 17,88,220 | 7,67,420 |
| Coffee | 18,49,240 | 6,63,900 | 11,51,820 | 3,61,630 |
| Dates | 10,78,740 | 10,24,820 | 19,64,820 | 2,17,420 |
| Sugar | 9,48,580 | 15,14,500 | 11,28,170 | 7,74,190 |
| Spices | —— | —— | 7,05,050 | —— |
| Tea | 13,54,330 | 26,11,210 | —— | 5,50,260 |
| Cotton piece goods | 32,31,060 | 48,00,250 | 35,20,260 | —— |
| Silk piece goods | —— | —— | 18,350 | 20,70,680 |
| Cement | —— | —— | 34,280 | 90,100 |
| Other building materials | —— | —— | 670 | 1,09,110 |
| Woolen piece goods | 9,13,440 | 1,21,000 | —— | —— |
| Cigarettes | 13,80,680 | —— | —— | —— |
| **EXPORTS** | | | | |
| Pearls | 6,76,290 | 7,37,890 | 4,79,720 | 2,53,510 |
| Sugar | 9,31,020 | 11,89,710 | 20,20,440 | 5,58,410 |
| Tea | 13,10,890 | 14,73,500 | 2,16,080 | 3,58,100 |
| Wheat flour | —— | 5,34,930 | 14,21,810 | 4,21,700 |
| Cotton piece goods | 9,10,970 | 32,69,390 | 24,94,070 | 23,19,420 |
| Rice | 3,74,440 | 3,01,960 | 1,07,710 | 22,81,880 |
| Wheat | 22,76,390 | 25,00,860 | 29,97,480 | 59,130 |
| Silk piece goods | —— | —— | 7,650 | —— |
| Coffee | —— | —— | —— | 1,01,550 |

## BAHREIN-U. S. TRADE

In 1931 the United States ranked fifth among countries importing goods from Bahrein but in 1933 she began to play an important role in Bahrein trade. The chief factor in bringing this about was the holdings in Bahrein oil by American interests through the Bahrein Petroleum Company.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

439 In 1944 U. S. imports from Bahrein amounted to $30,859, most of which was classified in Group 9 (Miscellaneous) by the Department of Commerce. Of the total imports the New York Customs District received $27,551, or almost 90%. The total of the exports to Bahrein from the United States in the same year was $12,369,647, of which lend-lease materials accounted for $293,786.

The following table shows the principal articles which Bahrein imported from the United States for the year 1944.

Table 7. IMPORTS FROM UNITED STATES—1944

| Item | Value (in U.S. Dollars) |
|---|---|
| Animals and Animal products | 323,846 |
| Vegetables and Vegetable beverages | 320,318 |
| Vegetable products (except Wood and Fibers) | 155,188 |
| Textile fibers and manufactures | 104,808 |
| Non-metallic minerals | 545,221 |
| Metals and manufactures (except Machinery) | 3,823,521 |
| Machinery and Vehicles (Electric pumps, Engines) | 5,434,105 |
| Chemicals and Related products | 1,023,226 |
| Miscellaneous | 188,129 |

## OIL

471 The oil concession on Bahrein Island is held by the Bahrein Petroleum Company, which is Canadian registered but owned by American companies, 50% by Standard Oil of California and 50% by The Texas Company.[1]

3-5 After a geological survey the company began drilling in 1931 in the Jabal Dukhān region, and oil was discovered in June 1932 at a depth of 2,009 feet.

382 By 1935 there were sixteen producing wells and six more drilling. At that time more than 10,000 acres had been proved oil bearing and potential production was estimated at 20,000

1. For a detailed account of the history of oil development in the Persian Gulf, see History, p. 103.

Collector of Customs, the State Engineer, and the Superintendent of Schools.

On November 16, 1935, the Governments of Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom, acting on behalf of the Bahrein Government, entered into an Agreement regarding the "treatment of goods destined for or exported from ports in Saudi Arabia and carried in ships calling at Bahrein." The economic provisions were as follows:

1. Duty at the rate of 2% ad valorem shall continue to be levied on goods consigned to ports in Saudi Arabia or exported from ports in Saudi Arabia, which are landed at Bahrein in order to be re-exported.
2. Duty at the rate of 1-¾% ad valorem shall be levied on goods consigned to ports in Saudi Arabia, or exported from ports in Saudi Arabia, which are trans-shipped (that is, loaded and unloaded direct from ships into dhows and dhows into ships anchoring off Bahrein) without being landed.
3. In consideration of the reduction in the ordinary rate of 2%, which is provided for in the preceding paragraphs, the Saudi Government will not make any request for exemption from the above-mentioned duties in the case of goods consigned to H. M. the King of Saudi Arabia or to his Government.
4. Customs duty at the rate of not more than 5% ad valorem shall be levied on dates imported into Bahrein from the ports of Saudi Arabia, but the rate provided for in Paragraph 2 above shall be levied on dates transshipped without being landed. The above mentioned duties shall be continued on the basis of wholesale price of dates of similar quality in Bahrein market on the day on which the consignment is cleared through customs.

After the signing of this Treaty of Commerce, the eldest son of Ibn Saud, newly elected the heir apparent of Saudi Arabia, visited Bahrein, and the Sheik of Bahrein participated in the

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



The Jews have lived in the country in comparative peace and security for centuries. Their position was clear and definite. As non-Muslims they were outside the pale of the law and could not participate fully in the life of the community; but as "People of the Book" they were a *dhimma*, a protected community. In civil matters they enjoyed the same legal rights as all other Bahrain subjects. Here again social lines of demarcation were drawn on a religious basis.

With the appearance of the Palestine problem the position of this small minority became progressively more precarious. Today the Jews are socially ostracized and economically boycotted, and there have been instances where physical violence has been employed against them. The local press of Bahrain is replete with references to Bahraini Jews, the Jews in general, and to Israel. Such references include, among other things, threats to publish the names of those who associate with Jews in Bahrain or buy from them, references to the United Nations as a Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world, and editorial protests to the government against allowing allegedly Israeli airlines to land in Bahrain, or against radio-communications with Israel.[10]

The government of Bahrain has no official policy of enmity toward Israel as have the other Arab states. Commercial traffic is not prohibited with Israel or with the Jews as a whole, but in practice it is virtually so. This boycott is due in part to social pressure and in part to the fact that a large part of the goods imported into Bahrain is re-exported to Saudi Arabia, a country which has strict regulations against traffic with Jews.

Owing to their present position, the Jews are the only native community whose interests and aspirations are at complete variance with those of the native population. It is a matter of public knowledge that many of them have either left or are in the process of leaving the country to start a new life in Israel, the United States, or Europe.

### *THE PERSIANS AND THE INDIANS*

The two major foreign elements in the country are the Persians and the Indians.[11] Their social status and relations with the native population are determined primarily by psychological, political, and economic factors rather than by religion or tribal loyalties.

The Persians are the largest foreign group, but it should be noted that they are foreigners in the legal and political sense only, for they are as much a part of the scene as the legal citizens of the country. Iran has had a long and checkered association with the islands going back to pre-Islamic times. At one period, the islands were directly controlled by it, and as late

[10] See any number of *al-Qafilah*, a weekly newspaper, or *Sawt al-Bahrain*, a monthly magazine. Both are published in Bahrain in Arabic.

[11] As used in this paper, the term "Indians" includes Indians, Pakistanis, Anglo-Indians, and Goanese.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M22



adequate motor-bus communications with most of the villages.

Manama is the shipping centre of the Gulf pearl industry,[1] and steamers connect regularly with India, Persia, and Iraq. Bahrain harbour is also the centre of a considerable coastal and pearling trade by dhows, as well as the local headquarters of its fishing industry. Other local industries are dhow-building and the manufacture of sailcloth and reed matting. Much of the import and export trade from al-Hasa and its hinterland passes through Bahrain, and this created an important source of revenue during the years in which Aramco was developing its oilfields on the Saudi coast. Lately, however, the Saudis have perceived the advantage of conducting this trade for themselves. By establishing a high-cost re-entry permit, they have discouraged the foreign staff of the oil company from doing its week-end shopping in Bahrain, and their policy is to increase the port and market facilities of the two Saudi coastal towns opposite the island—Damman and Al Khobar. In Bahrain there is a duty of 5 per cent ad valorem on essential imports such as food and clothing; non-essential imports are subject to higher duties, ranging between 15 per cent on tobacco and liquor, and 10 per cent on luxuries.

*History and Foreign Relations*

The presence in the northern part of Bahrain Island of numerous burial tumuli indicates very early human inhabitants, but their identity, which was at one time thought to be Phoenician, remains unknown. Bahrain's situation and natural harbour facilities suggest that from the earliest days of sea navigation in the Gulf the port was important. Its recorded history, however, dates only from 1507, when the Portuguese occupied the island. They built a fort of which the ruins survive, but were driven out in 1602 by an Arab invasion from Persia. Bahrain was held by Persia intermittently until 1783, when it was conquered by Arabs from the mainland. Since 1816 it has been ruled by the Khalifa family of the Utubi tribe, which in 1820 first entered into treaty relations with the East India Company. But the Persian Government has never ceased to claim sovereignty over the island and at intervals has protested against British treaties with the Shaikh. The Persian claim is based on a British Note of 27 April 1869 in which (the Persians allege)[2] Lord Clarendon recognized their title to sovereignty over the

[1] This has long been important, and in the 1830's the fisheries were estimated to bring in some £300,000 to £400,000 a year.

[2] The Persian claim was disposed of by Sir Austen Chamberlain in a Note of 18 January 1928. See League of Nations, *Official Journal*, May 1928, pp. 606–7.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M.E.



called 'Red Line' agreement of 1928,[1] was unable to agree to conditions that IPC was in a position to dictate; it therefore sold its option to the Standard Oil Company of California. After negotiations in which the British Government and the American State Department both took a hand, the Bahrain Petroleum Company (BAPCO), a subsidiary of Standard Oil, registered in Canada, was allowed to take up the concession provided that, to conform to Britain's prior agreements with the Shaikh, it employed a considerable number of British subjects. In 1936 the Texas Company acquired a 50 per cent interest in BAPCO. These details are given to explain why the present company is Canadian by nationality and American by management, and employs a large proportion of British staff. The two American companies concerned are two of the four participants in Aramco.

Oil was first discovered in Bahrain in 1932 and first exported in 1934. Production was suspended during the Second World War, but since then it has risen to a steady level of 11 million barrels per year. A refinery was erected before the war, and has (since the Abadan refinery ceased to put through its daily 550,000 barrels) been stepped up to a throughput of over 200,000 barrels per day; it includes a catalytic cracking unit for high octane fuel. It is fed both with BAPCO's own production of oil from the Bahrain field and by a 12-inch under-sea pipeline from Aramco's wells in Saudi Arabia. The jetty for loading tankers lies off Sitra Island on the seaward side of Bahrain Island itself.

Originally, the Shaikh enjoyed the same royalty rate as his neighbour in Kuwait—3 rupees and 4 annas a ton, or 14 cents a barrel. In 1951 reports of the new agreements reached by his neighbours caused him to ask for equality of treatment. In 1952, therefore, he signed a new agreement with the company which established the fifty-fifty profit-sharing arrangement now universal on the Gulf. He also enjoys a payment on each ton of Saudi Arabian oil passing through his territory to the refinery. His revenue has risen relatively less than that of his neighbours because the volume of oil produced in Bahrain has for some years been virtually stationary; nevertheless earnings from oil have risen from $1·4 million in 1948 to $3·8 million in 1951 and $6·3 million in 1952, and three-fourths of Bahrain's national income is now derived from petroleum activities. The social and economic changes brought about by this increased wealth are not so spectacular in Bahrain as elsewhere because

[1] See R. F. Mikesell and H. B. Chenery, *Arabian Oil* (Chapel Hill, University of N. Carolina Press, 1949).

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
BahrainMZ2
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so much that was orderly and progressive had been done already. In the days of Shaikh Hamad (1923–42) conditions in the pearl industry had been reformed, and municipalities, education, and other public services had been developed. These are now being further expanded. The state provides free medical services for all its people and free education in primary and secondary schools and in a technical school; in 1953 there were 4,700 boys and 2,300 girls at school, at a budget cost of 2½ million rupees per annum.

Socially, the impact of good employment in the oil company has been more widespread in Bahrain than in Kuwait, firstly because of the much longer period during which the company has been operating and secondly because it policy, unlike that of the Kuwait Oil Company, is to transport its local workers daily from homes in neighbouring towns instead of constructing a special township near the oilfield. Both policies present certain advantages; one effect of the former is to integrate the oil company into the daily life of the state. Yet there are so far no Bahrainis in BAPCO's senior administrative grades since all local men of this calibre have so far preferred to find jobs in commerce, with its prospects of a larger and speedier return for effort. As in Kuwait, more and more well-to-do merchants are sending sons abroad for education and it is an open question how these will react to the autocratic rule of a family in years to come.

The unit of currency in Bahrain is the Indian rupee. Imports constituted in 1952 about double the value of exports and re-exports (£14·6 million as against £7·4 million). More than half the latter were to Saudi Arabia, the balance chiefly to Qatar and to Persia with which, despite Persia's shortage of hard currency, there continues to be a considerable volume of barter trade.

## QATAR

The Shaikhdom of Qatar comprises the peninsula of that name, lying midway along the western coast of the Persian Gulf. It has an area of about 8,000 square miles with a population of some 25,000. From a dangerous coast-line the land rises to a low, monotonous plateau. The main water-supplies are from wells. Its only land frontier—that with Saudi Arabia—has never been demarcated.

Qatar has been in relations with Great Britain since 1882. An agreement with Britain of 3 November 1916 had provisions similar to those with the other Trucial shaikhs, and included a clause making the grant of pearling concessions or other mono-

000 and Pakistan. Regular air communications
509 are maintained to Iraq and Arabia, and the airport on Muharraq Island also serves international airlines with terminals in Europe, the Middle East and the Far East.
491 Motor roads connect the towns and the villages on the different islands, and extend across causeways from Bahrain to Muharraq and Sitra. The local transport facilities are well developed, and motor bus routes link most of the population centers.

### Food and Nutrition

262 The food habits of the diverse racial
146 groups are varied, but serious undernutri-
464 tion is seldom encountered, except among the migratory laborers from the mainland and the Baharna and Arabs in the agri-
439 cultural and the fishing villages. The islands
656 are dependent upon imports for a large proportion of their food supply. The government controls certain essential foodstuffs, as wheat, rice and sugar, and regulates prices through a system of rationing.

262 The diet of the average Bahraini consists
439 of dates, bread, rice and fish, supplemented by native vegetables in season and limited amounts of meat and milk. Goats are raised in many villages, though their milk is usually scanty and poor in quality. Most of the meat is imported from Iran, and is correspondingly expensive. An assortment of fruits and vegetables is generally obtainable in Manama markets by those who are able to purchase them.

### Housing

362 Manama is a cosmopolitan town, and the changes which have come about within the last two decades are reflected in the construction of increasing numbers of modern-type dwellings. Muharraq, in contrast, is a
342 distinctly Arab community. Coral blocks, coral slabs and plaster are the usual building materials in the older houses, while cement is used extensively in the newer buildings. The typical Arab-style homes are built around inner courts and have utilitarian

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHREIN M22

spraying campaign. The existing species have not been determined: several are probably implicated in the spread of intestinal and eye infections. All forms of human lice are present. Numerous species of fleas occur, including presumably *Xenopsylla cheopis*, the usual vector of plague, which was frequently epidemic in the past.

### Food Sanitation

The sanitary supervision of the markets, coffee shops, bakeries and other premises where foods are prepared or sold is the responsibility of the municipal authorities in Manama and Muharraq. Little governmental control has been attempted, but the new public health division plans to develop inspection services. Most of the meat used is imported, and is not subject to inspection in Bahrain. There are slaughterhouses, however, in Manama and Muharraq which are operated under the supervision of the municipal officers. No regulations exist governing the sale of milk. It is obtained from small herds of goats, and is often contaminated.

## HEALTH SERVICES AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

### Health Organizations

The Public Health Department of the Bahrain government is responsible for the protection of the health of the inhabitants and the enforcement of international quarantine regulations. It is administered by the Chief Medical Officer, whose headquarters are located at Manama. The department came into being in 1936, when the government hospital was erected, but, with the exception of malaria control measures, its functions were concerned primarily with the operation of medical care facilities until its reorganization in 1952. In that year, public health services were developed within the department, which now incorporates separate curative and preventive divisions. The port health authority, formerly under the Indian Medical Services, was taken over by

p. 260(a)

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



228 pearl-trade during the war. Sea fisheries are also extensive, the fish being taken in nets and in tidal weirs or enclosures (*hadhrahs*) made of reeds, some of which surround large areas in the shallow waters round the coasts; 500 lb. of fish a day were supplied without
241 difficulty to the Indian Expeditionary Force in 1914. Agriculture is carried on by irrigation, the chief products being fruit (dates, citrons, limes, melons, figs, &c., but few of the first quality), lucerne, and a few vegetables; a great belt of date-groves on Bahrein Island runs S. from Manāmah to the village of Būri, a distance of about
231 7 miles. Domestic animals include about 2,000 donkeys, less than 100 horses owned by the Sheikh and his family, about 100 camels, chiefly used in carrying water to Manāmah for sale, and a small but fine local breed of cattle, in high repute for their milking qualities. Of the donkeys, some 200 are of the famous breed imported from Hasa, from 12 to 13 hands, and white in colour.

433 The chief handicrafts are sail-making, weaving of abbas, lungis, and checked sheeting, and the manufacture of mats from Hasa reeds. Palgrave described the *Bahārinah* as excelling in the crafts of the weaver, the tailor, the dyer, and the worker in metal, wood, or leather. Boat-building, with timber imported from India, employs about 200 carpenters; Bahrein builders can turn out an excellent forty-ton boat in less than a month. Many boats are sold to purchasers in El-Qatar and Oman.

504 Trade at the port of Manāmah was for years hindered by the unsatisfactory arrangements for handling cargo, distribution being
•439 delayed, and goods left to deteriorate without any proper protection. In 1910 the control was given to a European, but in the following year native sentiment demanded native control, and two Arabs were appointed, with lamentable results. Since then matters have improved; a Hindu has been placed in charge, and the construction of a jetty and storage-shed has modified the worst of the
[651] former defects. The Sheikh is entitled by treaty to an *ad valorem* duty of 5 per cent. on merchandise. Bahrein is the principal market for the pearl-industry, the export of pearls in a good year attaining about £2,000,000. But it is also an important emporium for the east coast of Arabia, distributing merchandise from India and from countries bordering on the Persian Gulf, to El-Qatar, Qatīf, and 'Oqair, from which last two ports goods are carried into the oases of Hasa and Qatīf, and beyond into southern Nejd. This local trade is carried in native boats without manifests, so that exact statistics cannot be obtained.

439 The total average imports of Manāmah for the three years 1911–14 amounted to £2,061,038, and exports £2,106,766. During the

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



same period the figures under the three main heads averaged as follows :— 439

| | Imports. | Exports. |
|---|---|---|
| Pearls | £810,000 | £1,826,430 |
| Specie | 461,280 | 60,970 |
| General merchandise | 789,740 | 219,350 |

The principal commodities imported are rice, piece-goods, *ghi*, coffee, dates, sugar, tea, tobacco, spices, fuel, and animals for slaughter. Real exports other than pearls are of small value and importance, Bahrein being a distributing and not a producing centre; a few textiles and a little sail-cloth almost complete the tale of local manufacture. The principal share of the Bahrein trade falls to the lot of India, which is responsible for more than half of the total, though many goods arriving from that country are really of European origin, sent there for reshipment owing to the lack of direct facilities, and to the fact that Bahrein has grown accustomed to placing orders in Bombay. Next to India come Persia and 'Irāq, less than 10 per cent. falling to all other countries. The natural result of this preponderance is that trade is largely in the hands of Indian and Persian merchants. Besides legitimate commerce, there is a contraband traffic with the South Persian coast. In 1914 there was but a single British firm in Bahrein, Gray, Paul and Co., who are agents for the British India Steam Navigation Co.; the only other European commercial house was that of R. Wonckhaus & Co., of Hamburg, which had been established for some years. On the outbreak of war there were two resident members of the latter, the manager, who was arrested and interned at Karachi, and his assistant, who belonged to the active reserve of the German Army, and escaped to Basra. The branch was then closed. There are no banks, and transactions are largely carried out by means of Indian curreney notes. [441]

Steam communication is chiefly in British hands, the British India Steam Navigation Co. maintaining a weekly service up from Bombay and Karachi, and a fortnightly down to Karachi and Bombay. The Arab Steamers, Ltd., a line started in 1911 in opposition to the British company, call from Bombay about once every three weeks, and again on the return voyage from Basra. The boats of the Persian Gulf Steam Navigation Co. from Bombay call on the outward voyage once a month, and again on their return. Before the war, the steamers of the Hamburg-Amerika line called about once a month on the outward voyage, thus providing the only regular direct access to Bahrein from Europe. 505

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



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The products of Aali are simple in the extreme, pots, bowls, water jars and dishes, utensils which have always been used by the people of Bahrain and which still find a ready market though the increased prosperity of the people enables them to buy cheap imported goods. It is not necessary to go to Aali itself to see the products of the potteries for at the Suq al-Araba in Manama on Wednesday mornings and at the Suq al-Khamis market on Thursday mornings the people of Aali bring their goods for sale.

At Aali the photographer will find many subjects for his camera. The potters in their workshops with the sun shining on the damp yellow clay, the symmetrical stacks of jars drying in the sun, the small boys in bright clothes running up and down the steep sides of the tumuli with objects to be baked and finally the removal of the finished articles, all these scenes provide fascinating pictures.

## NURA (LIME)

Aali, as well as being the centre of the Bahrain pottery industry, is the principal place where lime is produced. Stone for the purpose is hewn from the ground in many parts of Bahrain, especially near Rifaa, and is taken in lorries or in donkey carts to Aali. Here the blocks of limestone are arranged on layers of wood, usually date palm trunks, and the wood is then fired. Men with large wooden flails stand round the piles of lime-stone and beat it into powder, chanting as they work and timing the singing to the down strokes of the threshers. When the lime becomes fine powder it is sieved and then placed in sacks. The produce of Aali commands a ready sale, for all the white-wash used in Bahrain is made there or in the neighbourhood and with the present building activities the people of the country have their work cut out to supply the local demand.

There is also in Bahrain a lime factory, owned by a member of the Ruling Family, where lime is produced by modern methods.

## FISHING

Fish and fish oil are used for many purposes in Bahrain. The former is one of the staple items of food among the poorer classes, it is used for manure in gardens and for feeding cows and donkeys. Fish oil is used for oiling wooden boats to make them seaworthy. The fact that Bahrain cows are fed on fish, together with dates, date stones, lucerne and bran, leads people to expect that the local milk will taste unusual. This is not true despite the reports of journalists, who hear about the fishy diet without tasting the milk and describe its flavour as unpleasant. Milk from Bahrain cows, if they receive a balanced diet, is unusually good and has a higher average fat content than the milk of ordinary English cows. The use of fish oil on the boats along the shore has little to commend itself to visitors, the smell is extremely disagreeable and drives the people who live in houses near the sea to shut all their windows when the boats are being treated.

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# Part III.—AROUND BAHRAIN.

## MANAMA

361 THE capital of Bahrain, Manama, with a population, in 1950, of 39,648, is situated on the low lying coast at the north end of Bahrain Island. Most parts of the town are only two or three feet above sea level and close below the ground there is brackish water which accounts for the excessive humidity during the summer. The town extends for 1½ miles along the northern shore and about the same distance down [103] the east coast. Although Manama, which means "The Place of Sleeping." is known to have existed in the 15th century and is mentioned by the Portuguese, it contains no ancient buildings, and possibly the oldest relic of the past is the tomb of Shaikh Ahmed al-Khalifah, who conquered Bahrain in 1782, situated near the Awal Cinema.

The most attractive view of Manama is from the sea. Approaching the port from Saudi Arabia one sees a long line of tall, white houses with deep-shadowed verandahs, rising above the brilliantly coloured water. Around the Customs Pier, which extends for a quarter of a mile into the sea, there are usually 70 or 80 local sailing craft and launches whose crews and cargoes fill the pier to overflowing. The skyline of the town is broken by two or three minarets, the tallest being that of the Juma Mosque, while on the shore to the east of the town can be seen the graceful wind-towers which were used to catch the breeze before the days of electric fans and air-conditioning.

342 Most of the houses are built from coral stone, quarried from the bed of the sea at low tide, plastered and painted white. A noticeable feature of Bahrain architecture is the use of large flat sheets of coral stone set between masonry pillars in the walls of the houses. In some districts of the town there are still numbers of "barastis", huts made of palm branches, but these are rapidly being replaced by stone and cement houses.

361 The centre of the town is Shaikh Sulman Square with, on the north,
344 the Pier and the Customs premises and on the south "Bab al-Bahrain," the Gate of Bahrain, a large block of Government offices with an archway in the centre leading through to the principal street in the bazaar. In the centre of the Square is a circular garden, the walls of which are made from cement panels decorated with traditional Bahraini designs, arabesques, of pleasing appearance. The bazaar extends for some
366 distance on each side of Barrett Road, the main street. To its west
443 are the Municipal Buildings and an open market where, on Wednesday mornings, the people of the villages bring their produce to sell.

The Manama bazaar rightly claims to be the emporium of the Gulf, it contains both narrow streets of picturesque little shops, full

of colour and Arab life, and large modern stores stocked with every type of goods from America, Europe and the East. The spice bazaar, the second-hand bazaar behind the Municipality and the shops of the metal workers are typically oriental ; the stores in the larger streets with plate glass windows and fixed prices stock a wide range of modern goods which are generally cheaper than elsewhere in the Gulf owing to the low customs duty. Apart from pearls, mother-of-pearl, gold and silver thread embroidery and model dhows there are few purely local products for visitors to buy. The best way to see the bazaar is on foot, it provides innumerable subjects for photos and neither here nor anywhere else in Bahrain is there any objection to the taking of photos.

To the south-west of the town is the Qalat ad-Diwan, beyond it, along Awal Road, is the Isolation Hospital, the Public Health Department and a number of blocks of flats. Opposite them is a large garden with two miniature lakes, known as the Water Garden ; this is a popular place during summer evenings. Beyond the flats is the Mental Hospital. It is probable that within the next few years this area will undergo extensive development.

To the south-east is the district of Manama known as Quadabiya, up to a few years ago an area of barren sand and swamp land where mosquitos bred but which today is rapidly developing into a residential and entertainment centre. Going along Belgrave Road one passes the Secondary School and Hostel, the Palace and, where the road joins Jufair Road, many houses and bungalows occupied by employees of European commercial firms. Jufair Road then passes the Race Course and Gymkhana Club and terminates in the suburbs of Umm a-Hasan and Jufair ; at the latter are the headquarters of the Senior British Naval Officer, Persian Gulf and H.B.M.'s Political Residency.

In the modern districts of Manama there are many wide and well surfaced roads, lined with tree-shaded pavements, while here and there in the town waste plots of land have been made into little gardens with benches, lawns and fountains. Along the water-front runs Sea Road, joining the Muharraq Causeway with the State Hospital at its western end. The Muharraq Causeway took ten years to build, for it served as a relief project when there was unemployment in Bahrain. The Shaikh Hamed Swing Bridge was completed in 1942 by Messrs. Holloways Bros. Many of the principal buildings and offices in Bahrain are on the Sea Road and Prior Road, which is an inland road running parallel to it. In former times the sea extended far into the town, south even of Prior Road, but during the past twenty-five years much of the sea-shore has been reclaimed. In Muharraq similar work can be seen in progress, but in an earlier stage of development.

In the evenings, the busiest part of Manama is Belgrave Road and the part of Quadabiya to its east where there are four cinemas and many coffee-shops, as well as football fields. At sunset the people of the town can be seen strolling along the road to Jufair, or sitting on the benches that line the pavements, later returning to the cinemas

1; Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Shaikh Sulman Square and the Bab al-Bahrain. *Photo : K. P. Narayan.*

Bahrain Government Students' Hostel. *Photo : Sir Charles Belgrave.*

The Suq al-Khamis Market with the Mosque in the background. *Photo : The Author.*

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which opens at 11 a.m. and at midnight, for an hour, to allow the passage of vessels through the deep channel between the two islands. There is a toll gate at the bridge and cars coming from Muharraq to Manama are charged 4 annas. Beyond the bridge, around a group of white buildings, the Customs House, Police Station and Municipal Office, there is always a scene of much activity. Here boats unload their cargoes and buses fill with passengers bound for all parts of the Islands. The sea road continues along the water front until it turns inland towards the airport. Much of the ground inside the sea road has not yet been reclaimed and at high tide the sea forms little squares of still water where children sail home-made boats. On Muharraq sea front there are several important buildings, a government dispensary, a large school and, at the northern corner, a block of flats.

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Another road, opposite the causeway, runs up into the town passing through the bazaars, which branch off to the north and south. The Muharraq shops are of the old fashioned type, with neither plate glass nor fixed prices. There are antique dealers and carpet sellers and all the usual traders found in Arab towns. Ships chandlers are numerous as Muharraq has always been a sea faring centre. Arab chests, carved or brass bound, carpets, worked leather sandals, divers' equipment and goods of interest to tourists can be bought here at prices lower after judicious bargaining, than those in Manama.

491 443

Today Muharraq is still a typically Arab town, a fact of which its inhabitants are proud. Most of the shops are owned by Arabs and are not occupied by Indians or Persians as in Manama. The town, although it was once the capital of Bahrain, the centre of the pearl industry and the focus of trade (a fact that its inhabitants remember with pride) has developed more slowly than Manama. There are few modern buildings, only one cinema and no large European style shops, but its climate is said to be pleasanter than Manama and it is not so humid in the summer. Muharraq was once a walled town but no traces of the walls now remain. The high old houses which line the narrow streets have changed little during the last century, except where corners have been cut away to make passages for large American cars. Many of the larger houses belong to the Ruling Family. They are built around courtyards and in some cases a big house contains three or four such courtyards, surrounded by high walls with few outward-looking windows in them to screen the house from prying eyes.

361 342

Muharraq has a telephone service, electric light, a Post Office and a filling station, but no main water supply, apart from artesian wells. As in the case of Manama, the affairs of the town are controlled by an elected Municipal Council presided over by a member of the Ruling Family.

361 633

The sea surrounds the town on three sides but at the northern end a new residential area is developing on land which is being sold by the Municipality for building purposes. East of the town is the bay of Arad, the ancient name for Muharraq at the time of Alexander,

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pearls, and also the large scale manufacture of cultured pearls in Japan. It was indeed lucky for Bahrain that oil was found in 1932, or else she would have seen her principal industry slowly decline with nothing with which to replace it. Once the oil industry was established, however, it in its turn served to precipitate the decay of the older industry by providing employment with better conditions and higher pay than were to be found on the pearl banks. The decline had also been unwittingly aided by the reforms of the late Ruler, Shaikh Hamed, who, on becoming Deputy Ruler in 1923, found the working conditions of the industry in a shocking state. The pearl banks were productive and much money was being made but little of it went to the divers, many of whom had involved themselves in a form of financial slavery to the nakhudas. Divers were given advances by the captains before the season, to provide for their families while they were away at sea, and at the end of the season, while the sales of the pearls, were being carried out. The eventual result was that the captains gave advances far in excess of the money due to the divers at the end of the season and to repay these loans the divers were forced to work for the same captain in the following season. But each year the advances were again in excess of the divers' earnings and so they got deeper and deeper into debt to the captains. At the same time the latter were indebted to shore merchants for supplies, for which they were charged high rates of interest, although this was contrary to the Sheria Law. The captains passed this interest on to the divers, who thus paid a minimum of 50% of their original debt each year. Diving debts were bequeathed, sons of divers whose fathers died owing money to captains were forced to work for them, and a diver, if he became too old to work, was only released from diving if he was replaced by his son or some other relation. In addition to this, indebted divers were often made to work on land for their creditors, or were handed over as workers to merchants to whom the nakhuda owed money.

228 178 433 452 228 178 466

Shaikh Hamed was determined to abolish all these practices and was supported by some of the more progressive Arabs and the Shiite and Sunni judges, who disapproved of the whole system. Amongst the bitterest opponents of the reforms were the divers themselves who were persuaded by the nakhudas and merchants into believing that they were going to lose by them. The reforms were, however, introduced and resulted in fixed advances, the amounts of which were announced annually by proclamation, the restriction of interest on advances, and all advances in excess of the legal amounts to be unreclaimable in court. The divers were also entitled to seek other work on the condition that they repaid a certain proportion of their diving debt each year. Many thousands of debts were reduced and the special diving court, which had favoured the captains and merchants, was abolished and all diving cases were heard by the ordinary courts. Finally, the debts of a diver died with him and could not be inherited by his heirs. The result of these reforms was that the industry, although reduced in size was put on a much sounder footing and its workers were not forced to dive but did so because they wanted to.

228 178 452 185 [698]

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

work harder than in the summer. Between the *Ghaws al Bard* and the great season, or *Ghaws al Kabir,* is the period called *Kanchi-yah,* which lasts about two weeks. Then the fishing season *par excellence,* the great *Khaws al Kabir,* begins at the end of June, after the season of the northwestern wind, and lasts until the middle of October. This period is inaugurated by a proclamation of the Sheik setting the dates of the opening and closing of the season. The two week period of *Raaba* follows and finally, with the coming of cold weather, the *Mujannah,* a period of indefinite length, when fishing is carried on mainly in the shallow coastal waters.

There are two methods commonly used to finance the diving. The best known is for the captain of the boat to borrow money from a merchant on shore in order to advance the men's wages and equip and provision the boat for the season. At the end of the season, after the pearls have been sold, the loan is repaid; the captain takes one-fifth of the profits, and the remainder is divided among the divers and haulers. Since the captain charges interest to the men on the money he has advanced, their pay is quite small and they are constantly in debt.

Another and more efficient system has little by little begun to replace the one just described. The shore merchant, as before, finances the expedition but charges no interest. In return, he has the right to purchase the pearls at 20% below the prevailing market rate and also to collect a share of the profits equal to that of five divers.

Bahrein has long had to compete with the pearl fisheries of Ceylon, but much more serious, at least until the outbreak of World War II, was the invasion of the market by the Japanese growers of cultured pearls. The cultured pearls can be told from "natural" ones only by means of delicate X-ray and specific gravity tests and differ essentially only in the way they are produced. The oysters are grown in beds and irritating objects are inserted in the shells to force the formation of the pearls. The contrast in method is essentially that between agriculture and random hunting for food in the forest.

## TRAFFIC

494 363 Traffic regulations in Bahrain are much the same as those in force in England and the United States; there is a left hand rule of the road and the speed limit in built up areas is 20 m.p.h. Special care should be taken when driving through towns and villages in Bahrain for in common with other parts of the Arab world pedestrians consider the roads as well as the pavements as their property and behave accordingly. Donkey and cycle riders should also be treated with caution for they are apt to be rather reckless. In case of accidents the Bahrain State Police must be notified immediately, failure to do so is likely to involve the drivers in unnecessary trouble.

To drive in Bahrain it is necessary to hold a valid Bahrain driving licence. These are obtainable at the Traffic Department, Bahrain Police Fort, Manama, at a cost of Rs. 5 p.a. Holders of valid licences of countries adhering to the International Traffic Convention, which include England, the U.S.A. and France and most other countries, will be granted a Bahrain licence on production of their own one. In other cases, drivers are required to take out provisional licences, and after a period of one month may apply at the Traffic Office for a driving test. The usual regulations concerning passengers apply to learner drivers.

494 All owners of cars and motor cycles in Bahrain are required to register them annually or semi-annually at the Traffic Office. The fee for a car is Rs. 50 per annum, for motor cycles Rs. 12—8 per annum, both fees can be paid in one or two instalments. Failure to register or re-register cars or motor cycles is liable to involve their owners in pecuniary loss.

For further information about Bahrain traffic laws, car owners are advised to contact the Traffic Office, Bahrain Police Fort, Manama, or phone Manama 334.

## BANKS

● 453 There are at present two banks in Bahrain :

The British Bank of the Middle East, Prior Road, Manama ;
The Eastern Bank, Government Road, Manama.

These banks provide the usual facilities and arrange for such matters as foreign currency and the transference of drafts. In addition, there are in Manama and Muharraq a number of money changers who deal in most of the commoner forms of currency and who are willing to change money. Most shops will also oblige in this matter, particularly if offered dollars, but care should be taken that a reasonable rate of exchange is given.

## LIQUOR

373 Bahrain is a Moslem country and is therefore "dry," but non-Moslem residents have been granted the privilege of being permitted

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M22
Maritime Arabs MK2



fering to the common people. Nothing of that sort has ever happened in the pearl market. French dealers from Paris maintain an establishment throughout the year in Bombay where any man may come to sell his pearls. These men speak Arabic fluently and they buy the pearls in person. For about three months of the active season they send up one of the partners of the firm to act as purchaser in Bahrein itself, so that the Paris market is practically available to the poorest merchant and diver in Bahrein. It is a pleasure to testify to the fine character and courteous business-like dealings of these buyers. If Arabia's contact with the West could be confined to men of their type, her path would have fewer thorns and stones. A host of smaller Arab and Indian buyers pick up a certain percentage of the catch and handle it, partly with an eye to legitimate business and partly as a speculative venture. There is always a large amount of speculation in Bahrein and Bombay in connection with the fluctuations in the value of the pearls. Like every other sort of speculation, it carries with it a great temptation, and many are fascinated by the prospect of buying cheap and selling high. They often work with large sums borrowed from others, and end with a crash, completely bankrupt. Fluctuations in the pearl market are very wide; pearls worth a thousand *rupees* this season may be worth double that or half of it the following season. Indeed on rare occasions they may drop to one-half their value overnight. Almost every one gets the fever for speculation during the season. I remember seeing an old slave bring to a pearl dealer a few small and misshapen pearls. "I bought these," he said, "for eight *annas* (sixteen cents); I am hoping to sell them for twelve *annas*."

1; Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

first payments of oil royalities came at a critical time in Bahrain's history, when it was suffering from the effects of a slump in the pearling industry, and they enabled the State to continue its public works and social services. Apart from increasing the cost of living and causing a shortage of foods, the 1939-45 war had no direct effect on Bahrain, with the exception of a long-range bomber raid carried out by the Italian Air Force on the oil installations of Bahrain, and this attempt failed.

On February 20, 1942, Shaikh Hamed died, and was succeeded by his son, Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed al-Khalifah, the present ruler, under whom the march of progress in Bahrain has continued. The story of modern Bahrain and the activities of the Bahrain Government are described in Chapter III of the First Part of this book.

## NOTES

[1] Durand, "Extracts from Report on the Islands and Antiques of Bahrain," with notes by H. C. Rawlinson, in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1880.

[2] de Goeje, M. J., *Memoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrain et les Fatimides*, 1886.

[3] Idrisi, *Troisieme Climat-Sixieme Section*, translated by P. A. Jaubert, p. 373.

[4] Belgrave, C. D., "The Portuguese in the Bahrain Islands," *Journal Royal Central Asian Society*, 1935.

[5] Whose work is in the possession of a Bahraini historian.

[6] An-Nabhani, Muhammad, *Tarikh al-Jazirat al-Arabiya*, 1923, p. 125.

[7] Kennier, J. M., *Memoire on the Persian Empire*.

[8] For details of this and subsequent treaties between the Bahrain rulers and the British *see* Aitcheson, *Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and neighbouring countries*, vol. xi, 1933.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrein MZ2



652 There have also been other implications. The Sheikh, the
651 Government and the people have become increasingly, in fact almost exclusively, dependent on the oil. In 1932 the entire government budget was about $143,600; in 1951 the total government revenue was $5,271,000, of which approximately 61 per cent came from oil and 34.9 per cent from customs duties,[24] which must be considered an indirect result of the oil industry. In 1953 the Government revenue was derived 68 per cent from oil, 24 per cent from customs duties, and 5 per cent from interest on the reserve fund.[25] The oil boom also created in-
[464] flationary pressures which caused many Bahreinis to seek em-
458 ployment in other oil-producing areas in the Gulf. Because of
471 its central location, the I.P.C. subsidiary, Petroleum Conces-
178 sions Ltd., which held concessions in Qatar and on the Trucial coast, had made its Gulf headquarters in Bahrein and built large offices and houses for its staff. Bahrein had become a resort and shopping center for the oil employees, especially Americans and Europeans, in Saudi Arabia and Qatar. These not only added to the inflationary pressures, but so greatly increased the social vices of gambling, drinking, prostitution and their concomitants as to cause grave concern to those responsible for the health and welfare of the population.[26]

185 The Bahrein islands are limited in area and in resources; oil,
MZ2 in a more definitely limited quantity than that of any of the other areas in the Gulf, is the only resource supporting the Sheikh, the Government and its extended services, and also to a considerable degree the people at large. Though perhaps originally a little more advanced than some of their neighbors, the people of Bahrein, prior to the discovery of oil, had a low standard of living and consequently a very low standard of governmental and social services. When the pearling industry suffered a serious setback as a result of the world depression and the development of cultured pearls, Bahrein was in a desperate situation. With the arrival of the Bahrein Petroleum Company,

aroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 20 *et passim*; "Oil and Bahrein," *The World Today*, VII, 77-79, Feb., 1951; Bell, *loc. cit.*

[24] Bahrain Petroleum Company, Limited, *Bahrain 1952* (pages not numbered).

[25] Angus Sinclair, "The Resources and Their Potentialities. III, Petroleum and Minerals," in *Middle East Resources Problems and Prospects* (Washington, 1954), 46. The 68 per cent of the revenue directly from oil did not include the one-third which went to the Sheikh.

[26] "Oil and Bahrein," *The World Today*, VII, 79, 81-83, Feb., 1951; Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 20 *et passim*.

The products of Aali are simple in the extreme, pots, bowls, water jars and dishes, utensils which have always been used by the people of Bahrain and which still find a ready market though the increased prosperity of the people enables them to buy cheap imported goods. It is not necessary to go to Aali itself to see the products of the potteries for at the Suq al-Araba in Manama on Wednesday mornings and at the Suq al-Khamis market on Thursday mornings the people of Aali bring their goods for sale.

At Aali the photographer will find many subjects for his camera. The potters in their workshops with the sun shining on the damp yellow clay, the symmetrical stacks of jars drying in the sun, the small boys in bright clothes running up and down the steep sides of the tumuli with objects to be baked and finally the removal of the finished articles, all these scenes provide fascinating pictures.

## NURA (LIME)

Aali, as well as being the centre of the Bahrain pottery industry, is the principal place where lime is produced. Stone for the purpose is hewn from the ground in many parts of Bahrain, especially near Rifaa, and is taken in lorries or in donkey carts to Aali. Here the blocks of limestone are arranged on layers of wood, usually date palm trunks, and the wood is then fired. Men with large wooden flails stand round the piles of lime-stone and beat it into powder, chanting as they work and timing the singing to the down strokes of the threshers. When the lime becomes fine powder it is sieved and then placed in sacks. The produce of Aali commands a ready sale, for all the white-wash used in Bahrain is made there or in the neighbourhood and with the present building activities the people of the country have their work cut out to supply the local demand.

There is also in Bahrain a lime factory, owned by a member of the Ruling Family, where lime is produced by modern methods.

## FISHING

Fish and fish oil are used for many purposes in Bahrain. The former is one of the staple items of food among the poorer classes, it is used for manure in gardens and for feeding cows and donkeys. Fish oil is used for oiling wooden boats to make them seaworthy. The fact that Bahrain cows are fed on fish, together with dates, date stones, lucerne and bran, leads people to expect that the local milk will taste unusual. This is not true despite the reports of journalists, who hear about the fishy diet without tasting the milk and describe its flavour as unpleasant. Milk from Bahrain cows, if they receive a balanced diet, is unusually good and has a higher average fat content than the milk of ordinary English cows. The use of fish oil on the boats along the shore has little to commend itself to visitors, the smell is extremely disagreeable and drives the people who live in houses near the sea to shut all their windows when the boats are being treated.

Almost all the cultivators are Baharna or Hassawis, who are of the Shiite sect, descendants of Baharna who emigrated to Arabia. The Sunni Arabs do not work in the gardens. The people living in the villages which are scattered among the date gardens originally earned their livelihood entirely by working in the gardens; now many of them are employed by the oil company or in Manama. During the date picking season, which in many ways resembles the hop picking season in England, temporary villages of palm branch huts spring up among the date gardens when people from other parts of Bahrain come to pick the crop.

The village people are the aboriginal inhabitants of the country and in the past they suffered much during the many invasions of Bahrain when their homes, gardens and water channels were destroyed and even in times of peace they were regarded as milch cows, whose wealth was extracted by their rulers. But in recent times their position has changed, they are more prosperous than they used to be and are on terms of equality with their neighbours.

## BOAT BUILDING

It is claimed by some authorities on Middle Eastern history that the Phoenicians originated in Bahrain and sailed their craft up the Gulf, which then extended much farther northwards than it does today. and following the Euphrates to the point where the river is nearest to the Syrian coast, they landed and settled there. This may or may not be true but there is no doubt that the people of Bahrain have been sailors for at least as many centuries as the pearl industry has been in existence and their stitched boats not only sailed the Persian Gulf but entered the Indian Ocean.

Most of Bahrain's boats were in former days employed as pearlers, and although the Kuwait shipyards built the largest craft it was natural that Bahrain, nearer the Indian source of timber and itself the centre of the pearling industry, should have its own yards. It should also be remembered that Kuwait is a comparatively modern town, having been founded early in the 18th century, before which date it did not attain importance as a harbour for north-east Arabia.

Today most of the boat building is carried on in Muharraq, although there are some yards at the western end of Manama. In former days, before iron nails were obtainable, Arab boats were not nailed but stitched together, with a giant needle and cord as thread, yet these boats of such fragile construction were able to weather the heaviest gales that swept the Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

In recent years launches have been made in greater numbers than sailing boats, so builders have inclined to specialise in the construction of those boats to which engines can best be fitted. For this reason many "jalibuts" have been built, they can be identified by their vertical bow and the straightness of the keel. The origin of this name is doubtful and many suggestions have been made to explain it. Possibly

659 which made the work of counting easier. After numbering the houses a preliminary registration of the names of the 567 occupants with details of age, sex etc., was made. The question of age was a problem as the majority of the people had no idea how old they were, often they asked the clerk to put down what he thought best. People who could read and write, however, especially children, eagerly volunteered 941 information. Occupation, in the case of men, was easily answered, but in some cases husbands described the occupation of their wives as "eating and sleeping". The first investigation took some time to complete.

The particulars which were required included the person's religious sect, also the full names of both men and women. In the first census the names of women had not been recorded. In some of the Arab Sunni villages and in Muharraq, which is predominantly Arab, strong objection was taken to enquiries about the names of women, but the Shia Baharna raised no objections to this question. There was also a certain amount of organised agitation about recording sects, although in the first census nobody had objected to giving this information. Some of the young town Arabs feared that the census might show a higher proportion of Shias than of Sunnis. By dint of talks and explanations, in which His Highness took an active part, public feelings on these matters were allayed.

THE COUNTING. A Friday night when there was a full moon was fixed for the census. Shops in the towns normally close from noon time on Fridays and fishermen and men employed in cutting coral stone in the sea take a day off. In the moonlight it was easier for the counters to find their way about in the narrow lanes in some of the towns and villages and to see the numbers written in red paint on the doors of the houses. The date and time of the census was announced by proclamation some weeks before

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Ruler's house at Sakhir with the exchange by means of a line from Manamah through the Bahrain Petroleum Company's exchange. Telephonic communication now exists over a great part of the islands; from the aerodrome in Muharraq it is possible to talk to steamers lying off Sitra, as a submarine cable was laid by the Bahrain Petroleum Company to the Sitra anchorage, or to distant points on the oil field far down at the south end of the island. 206

At the end of 1355 (1936-37) there were 40 telephone subscribers, and it is expected that during the next year this number will increase to 60. The trunk line to the Bahrain Petroleum Company's Camp was duplicated in order to deal with the increased traffic. The possibility of installing an automatic switchboard (100 lines) is now under consideration. The advantages would be the elimination of operators and the language difficulties and the prevention of listening-in.

SUMMARY OF SEVEN YEARS' WORKING

| *Year.* | *Units Generated.* | *Units Sold.* | *Revenue Rs* | *Connected Load in Kw.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1349 (1930-31) ... | 88,080 ... | 47,340 ... | 20,750/- ... | 102 |
| 1350 (1931-32) ... | 111,367 ... | 65,813 ... | 22,486/- ... | 46 |
| 1351 (1932-33) ... | 120,629 ... | 79,550 ... | 27,463/- ... | 23 |
| 1352 (1933-34) ... | 134,744 ... | 83,241 ... | 30,987/- ... | 9 |
| 1353 (1934-35) ... | 147,050 ... | 100,449 ... | 36,797/- ... | 16 |
| 1354 (1935-36) ... | 163,751 ... | 116,440 ... | 43,828/- ... | 27 |
| 1355 (1936-37) ... | 232,320 ... | 151,255 ... | 60,108/- ... | 58 |

The revenue figures are shown to the nearest rupee.

## AGRICULTURE

Until a few years ago agriculture in Bahrain consisted of cultivating dates and lucerne fairly extensively and growing citrus fruit and a few poor vegetables such as onions, tomatoes, radishes, and melons. In 1930 the Government attempted to encourage agriculture by employing an agricultural expert from Iraq, but owing to lack of funds his services were dispensed with before he could make much progress. 241

The encouragement of agriculture presents many difficulties. Bahrain Arabs regard all agricultural work as derogatory; I have never met one who worked in a garden or a date grove. All the cultivators are Shia aboriginals or Hasawis imported from the mainland as labourers. This feeling against working on the land, and also the question of land tenure have, I believe, restricted the increase of agriculture during the last century. There is ample evidence to show that in the past a great deal more land was cultivated than is to-day. The people who do work on the land are intensely conservative and view all methods except their own with dislike and suspicion. 461

**Land Tenure.** Most of the open cultivatable land, which is along the coast, is claimed by the Ruling Family, who make no use of it themselves, but prevent the Baharna from extending their existing gardens. In the past, Shaikh Sir Isa was in the habit of issuing papers to various of his relations, gifting to them whole districts of Bahrain. These 'hiba' documents, which were often written on scraps of paper, included large areas described as 'sehat,' containing roads, villages, springs, privately owned property as well as open land. The Shaikhs who acquired 'hibas' enjoyed feudal rights over the territories which were mentioned in their documents, and in the past they were allowed to make what they could out of them by independent taxation of the people living in the villages, by employing forced labour and by using open land as grazing grounds for the animals which they used to own before the days of motor cars. When the 'hiba' system began, long before the introduction of artesian wells, the possibility of increased cultivation was not visualised, but now the holders of 'hibas' 471 643 423

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

are chairs, tables, window curtains, often framed pictures and photographs, and usually a gramophone; in the houses of the wealthier people there is often a wireless set. Coffee shops reflect the change in ways of living. They are important institutions in Bahrain and take the place of clubs or cafes in Europe. Each has its regular clientele, but the popularity of individual coffee shops varies according to fashion. Ten years ago, coffee shops were usually small shops inside the bazaar, furnished with a few rough benches, where little else than coffee could be obtained. To-day, most of the coffee shops are elaborately decorated and illuminated, provided with little tables and chairs, and a gramophone or a wireless set which plays loudly and incessantly, relaying Arabic programmes to the customers. Some of the coffee shops are divided into two parts: in one part only coffee and drinks are served, and in the other part regular meals can be obtained, including Indian and Persian dishes, bread, cakes, and ices in the summer. Most of the proprietors are foreigners—Indians, Persians, and Iraqi, who are more enterprising in these matters than the local people. The bigger coffee shops are now referred to by the public as 'ozels.'

**Games.** The popularity of games is another recent development during the last ten years. Before this, nobody played games except the men of the Levy Corps, who were made to do so, which was regarded as a peculiarity of the Commanding Officer. To-day, there are half-a-dozen local football teams and several hockey teams, who play against each other or against teams of sailors or Europeans from the Bahrain Petroleum Company. They play well, and are very keen, and every match attracts a large and interested audience from the town. Many of the parents of the young men who play disapprove of hockey and football, which they consider dangerous and unnecessary, chiefly because they did not play themselves when they were young. There is an entire lack of class distinction in these games: the sons of shaikhs play side-by-side with policemen, clerks, and taxi drivers. Although games have improved the physique of those who play them, the use of motor cars instead of horses or donkeys has caused a great many people to become soft and flabby. Sons of wealthy fathers, especially the young members of the Ruling Family, have entirely left off taking any exercise. They use a car to go a few yards; they never walk, and the only occasion on which they ride a horse is during marriage celebration or on public holidays, such as the annual accession celebrations.

**Class Changes.** The depression in the pearl trade and the recent improvement in the bazaars has caused an upheaval in financial positions, and with it a certain change in the political importance of classes. This change is gradually, though unwillingly, being appreciated by the Ruling Family. In the days when the pearl trade was flourishing, pearl merchants and nakhudas were the monied classes, and their money gave them great power, which they did not scruple to use for their own benefit. To-day, the men who used to be worth lacs of rupees are, in many cases, almost bankrupt, and petty traders, shop-keepers, and men who happen to own property in Manamah, are becoming the monied class. The old powerful pearl merchants were, in many cases, self-made men who started life as divers, but their wealth made them important and, though most of them could neither read or write, they were the people who mattered in Bahrain. Many of these men have lost all their influence because their money has gone. The class which is now becoming prosperous is more progressive, more mixed, and better educated, but as a community it does not hang together because, unlike the case of the pearl industry, its prosperity does not depend upon one trade alone. One of the serious disadvantages of the change is that the pearl industry provided work, during part of the year, for many thousands of men, but the people who are now making money provide little employment for the people. At present, about five thousand divers are working in the oil field. They are making a great deal more money than they would normally make from diving and, besides earning money, they are paying back their debts to the nakhudas by regular monthly instalments, so both parties are satisfied; but this employment is not permanent and, when present construction work at the oil field is finished, there will be a sudden increase in unemployment which will have to be dealt with by the Government.

**The Ruling Family.** The life and outlook of the members of the Ruling Family, with a few notable exceptions, has changed less than that of any other community. Although there is a great difference between the outlook of the older men and those who have grown up during the last ten years, the attitude of the family as a whole is

still that of feudal chiefs, though the feudal feeling no longer exists among the people of Bahrain. They consider it their right that they should be well provided for financially by the State, and they resent any suggestion that they should add to their incomes by doing work. They are still the biggest landowners in Bahrain, but by draining their property dry, and not spending any money on improvements, their property has deteriorated in value. They regard any real work as degrading, and only accept posts on courts or councils for the sake of obtaining more money, not because it is incumbent on them, as members of the Ruling Family, to occupy public positions. Their attitude in this respect is a contrast to that of the merchant class in Bahrain, who are unusually public minded and who freely give up much of their time to sit on courts and committees and councils.

**The Women.**

Among the women, too, there have been changes, but they are more gradual than among the men. Every step towards emancipation is firmly resisted by the older female members of the households, but in spite of this there is a definite feeling among the younger women that they should have more freedom. Their ambition, at present, is not to take any part in public matters, but to be able to go out more frequently. They are becoming restive of the restrictions of the purdah system. Some are now educated, and a few have travelled abroad in Syria, Persia, India, and Iraq, and there they have seen the changes which are taking place in the life of the women of those countries. Many who have never been out of Bahrain read newspapers and listen to news on wireless sets, and frequently meet Indian and Syrian women in Bahrain. All this causes them to feel unsettled.

One of the notable recent changes is that nowadays a great many young men only marry one wife, not because they cannot afford to support more wives, but because they prefer monogamy. The younger men are no longer ashamed of mentioning their wives and talking about their families, and many of them take their wives out with them in cars. A few years ago, if a man was seen with a woman in his car, one could be quite sure that she was not his wife. The modern young men look for wives who are educated, and frequently marry Persian or Iraqi girls because they received better education. One of the effects of education among the women in Bahrain is that they learn to keep their houses clean and they appreciate the value of hygiene, which is taught at school. Education also makes them willing to employ qualified doctors, especially at childbirth, when, in the past, they would have been treated by local Arab untrained midwives who are dirty and dangerous, and whose use of the notorious salt method is undoubtedly responsible for an enormous number of casualties among children and pregnant women.

Changes are taking place all over the Gulf, but of the Arab States, Bahrain is changing most rapidly. The most conspicuous visible changes in comparing Bahrain to-day and ten years ago are in the capital, where a person returning to the country would notice the wider streets, better buildings, and a decrease in straw huts, trees, gardens and more vegetation, large shops selling European goods, motor traffic, European dress worn by natives, increasing use of machinery, partly owing to installation of electric power, knowledge of English language, and a far greater interest being taken in outside world affairs.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

871 Shia boys returned to the Manamah school. Towards the end of 1354 (1935-36) a new school was opened in Sitrah, which was attended by about 30 boys, and it is proposed that several more schools are to be opened in other districts in the Shia villages.

874 **Technical Education.** In 1936, classes were started in the Manamah and Muharraq boys' schools for teaching carpentry and simple mechanics. Two skilled carpenters and a mechanic were obtained from Syria through the Beyrout University. About a dozen boys are now learning carpentry and another class is being taught by the mechanic. They are now working in classrooms in the schools, but this arrangement is inconvenient as the noise disturbs the other classes and the space is small. A simple building is to be put up close to the school, to be fitted out as a carpentry and engineering shop.

463 In Bahrain, all carpenters, masons, and most of the mechanics are foreigners. There is great demand for good work, and masons, etc., earn very high pay. There are undoubtedly great opportunities for trained men in these professions, but the chief difficulty in teaching practical trades of this kind is that many of the boys and their parents regard such work as derogatory. They would prefer to work as clerks at lower pay than as carpenters, masons, or mechanics.

871 Education in Bahrain is not compulsory; all Government schools are free, but students are made to pay for their books and materials. It has been suggested that fees for attending school should be charged, but if this were done the attendance would be restricted to the sons and daughters of people of means, who are mostly foreigners. It has also been suggested that free education should be provided for Bahrain subjects only and that foreigners should pay, but when this question was examined it was found that almost all the children of foreign parentage attending the Government schools were legally Bahrain subjects, having been born in Bahrain and not registered as protected persons.

There is a difference in the subjects taught in the various schools. In the country schools the boys are taught reading, writing, simple arithmetic, and the Quran. Girls learn reading, writing, arithmetic, sewing, embroidery, hygiene, and Quran. They have made remarkably good progress in sewing and embroidery and now produce work which would find a ready sale. More advanced subjects are taught in the Manamah and Muharraq boys' schools, where the programme includes English, history, geography, mathematics, book-keeping, and the system of diving accounts. Leaving certificates are issued by the Department of Education to boys who pass an examination when they leave the schools from the two top forms. No boy is taken into Government service unless he possesses one of these certificates, but unfortunately their value has decreased since the Bahrain Petroleum Company has taken to employing boys who do not hold certificates. During the last two years, about sixty boys from the top classes in the Manamah and Muharraq schools left school and obtained employment as clerks and gaugers with the oil company; others have been taken into Government service as pupil teachers, apprentices in the Customs Department, and in other Government offices.

Games are encouraged at all schools, and the older boys play football. There is also a company of Boy Scouts in Manamah and Muharraq. At the end of each term a play is produced and acted by the older boys. The play is usually very topical. These entertainments are extremely popular with the public and are well produced and excellently acted.

The chief difficulties which beset the path of education are the complete lack of discipline among the boys in their own homes, the religious differences between the two sects, Shias and Sunnis, and the suspicious attitude of local people towards foreign teachers, who are essential until the people of Bahrain have attained a sufficient degree of education to fit them to be teachers. The question of punishments is another problem; none of the punishments, except corporal punishment, which are used in civilised countries have any effect in Bahrain. If boys are ordered not to come to school because they misbehave, they do not care, nor do they mind being kept back after school hours, and most of them are quite indifferent to losing marks.

**Bahrain Boys at Beyrout University.** In 1929, seven boys from the Government schools were sent to the Beyrout University to be educated there at Government expense. Three of them were members of the Ruling Family, the others were sons of merchants who were chosen by the headmaster of the Muharraq school. All of them were Sunnis,

Bahrein produces dates of very good quality, though inferior to the Iraqi and especially to the Persian variety known in the United States as the Bassorah date. The entire date production of Bahrein is consumed locally, either fresh or dried, or in a powder which is used like wheat flour for the making of bread, the common food of the rich.

The economic value of the date palm does not stop with the fruit. All other parts of the palm yield products of practical value to Bahreinis; their life would be impossible without it. The trunk furnishes timber for houses and boats; the midribs of the leaves go into crates and furniture; the leaf bases are used for fuel; the small leaves are used in basketry, the fiber for cordage and packing, and the fruit stalks for rope and fuel.

Under the shade of their palm trees and around their springs, the Bahreinis live their relatively simple life, producing some vegetables, weaving a few shawls, making sailcloth or reed mats, and breeding their donkeys. The Bahrein donkeys, or "Bandari," were bought by donkey lovers for their endurance, their height, and other celebrated qualities.

The main occupations of the townspeople are commercial and maritime, mostly fishing and handling the transit shipments which are one of Bahrein's largest sources of revenue. The greatest economic asset of the islands, however, despite the value of the recently discovered oil, is still the pearl fisheries.

## PEARL FISHING

The chief source of income of the islands before the discovery and exploitation of oil reserves in the nineteen thirties was pearl fishing. Before the rise of competition from the Japanese pearl fisheries and worldwide economic crisis of 1930, the industry employed more than 20,000 persons annually, and revenue from the pearls, which were exported principally to Paris and London, amounted to about £2,000,000[1] annually. Single pearls often bring enormous prices; for example, the most beautiful

1. Except where otherwise specified, pounds referred to throughout are English pounds sterling.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



indicates — they constitute the poorer and lower classes of society and manifest all the markings of a minority group. Until recently they lived hardly above the servile state, their occupational specialization being exclusively the cultivation of the soil and other menial labor. The arrival of the British, which has assured them some security in person and a guarantee of minimum rights, and the development of the oil industry, which has opened possibilities of alternative employment, have had the effect of gradually raising these people from their status as second-class citizens.

The Sunnis act as the majority group. This has been especially true since a Sunni tribe established its political dominance over the islands in the 18th century. The Sunnis present a common front toward other groups; among themselves, however, they are divided into several communities and tribes. The largest Sunni community is the Huwalah. Its members are townsmen living by trade; and as townsmen everywhere, they do not manifest marked feelings of solidarity. They can perhaps be regarded as the nucleus of a future middle class.

The Utab, if not the largest Sunni tribe, is the most influential. This is due to the fact that the Khalifah family, one of its sub-tribes, has ruled the islands without serious interruption for almost 200 years. Every member of the Khalifah family has the title of "shaykh." Along with the privileges and prestige he enjoys as a result of his position, he has certain obligations and restrictions on his conduct and manner of life. For instance, in recent years many Bahrain subjects, especially among the younger city population, have taken to wearing European dress. No member of the ruling family may do so.

The two other Sunni tribes of any importance are the Sadah and the Dawasir, the first because of its alleged sacred origin, the second because of its comparative wealth.[1]

Unlike the Shi'is, the Sunnis are relatively mobile. They depend for their livelihood on trade, pearling, fishing, and more recently on employment in the oil industry. Boat building also used to be a fairly important industry. It is very seldom that a Sunni is found engaged in agriculture as a life occupation except as a landowner.

As has been shown, among the two main native elements social division and social tensions rest on religious foundations. Religious affiliation determines to a considerable degree the social and economic position of the individual. When mass violence breaks out it has so far been in terms of Shi'is and Sunnis, never in terms of economic groups.

An interesting development in recent years is the stress of the dominant

[1] Most of the Dawasir returned in anger to the Arabian mainland in the early 1920's, soon after Shaykh Hamad, whom they disliked, assumed control. For the story of their return see Government of Bahrain, *Administrative Report for the Years 1926-1937* (Bahrain, 1937), pp. 8-9.

8:Qubain S-6 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



An interesting development in recent years is the stress of the dominant
186 group, the Sunnis, on the unity and brotherhood of all Muslims and Arabs.
659 In 1950, when the second census was made, it was planned to count the two groups separately. This proposal, however, was construed as a British scheme to divide the Muslims and set them against each other. Strong objections were made by both groups, but primarily by the Sunnis, to the government and consequently this aspect of the census was abandoned. No such objections were raised during the census only nine years earlier.

186 Two factors can perhaps account for this rather nascent stress on unity: emerging nationalism and new economic forces. The conception of nationality is a Western contribution and a new arrival in the Persian Gulf. In Bahrain it is still a vague idea and certainly has not replaced to any degree the existing loyalties. It manifests itself in two ways: first, negatively in a desire to expel the foreigner (this has considerable appeal: it is concrete, intellectually easy to grasp, can be used as a rallying cry, and above all does not conflict with established social patterns); and second, positively, in a confused ideal of a pan-Arab, pan-Islamic union. No clear distinction is drawn between the two last concepts and the terms are used interchangeably. It must be admitted, however, that the pan-Arab aspect of the ideal predominates. This new spirit of nationalism has had the effect of creating a greater emphasis on unity among the native population. Furthermore, through this intellectual device the two groups can now present a common front against foreigners to protect their rights and interests, whether real or imaginary.

565 The new economic force for unity is the oil industry. On the surface
178 things seem as they have always been. In fact a change, subtle and hard
464 to detect, has taken place. The oil industry, as indicated previously, has
186 opened the doors of employment to the Shi'is. This has resulted in bettering slightly their economic condition and consequently their relative status vis-à-vis other groups. Furthermore, such employment has meant that they are no longer restricted to agriculture. They can now sell their labor and skills as everyone else in a wider and more favorable market. On the job at the company installations, Shi'i and Sunni are brought together as laborers or artisans and placed on the same footing. For the first time in their history it has become possible for individuals from both groups to collaborate in certain areas of action, not as Shi'is or Sunnis, but as members of an economic group.

### *THE JEWS*

162 A third native religious group is the small Jewish minority comprising
563 about 250 persons. Its members are well known for their industry, their
463 higher standard of living, their higher rate of education, and their amenability to Western influences. They are exclusively engaged in trade and money changing.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



did, or sell out and return to the mother country. Those who remained are engaged either in trade or employed by the oil company or some other business establishment. In the last few years the government has been refusing to grant citizenship to Persian residents even though they may legally qualify.[12]

The Indians, the second largest foreign community, are in a certain sense in a position similar to that of the Persians. Bahrain, like other principalities in the Persian Gulf, has had a long association with the subcontinent through trade. In 1913, when the Bahrain Order-in-Council was passed, the country became administratively subject to the jurisdiction of the Governor-General of India.

The Indians constitute a prosperous and fairly well educated community. Some are engaged in trade on a big scale or as petty merchants. The rest — and they are the majority — are employed either by the government, the oil company, the British military and civil establishment, or other foreign business concerns in the country. They work mostly as clerks, foremen, cooks, waiters, and domestic servants.

Various explanations have been made as to why Indians are employed in such large numbers in preference to local Bahrainis or persons from other nationalities. In the first place, Bahrain does not have enough young men with a minimum of education and clerical or industrial training to fill these positions. Secondly, in view of British policy to tie Bahrain to India, it was only natural to look to it for the necessary labor supply. Furthermore, India could supply labor well trained by the British and used to their ways. Finally, Indian labor could be obtained at a lower rate than equally skilled labor from other countries.

The status of Indians is a rather peculiar one, for they live in a social zone all by themselves. They are resented by the native population and accepted only as subordinates by Westerners, with whom they would like to associate and with whom they would like to be classified. This is true especially of the clerical and professional group among them.

The causes of Bahraini resentment against them are psychological and economic in nature. In the first place, they constitute a community which is definitely foreign and makes a point of it, and in some respects looks down on the local population. This is especially the case among the white-collar workers.

Secondly, on the whole, the Indian community wields power far beyond its number. The people in Bahrain see Indians in government and business establishments and develop the feeling that they are being governed by them along with the British.

In the third place, clerical positions occupied by Indians and other for-

[12] Cf. n. 7, p. 6.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



609 foreigners are "kept in their place" there circulate by word of mouth — a method of communication highly developed in the Middle East — and exaggerated several times in the process. One of the central themes of the local Bahrain press is a comparison between Saudi Arabia and Bahrain in this respect. As is to be expected, this is causing a feeling of frustration among the natives and creating an atmosphere of restiveness and increasing antagonism toward foreigners.

In Kuwait a rather ambitious development program has been under way for several years, made possible by increasing oil royalties. There is an atmosphere of feverish activity, psychologically exaggerated because of its concentration in a small area. By contrast, life in Bahrain is slow and development sober but limited, in view of the comparatively small oil revenues. This causes some jealousy which finds an emotional outlet in an increasing suspicion of foreigners and increasing demands on the major companies, such as the Bahrain Petroleum Company, to do more for the country than they have been doing so far.

### *FOREIGN ARAB GROUPS*

563 A rather large number of foreign Arabs live in Bahrain. They can be
167 divided into two main groups which in custom and social mores have little
● 463 in common. The first group is composed of Arabs from Saudi Arabia, Oman, Muscat, Qatar, and Yemen. These people have always been part of the scene. They come and go as they have always done, with hardly any
[601] restriction on their movement. Many of them are related to people in Bahrain by blood or marriage and are looked upon as "cousins," *awlad al-'amm*, a term which carries with it all the emotional overtones of the traditions of tribal life. Some of them are merchants; a large number, especially of those from Oman, Muscat, Qatar, and Yemen, are employed by the oil industry as common laborers, and others work with local industries. Their community life and standard of living do not vary a great deal from that of the local population; in fact they are hardly distinguishable from it.

The second group of foreign Arabs, made up of a small number of Egyptians, Syrians, Lebanese, Iraqis, and Palestinians, is comparatively new to the area. On the whole, their standard of living is probably higher than that of any other group with the exception of the Westerners. Few are engaged in trade; the majority are white-collar workers.

563 Although they are largely new arrivals, they already exert considerable
875 influence on the life of the country. Unlike all other foreigners, they are
208 genuinely welcomed and looked up to by the local population. They are the
177 missionaries of Arab nationalism. Most of the high-school and a good number of the elementary-school teachers in Bahrain come from this group (see Table IV); in this key position, it can be truly said of them that they

At Awali are the offices and the homes of the European employees of BAPCO, while outside the fence is the Arab camp for the few Bahrainis who prefer to live there rather than in their own towns and villages. Near Awali's eastern gate is the Training School for Bahrainis, where something is done to equip them for higher posts in the company. This is a field of activity which the company is beginning to develop and it is very important that is should succeed.

South of Awali, in the desert around the Jebal ad-Dukhan, is the oil field, the *raison d'etre* of BAPCO, an unimpressive area with many little squares of cement decorated with taps and valves and surrounded by low fences, which are the oil wells, while here and there derricks mark the search for more oil which is always in progress.

After the Abadan Refinery the one on Bahrain is the largest in the Middle East and supplies large quantities of refined products to India, Pakistan, East Africa and other countries "East of Suez." During the day it would be difficult to describe the refinery as anything but a large and ugly mass of iron and steel, with the great Cat. Cracker rising above the squat silver tanks. The air is hot and dusty and in the summer the iron-work is so hot that to touch it raises blisters ; but in the evening the refinery takes on the appearance of a slightly shapeless but nevertheless well decorated Christmas Tree, covered in lights and set against a background of flares of burning gas which illuminate the sky like a lurid orange back-cloth.

The Sitra anchorage has at all times an appearance of feverish activity, it is being improved so that it will be possible to load ships and tankers round the clock. In order to do this the jetty is being floodlit with great arc lamps.

On low-lying Sitra Island all that can be seen from the sea are the storage tanks, it is only on approaching nearer that the island itself becomes visible. The Tank Farm spreads across the middle of Sitra, and as it expands it threatens to cut the island in two. To the south of the Tank Farm is a large group of buildings from which a crashing sound is continually heard ; this is the Drum Plant. Further evidence of this is present in the thousands of newly painted drums that are piled in huge rows near the plant.

The oil industry is directed from the main office in Awali, where from air-conditioned coolness in the summer and air-conditioned warmth in the winter instructions go out to all parts of Bahrain where BAPCO has its installations. Bahrain is well situated for an oil industry. The oil wells are about eight miles from the Refinery, which itself is scarcely more than half that distance from the Pier and Tank Farm, while from Awali it is possible to see on a clear day both the Refinery and the Field. The radio-telephone and the aeroplane used in other Middle Eastern fields have no place in Bahrain where phones and cars are quite sufficent.

Of the 7,749 workers employed by BAPCO at the end of 1951, 4,937 were Bahrainis and 1,035 were British, American and other

464 Europeans. For the latter the company provides many amenities. In the town of Awali there is a cinema, a club and other recreational 382 facilities. There is a Commissary for the supply of foods and goods 511 unobtainable elsewhere in Bahrain; a school for American and Euro- 466 pean children with qualified teachers and hospitals for the various nationalities employed by BAPCO. A cinema, swimming bath and mosque are also being constructed in the Arab Camp, and a swimming bath and cinema in the Indian and Pakistani camp at Rifaa. The company also maintains dispensaries in some of the villages and has built three schools for the Bahrain Government. There is cordial co-operation between the Bahrain Government and BAPCO in all fields of social service and although it may seem strange that an oil company should be encouraged to occupy itself with so many activities not directly connected with the production of oil, yet it is now recognised in the Middle East that it is an obligation of oil companies not only to work for their shareholders but also for the benefit of the people of the country from which they derive their profits.

471 In 1940 a Supplementary Agreement was signed between the Ruler 382 and the Bahrain Petroleum Company in which the latter received an extension to its concession including all lands, shoals, reefs, waters and submerged lands of "the present and future domains" of the Ruler of Bahrain.

315 It is a comparatively rare thing for people visiting Bahrain to see the actual oil which has made the Islands famous, gone are the days when to "strike oil" meant that a huge gusher of oil would leap skywards covering everything about it with what is termed, in the hackneyed phrase of the journalist, "black gold." Today the drilling of a well is normally a tidy process ; when oil is struck the drillers have complete control over its flow and quickly cap the well with a "Christmas Tree," the nickname for the mass of taps and valves which are placed over the well head. From the well the oil is piped to the Refinery and then to the storage tanks at Sitra. But in every part of its processing little is seen of the oil except by the workers in the laboratories.

133 The oil industry today is the most important factor in Bahrain's economy and is recognised as such by the Government and the people of the country.

## CHAPTER VI

## JEWELS OF THE DEEP

228 Pearl diving is probably the oldest industry in Bahrain and has been the reason why an otherwise small and comparatively unproductive group of islands has been the scene of so many bitter wars and has been over-run by so many invading armies. From earliest times Bahrain has been famous for its pearls : in an Assyrian inscription of some 2000 B.C. a parcel of "fish eyes", from Dilmun is believed to be

## RESULTS OF THE CENSUS

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**POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION.** The number of people in Bahrain on the night of 3rd March 1950 (12th Jamad-al-Awal, 1369) was 109,650. This represents a growth in the population of about 20,000 since the first census was taken in 1941 ( 1359). The increase was not evenly distributed; in 1941 about 55% of the population lived in the three towns, Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd and the rest of the inhabitants of Bahrain lived in the villages. The proportion of town and country dwellers has changed, the three towns now contain 61% of the population and the villages contain 39%, (these figures do not include Awali). There are about 90 villages and many small hamlets and settlements in Bahrain.

In Manamah the census showed a population of 39,648, an increase of nearly 12,000 (43%) in nine years. The population of Muharraq and Hedd was 25,577, an increase of 4,138 (20%) over the 1941 figure. In the villages, excluding the two Rafaas, there was an increase of only 344.

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From records in the Passport Office at the time of the census it appeared that about 6,000 persons, almost all of them males, who normally resided in Bahrain, were absent from the country. It can be assumed that most of these men were working with oil companies and contractors in the neighbouring states. In 1941 very few Bahrain Arabs were working abroad. The proportion of men who are employed outside Bahrain is very high.

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The large increase in the population of Manamah is not due to urbanization but it is due to immigration. The village communities especially in the Shia villages are very closely knit and insular so the census clerks had no difficulty in ascertaining whether there had been

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464 Fairly detailed information was obtained from a cross section of the village population numbering 31,606; this included 16,047 males and 15,554 females. In the total there were 3,960 infants aged, as far as could be ascertained, under 4 years of whom 1947 were males and 2,013 were females, 1,043 men and 115 women were literate. Occupations which were recorded were as follows:-

| | |
|---|---|
| Cultivators | 3,615 |
| Fishermen, boatmen, coral stone cutters | 1,178 |
| Shop Keepers and traders living in villages and having shops in the towns | 285 |
| Skilled labourers, carpenters, weavers, car drivers | 419 |
| Oil Company workmen | 1,508 |
| Government employees | 86 |
| Religious teachers and readers | 135 |
| Imams of mosques | 11 |
| School teachers | 9 |
| Labourers | 1,989 |
| | 9,232 |

The difference between the total number of males (encluding infants) and the number of males in classified employment is accounted for by the old men and boys who are either too old or too young to have regular employment.

and deaths in Bahrain. In the distribution of sexes males predominated, the census figure showed 58,601 males and 51,049 females. If the number of Bahrain men who are working abroad were included in this figure the proportion of men would be very high. A reason for the heavy preponderance of males is that most of the people who have come to Bahrain to work during recent years did not bring their wives and families with them, this fact is particularly noticeable in the case of Indians, Hassawis, Persians and Omanis. If Indians and Europeans are deducted from the total number of males and 30% of the males are reckoned as being under 15 or over 65 years of age the total local man power available in Bahrain would be about 38,000.

## OCCUPATION

Details of occupation were difficult to obtain; in most cases the replies to questions were vague, men described themselves as "labourers" which included cultivators oil field workers and labourers employed by contractors and by the Government. A significant point was that nobody described himself as a diver though a few years ago half of the able bodied men in Bahrain would have given their occupation as divers. Now-a-days men dive during the season, in the summer, and have regular employment during the rest of the year. Generally it can be said that the cultivators who work in the gardens are always Shia Baharna and Hassawis, Arabs never work on the land in Bahrain, the village Baharna are also employed as fishermen, weavers, coral cutters and labourers in the oil fields. Few of them willingly take on work which keeps them away from their villages at night. The men of the Arab villages work in the oil fields and at sea. The townsfolk of Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd, who are of mixed nationalities, include merchants, shopkeepers, Government servants, mechanics and oil field workers and labourers.

## CONCLUSIONS

161 The most striking fact which has emerged from the second census of Bahrain is that although there has been an increase in the total population of about 20% in nine years yet this increase is confined to Manamah and Muharraq alone, the growth of the population of Manamah being twice as much as in Muharraq. Even if the number of men who are working abroad is taken into consideration the lack of increase in the rural districts discloses an unsatisfactory state of affairs in the villages which was only revealed 165 by the census. During the preliminary registration, which in the case of the villages took about a fortnight, and the night of the census, the census staff recorded 43 deaths in a village population of about 31,500 (the Arab villages were not included in this total). In one small village with a population of 248 persons there were eight deaths in ten days and in every case the deaths were of very young children, yet no epidemic existed.

• 464 There is no unemployment in Bahrain and the cost of living in the villages is no higher than it was a few years ago. There is no reason to suppose that the lack of increase in the rural population is due to economic causes.

744 The people in the towns and in the villages which are near the towns make more use every year of the public health facilities which are provided by the Government. Cleanliness and sanitation have improved and the anti-malaria work which the Government has carried out has done much to reduce malaria, but few women patients come to the hospitals from distant villages, although today almost all the villages are on bus routes. From what information can be obtained, without vital statistics, it would appear that infant mortality rate in the villages is extremely high. It used to be equally high in the towns but conditions in this respect in the towns have much improved.

## DIVING INDUSTRY

228 464 There is little to report on this subject. Under present conditions it seems probable that in a few years the diving Nakhudas will find that it is impossible to obtain any recruits for diving in Bahrain. During the season only 12 boats went out to the banks from Bahrain and most of the divers who were engaged were from Persia and the Trucial Coast. So much money can be earned on shore that few men are willing to leave their shore jobs in order to dive during the summer months.

651 439 228 The tax on imported pearls imposed by the Government of India was in force throughout and after the diving season and this contributed to a large extent to the slackness in the pearl trade. Taking into consideration the small number of boats employed in diving the catch was moderately good and pearl prices were not much lower than in the previous season.

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## MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

### 1372

(Report by Dr. R. H. B. Snow, M.B.E., Senior Medical Officer)

**Summary of the Year**

185 751 A change is gradually infiltrating and making itself evident in the scope and policy of medical work which is increasing in every department and subconsciously affecting the life of the Island. Traditions are now being established which the new generation are growing up with, and health ideas which once were revolutionary are now accepted as the normal course of reasonable upbringing.

657 The medical department which started in a small way, and expanded slowly is seeing results which are very satisfying but which are taken for granted, although they took years of striving to achieve. From its small beginnings and tiny nucleus of key staff it has now spread out from something rather personal to more of a departmental outlook. This in the course of things is bound to be, but its danger is that lack of co-ordination may develop or that the department may absorb the individual expression. At present there seems to be no signs of this because the various heads of departments meet together continually to exchange ideas and align themselves in a common policy, and also they are readily accessible to the public.

743 758 Lines of expansion have shown themselves everywhere. The surgical work has been given great impetus by the advent of an F.R.C.S. specialist, Mr. R. D. Wilkins.

The operation theatre now runs a staff rota for every 24 hours of the day, made possible by recruiting Sister Ford and Sister Johnson from England. Sister Edwards was appointed to the Nursing Home to replace Sister Millson. The X-Ray department has an English Radiographer in charge - Mr. Havey. The Laboratory has a staff of six technicians. Four new Indian doctors arrived, one lady doctor for the Women's Hospital, and the others, male, were appointed to the Boys' Schools, The Port, and the Hospital. Mr. Burgin replaced Mr. Hanvey as Public Health Inspector, and Mr. Nambiar became the new Anti-Malaria Supervisor. Both hospitals recruited many more Indian trained nurses. The lack of sufficient staff has now been made good and at present meets all needs which recently have been very pressing. It meant also that more specialised apparatus could be installed being safely handled by expert hands. Such things include a more powerful X-Ray plant, a modern anaesthetic apparatus to administer all gases and curare, an electro-cautery unit and an electro-cardiograph.

## EDUCATION

### Boys Schools

(From the report of Mr. Ahmed Umran, Director of Education).

**Schools.** Three new village schools, at Sanad, Tubli and Karzakan, were built and presented to the Government by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The schools were fully furnished and in each place there was space for a playground near the building. His Highness Shaikh Sulman was present at the opening of the Tubli school and His Excellency Shaikh Abdulla, Minister of Education, attended the openings of the other two schools. The gift of these three buildings was much appreciated by the Government and by the people of the villages for which the schools provided education.

A large new school, on the Muharraq sea front, for small boys, was opened at the beginning of the term, with this school and three new village schools, and some additional class rooms in existing schools, it was possible to increase the total number of boys in the state schools by 610.

The building of these three schools roused immediate demands from other villages for schools to be built in their districts. Some of these requests came from villages within easy walking distance from schools. The desire for schools and sometimes for dispensaries is not always governed by real need; the existence of a school now seems to confer on a village a certain cachet. It was decided by His Highness on his return from England that three more village schools should be built by the Government, at Jidhafs, Asker and Jaw, the last place being the most distant inhabited village on the western coast. Towards the end of the year work was begun on these schools.

The growth of schools in the villages has had some repercussions. In the past the Shia villages provided the tenants and labourers in the date gardens, most of which are owned by Sunni Arabs. Landlords now realise that when the village boys acquire education they will no longer be content to work in the gardens, or as fishermen, as their fathers did before them. There is already a shortage of local labour for the date gardens and little competition to lease them. The town-dwelling landlords therefore do not view with enthusiasm the spread of education in the villages.

**Staff.** Every year the expansion of education makes it necessary to employ more teachers; those who complete their training in Bahrain are insufficient and have not enough experience to fill all the posts so each term the number of foreign teachers increases. Among most people this is regarded with disfavour, although there is a tendency among some to assume that because a teacher comes from abroad he must necessarily be better than any local product. Again in 1372 more teachers were recruited from neighbouring countries. The Director of Education, with the valuable assistance of the British Council in Beirut, enlisted 22 Lebanese, Syrians and Palestinians and he obtained from Cairo 5 Egyptians teachers to fill vacancies made by retirements and to provide staff for larger schools. At the end of the year the number of teachers in the boys schools was as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Egyptians .. .. .. | 10 |
| Indians .. .. .. .. | 2 |
| Syrians .. .. .. .. | 6 |
| Lebanese .. .. .. | 24 |
| Palestinians .. .. .. | 23 |
| Others .. .. .. .. | 3 |
| Bahrainis .. .. .. | 136 |
| Total .. | 204 |

There was a continued improvement in the standard of English in the Secondary School, due principally to its being taught by a British teacher lent to the Government by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. This arrangement has proved extremely successful.

1 [A.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst]

We are already seeing the satisfactory results of having higher qualified teachers in the Kindergarten and lower sections of the schools, the children who are now coming up to the fourth year are much better grounded and able to advance further than the children in the higher classes. Those in school now will certainly make better teachers than their elders. 872

The needlework on show at the Annual Exhibition was as good as ever, although less time had been given to it especially in the higher classes. Undoubtedly many of the girls have a real aptitude for embroidery and it seems a pity not to develop it to the full. 874

There were nine Primary and one Secondary Schools during 1372, with a total of 2272 students. 871

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**Technical School** 87H

(From the report of Mr. Said Tabbara, Headmaster, Technical School).

At the beginning of the year there were 66 boys registered as students at the school, 20 in the carpentry section and 46 on the mechanical side, at the end of 1372 (October 1953) the total number of students was 70. In addition to the ordinary students 17 Bapco employees did a special course at the school during the school year.

The school programme was the same as in the previous year and there were no changes in staff. Ahmed Ali Shumali, one of the local teachers who started as a student in the school and did two years in the Cairo Technical School before becoming a teacher, some years ago, was sent to England for a course of instruction in Technical School teaching.

Transportation of students to and from Muharraq was made in the school bus whose body was built by the students last year.

Six students took their final examination in June 1953, five of them were successful. Two of these young men joined the Bahrain Petroleum Company, one joined the P.W.D. and two others are working in the bazaar.

Both health and attendance at school during the year were satisfactory. The usual show of work done by the students was held in the Spring.

There is at present an urgent need for wiremen in Bahrain and this need will increase when the Gas-Electric Scheme develops. Many of the electricians now working in Bahrain are foreigners though some local men have been successfully trained in the State Engineer's department. The Technical School is to be enlarged by the addition of a large new workshop, new plant is on order to replace some of the existing plant and a new branch is to be opened next year for training students as practical electricians. For this purpose one of the senior students now in the school will be sent to England to do a course and a teacher will be engaged from abroad to take charge of the new branch. This development has been planned in conjunction with the State Engineer. 874 464

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1/2 [A.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst]

## PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT

(Report by Mr. S. Hills, Director of Works)

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For the first time for many years the Department failed to show any increase over the preceding year in its expenditure, or—more important—the volume of work carried out. This was due entirely to the failure to increase the size of the supervising staff commensurate with the obligations of the Department. Despite the lack of any expansion, however, the year's figures indicate the P.W.D. had another very busy and productive year. An average number of 1,350 men were employed daily which shows that the Department was still second only to Bahrain Petroleum Company in being the biggest economic factor in the lives of ordinary people of Bahrain. As previously, P.W.D. carried out far more work than any of the local contractors, and continued to set a standard for local development.

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Weather conditions were exceptionally favourable for the Department's activities. The winter months were unusually mild and there was no severe storm at any time during the year. The summer was good, although there were one or two unpleasantly hot and humid spells in July and August.

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Costs continued to rise, but the increase was not so marked as in the two previous years. Indeed, there was a welcome drop in the prices of various imported stores, but locally produced stores—which form so big an item (about 26 per cent.) in the Department's total costs—became considerably dearer. As the cost of these is almost entirely one of labour and transport, it would not have been surprising if this increase had occurred a year or so ago. There was some small rise in labour costs, caused by increased rates being paid to better-grade tradesmen—the basic rate for coolies and second-grade tradesmen remaining the same. This is really a good thing, as the standardisation of wage rates is surely one of the most lamentable features of the modern trend of development ; and a man should be encouraged to expect to be paid according to his ability. As before, the increase in cost was most marked in the smaller works and in maintenance. A feature out of the Department's control, which added to the rise in costs was the quite deplorable shipping situation which developed towards the end of the year. Many ships, carrying stores for Bahrain, failed to discharge their cargos, but overcarried them to Basra where they were transhipped and taken all over the Gulf (and at times as far as Aden) before they were eventually off loaded at Bahrain. Many works were delayed in consequence, with an inevitable rise in costs.

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This question of costs is closely linked with labour and supervision. Labour troubles were rather less than in the last year or two. In the early months of the year, the strength of carpenters, which had fallen so low at the end of 1371, was again built up ; and maintained throughout the year. The most serious shortage, in the year under review, was in good decorators. The standard of painting throughout Bahrain is very poor indeed. The local idea is to apply paint as thickly as possible, but never to worry about first preparing the work, and still less if much of the paint goes on the floor, window glass, or nearby furniture or fitments. P.W.D's annual commitment for decorating is now so large that the poor standard of performance is becoming a serious matter ; and as far as new work is concerned, the better standard of construction now being achieved is all too often spoilt by the indifferent standard of finish. There can only be one answer—constant and exacting supervising, and the Department was not, this year, in a position to give this.

Although the labour strength was just maintained at a level adequate to meet committments, yet the position was always delicate, because of the greatly increased amount of work being done by local contractors, who were only too ready to lure away good P.W.D. men by paying higher wage rates.

During the year, one man, Mohamed Bussager, foreman fitter, went to England for six months, under the auspices of the British Council. He greatly benefitted by his visit. It is hoped that more men may be sent on similar courses during the next few years.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



An interesting development in recent years is the stress of the domina
186 group, the Sunnis, on the unity and brotherhood of all Muslims and Arabs.
659 In 1950, when the second census was made, it was planned to count the two groups separately. This proposal, however, was construed as a British scheme to divide the Muslims and set them against each other. Strong objections were made by both groups, but primarily by the Sunnis, to the government and consequently this aspect of the census was abandoned. No such objections were raised during the census only nine years earlier.

186 Two factors can perhaps account for this rather nascent stress on unity: emerging nationalism and new economic forces. The conception of nationality is a Western contribution and a new arrival in the Persian Gulf. In Bahrain it is still a vague idea and certainly has not replaced to any degree the existing loyalties. It manifests itself in two ways: first, negatively in a desire to expel the foreigner (this has considerable appeal: it is concrete, intellectually easy to grasp, can be used as a rallying cry, and above all does not conflict with established social patterns); and second, positively, in a confused ideal of a pan-Arab, pan-Islamic union. No clear distinction is drawn between the two last concepts and the terms are used interchangeably. It must be admitted, however, that the pan-Arab aspect of the ideal predominates. This new spirit of nationalism has had the effect of creating a greater emphasis on unity among the native population. Furthermore, through this intellectual device the two groups can now present a common front against foreigners to protect their rights and interests, whether real or imaginary.

565 The new economic force for unity is the oil industry. On the surface
178 things seem as they have always been. In fact a change, subtle and hard
464 to detect, has taken place. The oil industry, as indicated previously, has
186 opened the doors of employment to the Shi'is. This has resulted in bettering slightly their economic condition and consequently their relative status vis-à-vis other groups. Furthermore, such employment has meant that they are no longer restricted to agriculture. They can now sell their labor and skills as everyone else in a wider and more favorable market. On the job at the company installations, Shi'i and Sunni are brought together as laborers or artisans and placed on the same footing. For the first time in their history it has become possible for individuals from both groups to collaborate in certain areas of action, not as Shi'is or Sunnis, but as members of an economic group.

## *THE JEWS*

162 A third native religious group is the small Jewish minority comprising
563 about 250 persons. Its members are well known for their industry, their
463 higher standard of living, their higher rate of education, and their amenability to Western influences. They are exclusively engaged in trade and money changing.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



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did, or sell out and return to the mother country. Those who remained are engaged either in trade or employed by the oil company or some other business establishment. In the last few years the government has been refusing to grant citizenship to Persian residents even though they may legally qualify.[22]

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The Indians, the second largest foreign community, are in a certain sense in a position similar to that of the Persians. Bahrain, like other principalities in the Persian Gulf, has had a long association with the subcontinent through trade. In 1913, when the Bahrain Order-in-Council was passed, the country became administratively subject to the jurisdiction of the Governor-General of India.

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The Indians constitute a prosperous and fairly well educated community. Some are engaged in trade on a big scale or as petty merchants. The rest — and they are the majority — are employed either by the government, the oil company, the British military and civil establishment, or other foreign business concerns in the country. They work mostly as clerks, foremen, cooks, waiters, and domestic servants.

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Various explanations have been made as to why Indians are employed in such large numbers in preference to local Bahrainis or persons from other nationalities. In the first place, Bahrain does not have enough young men with a minimum of education and clerical or industrial training to fill these positions. Secondly, in view of British policy to tie Bahrain to India, it was only natural to look to it for the necessary labor supply. Furthermore, India could supply labor well trained by the British and used to their ways. Finally, Indian labor could be obtained at a lower rate than equally skilled labor from other countries.

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The status of Indians is a rather peculiar one, for they live in a social zone all by themselves. They are resented by the native population and accepted only as subordinates by Westerners, with whom they would like to associate and with whom they would like to be classified. This is true especially of the clerical and professional group among them.

The causes of Bahraini resentment against them are psychological and economic in nature. In the first place, they constitute a community which is definitely foreign and makes a point of it, and in some respects looks down on the local population. This is especially the case among the white-collar workers.

Secondly, on the whole, the Indian community wields power far beyond its number. The people in Bahrain see Indians in government and business establishments and develop the feeling that they are being governed by them along with the British.

In the third place, clerical positions occupied by Indians and other for-

[22] *Census 1950*, p. 6.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



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the course of development in Bahrain leaves no doubt that they will gradually be resolved. Bahrainis are receiving education at an increasing rate and are now gradually replacing these two foreign elements in clerical and intermediate positions. There will come a time when foreign labor is no longer needed. All foreign establishments in Bahrain, in response to local pressure, are now replacing foreign employees with Bahrainis, even if at the cost of some efficiency.

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Once the clerical and professional group becomes expendable, the major source of resentment will have been removed. Even if some Indians remain, the native Bahrainis will be able to compete with them on equal terms. In the case of the Persians, until the political issues primarily between the British and the Iranian governments concerning sovereignty over Bahrain are clarified, their position will stay the same.

What of the Westerners? It is my belief that the crisis is yet to come. Despite considerable talk, especially among the literate segment of the population, about exploitation, imperialism, and privileges, the Westerners' higher social status is accepted. The native population has been used for generations to think of them as a group with a special status over and above its own, and it will take some time before a mental reorientation is completed. In the second place, the native people fully realize that they need them. They may want to hate the foreign doctor but they need his medical skill; they may detest the oil company, but it supplies them with necessary royalties. The time, however, is drawing near when the problem will have to be faced. Negative nationalism and other political forces such as Communism (which at present has little influence in the Gulf) may force the issue prematurely if favorable circumstances arise.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
BahrainMZ2
QatarMK3



so much that was orderly and progressive had been done already. In the days of Shaikh Hamad (1923–42) conditions in the pearl industry had been reformed, and municipalities, education, and other public services had been developed. These are now being further expanded. The state provides free medical services for all its people and free education in primary and secondary schools and in a technical school; in 1953 there were 4,700 boys and 2,300 girls at school, at a budget cost of 2½ million rupees per annum.

Socially, the impact of good employment in the oil company has been more widespread in Bahrain than in Kuwait, firstly because of the much longer period during which the company has been operating and secondly because it policy, unlike that of the Kuwait Oil Company, is to transport its local workers daily from homes in neighbouring towns instead of constructing a special township near the oilfield. Both policies present certain advantages; one effect of the former is to integrate the oil company into the daily life of the state. Yet there are so far no Bahrainis in BAPCO's senior administrative grades since all local men of this calibre have so far preferred to find jobs in commerce, with its prospects of a larger and speedier return for effort. As in Kuwait, more and more well-to-do merchants are sending sons abroad for education and it is an open question how these will react to the autocratic rule of a family in years to come.

The unit of currency in Bahrain is the Indian rupee. Imports constituted in 1952 about double the value of exports and re-exports (£14·6 million as against £7·4 million). More than half the latter were to Saudi Arabia, the balance chiefly to Qatar and to Persia with which, despite Persia's shortage of hard currency, there continues to be a considerable volume of barter trade.

## QATAR

The Shaikhdom of Qatar comprises the peninsula of that name, lying midway along the western coast of the Persian Gulf. It has an area of about 8,000 square miles with a population of some 25,000. From a dangerous coast-line the land rises to a low, monotonous plateau. The main water-supplies are from wells. Its only land frontier—that with Saudi Arabia—has never been demarcated.

Qatar has been in relations with Great Britain since 1882. An agreement with Britain of 3 November 1916 had provisions similar to those with the other Trucial shaikhs, and included a clause making the grant of pearling concessions or other mono-

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M22



600 season. The men go out and dive in this coöperative way for one summer, but they are back again the next year as parts of the old machine. What drives them back? From a distance it looks like insanity, but any one acquainted with the local conditions knows this result is inevitable. The Arabs simply cannot coöperate to that extent. They cannot trust each other even in such an association. In a community where simple business partnership between two men in the bazaar is almost unknown, it is futile to expect a dozen divers to coöperate successfully in an enterprise like diving, where mutual forbearance and mutual confidence would be essential, and where the catch might be good sometimes but quite certainly would be bad at other times. The road out of the diver's present trouble is obvious enough, but it is not a possible road for the Arab as he is constituted at present. No road could be more impossible. A little coöperation would save him from the exactions of dishonest captains and greedy pearl merchants, but of that coöperation the Arab is incapable. So since he is unable to organize his industry for his own benefit, it is organized for him by others for their interest, and it goes without saying that the organizer exploits the men under him to the utmost limit.

● 464 The fundamental difficulty is in the divers themselves.
466 The majority of the divers of Bahrein are Persians, or
426 belong to that semi-Persian community known as the "Baharina." They are cheated and defrauded by their employers to a degree almost beyond belief. Their economic condition is pitiable. Not so the comparatively small number of divers who come in from the desert. The Bedouins who come and dive are never exploited. A captain who attempted to cheat them would lose his

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East



head and he knows it. Therefore these Bedouins, who avoid debt as they would the plague, receive a much better reward for their work than the others. These wild men bow to no authority except that of Allah in Heaven, and are not easy victims. They usually club together and dive in boats by themselves. They keep out of debt, and so have no limitations to their independence. I asked one of them once in a jocose way whether he was sure that the captain was honest in the reports that were submitted as to the prices secured for pearls and the season's proceeds. "Ah," said the diver with the broadest sort of an engaging smile. "What is that you say? Does the captain lie about the price of the pearls he sells for us? No, indeed, he does not lie. He tells the truth. If he should try to cheat us, ha-a." Here the smile extended till it took in his whole face, and he drew the edge of his hand across his own neck in a gesture the meaning of which could not be misunderstood.

The most conspicuous example, however, of divers who are out of debt and therefore out of bondage, is to be found in Katar. Here is a small diving community where practically all of the men are out of debt, and the atmosphere of freedom and equality, good fellowship and comfort is a refreshing contrast to the conditions in Bahrein. The men show real independence and self-respect. These divers can change their employers if the treatment they receive is not satisfactory. They can move to another city to live. In a word, they are free men. Yet the system under which they work is no different from that obtaining in Bahrein. It is the divers who are different. They are Bedouins or descended from Bedouins. They keep out of debt and as a result the system works very well.

132 siderable violence, particularly in June and July and in January and February.

## POPULATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### Population

161 464 At the time of the second census in 1950, the population of Bahrain numbered 109,650, with 91,179 Bahrain subjects and 18,471 foreigners. In addition, about 5,000 Bahrain nationals were believed to be working in other countries, chiefly in Saudi 162 Arabia. Among the foreign residents there were 6,934 Iranians, 3,043 Indians, Pakistanis and Goanese, 2,526 Saudi Arabians, 2,466 Omanis and Muscatis, and 2,208 British and other Europeans and Americans.

144 The Bahrainis represent a medley of Arab and Persian peoples, as well as various Negro admixtures, descendants of former slaves from Africa. The Baharna, the original inhabitants of the islands, are of mixed Arab-Persian origin, while the Arabs derive 795 chiefly from the mainland of Arabia. The population is almost exclusively Moslem: in 1950, only 4 per cent of the local residents belonged to other religious communities, with 2,348 Christians, 975 Hindus and 293 Jews. Both the Shia and the Sunni sects of Islam are prominent. The Baharna and the Iranians are Shiites, while most of the Arabs are Sunnites, including a small contingent which adheres to the Wahhabi 191 branch of central Arabia. Arabic is the national language. Other tongues are employed by the different racial groups, but most educated Bahrainis and town-dwelling laborers are familiar with English.

462 632 The returns of the 1950 census indicated that almost 62 per cent of the people lived in the 3 main towns of Manama, Muharraq and Hedd, and the remainder in some 80 rural villages and settlements. Manama, the seat of government and the largest town, located on the island of Bahrain, had a population of 39,648. Muharraq, the chief town on the adjacent island, numbered ap-

THE COMPANY

refinery on the eastern side of the island, opposite Sitra. It was expanded in 1945, and 80 to 85 per cent of the crude oil processed is now obtained by pipeline from Saudi Arabia. The refined petroleum products are pumped to storage tanks on Sitra Island, and subsequently to a deep-water loading terminal 3 miles offshore. Over 6,000 Bahrainis, as well as some 1,600 British and Americans, are employed in different branches of the industry. Two thirds of the royalties accrue to the Bahrain government, half of which are utilized for capital expenditures designed to raise the standards of living of the people. Reports for 1951 indicate that 68 per cent of the government income was derived from oil revenues, as against 26 per cent from customs receipts.

The renewed prosperity of the islands and the concurrent growth in population have stimulated private enterprise and the growth of small factories to supply current needs, particularly as regards building materials. Fishing is an important seasonal occupation of many villagers, and preserved fish, fish oils and other fish products are items of export. Agriculture plays a minor role. Barely 5 to 10 per cent of the total land area is under cultivation, and further expansion is restricted by the nature of the terrain, the concentration of water supply in limited areas and a feudalistic system of land tenure. Date gardens flourish in oases on Bahrain, Muharraq and Sitra Islands, but the supply equals less than one quarter of the local requirements. The government is endeavoring to promote the introduction of other crops, and maintains an experiment station at Budaiya.

The sea approaches to the archipelago are shallow, making it necessary for ocean vessels and oil tankers to anchor 2 to 4 miles from the shore. Bahrain and Muharraq, however, have good harbors which accommodate dhows and other shallow-draft vessels. Manama is an active trading center: coastal traffic is more or less continuous, while frequent steamer services are available to the northern Gulf ports and to India AND PAKISTAN.

p. 257 (B)

000 and Pakistan. Regular air communications
509 are maintained to Iraq and Arabia, and the airport on Muharraq Island also serves international airlines with terminals in Europe, the Middle East and the Far East.
491 Motor roads connect the towns and the villages on the different islands, and extend across causeways from Bahrain to Muharraq and Sitra. The local transport facilities are well developed, and motor bus routes link most of the population centers.

## Food and Nutrition

262 The food habits of the diverse racial
146 groups are varied, but serious undernutri-
464 tion is seldom encountered, except among the migratory laborers from the mainland and the Baharna and Arabs in the agri-
439 cultural and the fishing villages. The islands
656 are dependent upon imports for a large proportion of their food supply. The government controls certain essential foodstuffs, as wheat, rice and sugar, and regulates prices through a system of rationing.

262 The diet of the average Bahraini consists
439 of dates, bread, rice and fish, supplemented by native vegetables in season and limited amounts of meat and milk. Goats are raised in many villages, though their milk is usually scanty and poor in quality. Most of the meat is imported from Iran, and is correspondingly expensive. An assortment of fruits and vegetables is generally obtainable in Manama markets by those who are able to purchase them.

## Housing

362 Manama is a cosmopolitan town, and the changes which have come about within the last two decades are reflected in the construction of increasing numbers of modern-
342 type dwellings. Muharraq, in contrast, is a distinctly Arab community. Coral blocks, coral slabs and plaster are the usual building materials in the older houses, while cement is used extensively in the newer buildings. The typical Arab-style homes are built around inner courts and have utilitarian

136 164 majority are believed to have been acquired elsewhere. Cases of ancylostomiasis and schistosomiasis are occasionally observed, primarily among non-Bahrainis, yet no indigenous foci of infection are known to exist.

### Diseases Spread Chiefly Through the Respiratory Tract

164 **Tuberculosis.** Tuberculosis is widespread, but little precise information is available regarding its prevalence in the local population. The disease is believed to be extensive in Arabia, particularly among 164 the Bedouin. In Bahrain, the migration of 464 workers to and from the mainland, overcrowding and the generally low standards 515 759 of personal hygiene are regarded as factors influencing the spread of the infection. The facilities for diagnosis and treatment are 736 inadequate. The government operates a 13-758 bed tuberculosis sanatorium and provides treatment for tuberculous cases in its regular hospitals and dispensaries. It also subsidizes the transportation of certain cases to India for treatment, since many individuals do not respond favorably under the climatic conditions prevailing in Bahrain. About 220 to 350 cases were under observation in government institutions annually from November, 1948, to November, 1950. 164 Pulmonary tuberculosis predominates, but a high rate of nonpulmonary infections also is encountered.

**Smallpox.** Bahrain is especially vulnerable to the introduction of smallpox from the neighboring Persian Gulf territories, Pakistan and India, and outbreaks are recorded at frequent intervals. Large-scale epidemics were reported in 1941-42 and in 1948-50, with sporadic cases in the intervening years. The most recent epidemic started in December, 1948, in the Hora section of Manama, and spread in a series of localized outbreaks, persisting into 1950. Eighty-six cases were transferred to the quarantine hospital in 1949, and about one third of that number the following year. The percentage of unrecognized infections

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrein M2.2



*Company Policies and Activities*

471 In accordance with the conditions of the concession, laid
464 down by the British Colonial Office, Bapco employed a considerable number of Bahreinis in its undertakings, almost exclusively in the lower grades. The total number of employees in 1948 was 6,078, and of these 4,650 were local employees. [161] While this was only 4.23 per cent of the total population, then estimated at about 110,000,[18] it was 76.5 per cent of the total employed by the company. The staff was increased in 1951 to 7,749, and of this number 4,937 were Bahrein nationals.[19] This drop in the percentage of native employees, from 76.5 to 64, was not the result of Company policy but was due to the greater demand for workers in the expanded oil-producing areas of the Gulf—Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Qatar. Many Bahreinis, finding the wages offered in other areas more attractive, left their home islands, which made it necessary for Bapco to employ more foreigners such as Indians, Pakistanis, Persians and others. This created a peculiar phenomenon: educated and semi-educated Bahreinis sought work abroad, while destitute foreigners flocked to the islands.

471 In addition to direct payments in revenue and indirect pay-
466 ments in terms of wages and purchases of local materials for the operation of the concession, the Company contributed directly to many social and economic projects aimed at bettering the general conditions; these included housing, electric lighting, water supply, and sanitary facilities. It operated a hospital and clinics, and also subsidized the American Mission Hospital. In the field of education it assisted the Government's technical school for native boys; upon graduation students from that school were employed by the Company, which provided further mechanical training.[20] It also cooperated in many agricultural and irrigation projects.[21]

471 However, the impact of the oil industry on the people of
651 Bahrein came primarily from the utilization of the revenue from the oil. The oil payments were divided into three parts:

[18] Max Steineke and M. P. Yackel estimated the population at about 125,000, "Saudi Arabia and Bahrein," in *World Geography* (Princeton, 1950), 226.
[19] U.N., *Review 1949-50*, 60;—*Summary 1952-53*, 58.
[20] The Bapco training program is described by its vice-president, Russel M. Brown, "Schooling in Skills," *Oil Lifestream of Progress*, IV, 6-8, Oct., 1954.
[21] U. S. Senate, *American Petroleum Interests in Foreign Countries*, 288-289.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 Ml Middle East
Bahrein MZ2



652 There have also been other implications. The Sheikh, the
651 Government and the people have become increasingly, in fact almost exclusively, dependent on the oil. In 1932 the entire government budget was about $143,600; in 1951 the total government revenue was $5,271,000, of which approximately 61 per cent came from oil and 34.9 per cent from customs duties,[24] which must be considered an indirect result of the oil industry. In 1953 the Government revenue was derived 68 per cent from oil, 24 per cent from customs duties, and 5 per cent from interest on the reserve fund.[25] The oil boom also created inflationary pressures which caused many Bahreinis to seek em-
[464] 458 471 178 ployment in other oil-producing areas in the Gulf. Because of its central location, the I.P.C. subsidiary, Petroleum Concessions Ltd., which held concessions in Qatar and on the Trucial coast, had made its Gulf headquarters in Bahrein and built large offices and houses for its staff. Bahrein had become a resort and shopping center for the oil employees, especially Americans and Europeans, in Saudi Arabia and Qatar. These not only added to the inflationary pressures, but so greatly increased the social vices of gambling, drinking, prostitution and their concomitants as to cause grave concern to those responsible for the health and welfare of the population.[26]

185 The Bahrein islands are limited in area and in resources; oil,
MZ2 in a more definitely limited quantity than that of any of the other areas in the Gulf, is the only resource supporting the Sheikh, the Government and its extended services, and also to a considerable degree the people at large. Though perhaps originally a little more advanced than some of their neighbors, the people of Bahrein, prior to the discovery of oil, had a low standard of living and consequently a very low standard of governmental and social services. When the pearling industry suffered a serious setback as a result of the world depression and the development of cultured pearls, Bahrein was in a desperate situation. With the arrival of the Bahrein Petroleum Company,

aroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 20 *et passim;* "Oil and Bahrein," *The World Today*, VII, 77-79, Feb., 1951; Bell, *loc. cit.*

[24] Bahrain Petroleum Company, Limited, *Bahrain 1952* (pages not numbered).

[25] Angus Sinclair, "The Resources and Their Potentialities. III, Petroleum and Minerals," in *Middle East Resources Problems and Prospects* (Washington, 1954), 46. The 68 per cent of the revenue directly from oil did not include the one-third which went to the Sheikh.

[26] "Oil and Bahrein," *The World Today*, VII, 79, 81-83, Feb., 1951; Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 20 *et passim.*

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

511 The economic status of the divers is as desperate as their [342] physical hardships. Their houses are huts which they build for 228 themselves of woven palm leaves. Wages are paid in advance through the ship owners and financed by merchants who take profits in advance of ten or twenty per cent, according to the season. In the best diving season—from June to September—the divers have little more than enough for the barest necessities; but in the winter months when cold weather and high winds seriously impede and eventually halt their work; in order to keep alive the men have to resort to borrowing at high rates [525] of interest, and so never get out of debt. As a consequence, condemned to a difficult, unhealthy and probably short life, the pearl diver is an inveterate gambler.

511 Since the abolition of the ancient Tribunal of Salifah in 228 1926, the captain of the boats has been required by law to keep 465 an account of expenses and of the advances made to the divers, [651] the taxes on which are fixed. The divers do not receive set wages, but after expenses have been deducted and the captain has taken his share of twenty per cent, the remainder is divided among the crew. The diver (*gawās*) receives twice as much as the hauler (*sib*) since his work is more dangerous. The second in command of the boat receives three parts of the profits (i.e. an amount equal to that of one diver and one hauler). He is called the Thursday, from a Persian word, probably because he is in charge of the boat on Thursdays, the captain's day off.

A comparatively recent traveler in the Near East has stated that there are occasional strikes for higher pay, though not the kind to which we are accustomed. It is the Sheik who declares the strike—and pockets the proceeds.

228 The diving season starts the middle of April and ends the middle of October. It is divided into five periods, the first of which, the *Ghaws al Bard*, begins the middle of April and lasts about a month. Deep sea fishing is not attempted and the divers relieve each other every half hour or so on account of the cold. The workers' share of the profits for this period is divided equally among the divers and the haulers because the latter have to

At Awali are the offices and the homes of the European employees of BAPCO, while outside the fence is the Arab camp for the few Bahrainis who prefer to live there rather than in their own towns and villages. Near Awali's eastern gate is the Training School for Bahrainis, where something is done to equip them for higher posts in the company. This is a field of activity which the company is beginning to develop and it is very important that is should succeed.

South of Awali, in the desert around the Jebal ad-Dukhan, is the oil field, the *raison d'etre* of BAPCO, an unimpressive area with many little squares of cement decorated with taps and valves and surrounded by low fences, which are the oil wells, while here and there derricks mark the search for more oil which is always in progress.

After the Abadan Refinery the one on Bahrain is the largest in the Middle East and supplies large quantities of refined products to India, Pakistan, East Africa and other countries "East of Suez." During the day it would be difficult to describe the refinery as anything but a large and ugly mass of iron and steel, with the great Cat. Cracker rising above the squat silver tanks. The air is hot and dusty and in the summer the iron-work is so hot that to touch it raises blisters ; but in the evening the refinery takes on the appearance of a slightly shapeless but nevertheless well decorated Christmas Tree, covered in lights and set against a background of flares of burning gas which illuminate the sky like a lurid orange back-cloth.

The Sitra anchorage has at all times an appearance of feverish activity, it is being improved so that it will be possible to load ships and tankers round the clock. In order to do this the jetty is being floodlit with great arc lamps.

On low-lying Sitra Island all that can be seen from the sea are the storage tanks, it is only on approaching nearer that the island itself becomes visible. The Tank Farm spreads across the middle of Sitra, and as it expands it threatens to cut the island in two. To the south of the Tank Farm is a large group of buildings from which a crashing sound is continually heard ; this is the Drum Plant. Further evidence of this is present in the thousands of newly painted drums that are piled in huge rows near the plant.

The oil industry is directed from the main office in Awali, where from air-conditioned coolness in the summer and air-conditioned warmth in the winter instructions go out to all parts of Bahrain where BAPCO has its installations. Bahrain is well situated for an oil industry. The oil wells are about eight miles from the Refinery, which itself is scarcely more than half that distance from the Pier and Tank Farm, while from Awali it is possible to see on a clear day both the Refinery and the Field. The radio-telephone and the aeroplane used in other Middle Eastern fields have no place in Bahrain where phones and cars are quite sufficent.

Of the 7,749 workers employed by BAPCO at the end of 1951, 4,937 were Bahrainis and 1,035 were British, American and other

464 Europeans. For the latter the company provides many amenities.
382 In the town of Awali there is a cinema, a club and other recreational
511 facilities. There is a Commissary for the supply of foods and goods
466 unobtainable elsewhere in Bahrain; a school for American and European children with qualified teachers and hospitals for the various nationalities employed by BAPCO. A cinema, swimming bath and mosque are also being constructed in the Arab Camp, and a swimming bath and cinema in the Indian and Pakistani camp at Rifaa. The company also maintains dispensaries in some of the villages and has built three schools for the Bahrain Government. There is cordial co-operation between the Bahrain Government and BAPCO in all fields of social service and although it may seem strange that an oil company should be encouraged to occupy itself with so many activities not directly connected with the production of oil, yet it is now recognised in the Middle East that it is an obligation of oil companies not only to work for their shareholders but also for the benefit of the people of the country from which they derive their profits.

471 In 1940 a Supplementary Agreement was signed between the Ruler
382 and the Bahrain Petroleum Company in which the latter received an extension to its concession including all lands, shoals, reefs, waters and submerged lands of "the present and future domains" of the Ruler of Bahrain.

315 It is a comparatively rare thing for people visiting Bahrain to see the actual oil which has made the Islands famous, gone are the days when to "strike oil" meant that a huge gusher of oil would leap skywards covering everything about it with what is termed, in the hackneyed phrase of the journalist, "black gold." Today the drilling of a well is normally a tidy process ; when oil is struck the drillers have complete control over its flow and quickly cap the well with a "Christmas Tree," the nickname for the mass of taps and valves which are placed over the well head. From the well the oil is piped to the Refinery and then to the storage tanks at Sitra. But in every part of its processing little is seen of the oil except by the workers in the laboratories.

133 The oil industry today is the most important factor in Bahrain's economy and is recognised as such by the Government and the people of the country.

## CHAPTER VI

## JEWELS OF THE DEEP

228 Pearl diving is probably the oldest industry in Bahrain and has been the reason why an otherwise small and comparatively unproductive group of islands has been the scene of so many bitter wars and has been over-run by so many invading armies. From earliest times Bahrain has been famous for its pearls : in an Assyrian inscription of some 2000 B.C. a parcel of "fish eyes" from Dilmun is believed to be

pearls, and also the large scale manufacture of cultured pearls in Japan. It was indeed lucky for Bahrain that oil was found in 1932, or else she would have seen her principal industry slowly decline with nothing with which to replace it. Once the oil industry was established, however, it in its turn served to precipitate the decay of the older industry by providing employment with better conditions and higher pay than were to be found on the pearl banks. The decline had also been unwittingly aided by the reforms of the late Ruler, Shaikh Hamed, who, on becoming Deputy Ruler in 1923, found the working conditions of the industry in a shocking state. The pearl banks were productive and much money was being made but little of it went to the divers, many of whom had involved themselves in a form of financial slavery to the nakhudas. Divers were given advances by the captains before the season, to provide for their families while they were away at sea, and at the end of the season, while the sales of the pearls, were being carried out. The eventual result was that the captains gave advances far in excess of the money due to the divers at the end of the season and to repay these loans the divers were forced to work for the same captain in the following season. But each year the advances were again in excess of the divers' earnings and so they got deeper and deeper into debt to the captains. At the same time the latter were indebted to shore merchants for supplies, for which they were charged high rates of interest, although this was contrary to the Sheria Law. The captains passed this interest on to the divers, who thus paid a minimum of 50% of their original debt each year. Diving debts were bequeathed, sons of divers whose fathers died owing money to captains were forced to work for them, and a diver, if he became too old to work, was only released from diving if he was replaced by his son or some other relation. In addition to this, indebted divers were often made to work on land for their creditors, or were handed over as workers to merchants to whom the nakhuda owed money.

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Shaikh Hamed was determined to abolish all these practices and was supported by some of the more progressive Arabs and the Shiite and Sunni judges, who disapproved of the whole system. Amongst the bitterest opponents of the reforms were the divers themselves who were persuaded by the nakhudas and merchants into believing that they were going to lose by them. The reforms were, however, introduced and resulted in fixed advances, the amounts of which were announced annually by proclamation, the restriction of interest on advances, and all advances in excess of the legal amounts to be unreclaimable in court. The divers were also entitled to seek other work on the condition that they repaid a certain proportion of their diving debt each year. Many thousands of debts were reduced and the special diving court, which had favoured the captains and merchants, was abolished and all diving cases were heard by the ordinary courts. Finally, the debts of a diver died with him and could not be inherited by his heirs. The result of the reforms was that the industry, although reduced in size was put on a much sounder footing and its workers were not forced to dive but did so because they wanted to.

228 178 452 185 [698]

The present premises of the club are to the north of Muharraq town, but they have become too small for the number of members and there are plans for the sale of the club buildings and the future construction of new and larger premises elsewhere in Muharraq. 575

*Al-Ahli Club.* This is the largest Arab club in Manama, it was founded in 1938 and to-day has a membership of 285, which figure is rapidly increasing. The club has much the same aims as the one described above. It has a library and reading room and from time to time members and visitors deliver talks and lectures. The Club has recently moved to its new premises on Daly Road in Quadabiya. The central hall of the club has a stage for theatricals and public lectures and it is proposed to build two tennis courts in the grounds of the club. The club also has an excellent football team which usually does well in inter-Bahrain and foreign matches.

*Khalifah Eslah Club.* The second of the two Muharraq clubs, the Khalifah Eslah Club, has 150 members. Formerly housed in a building in the centre of the town, at the time of writing the club is raising funds for a new building on the Muharraq Sea Road.

This club was also founded for cultural purposes and much of its activity is connected with intellectual pursuits. At monthly meetings members of the club deliver lectures on various topics and there is a committee which encourages such activities. The club itself is administered by an elected committee which holds fortnightly meetings at which matters of interest to the club are discussed and members' proposals considered. From time to time the club produces plays which are well attended by the general public. It does not, however, take part in any sports.

*BAPCO Club.* The membership of BAPCO Club, with the exception of some 80 outside members from Manama, amounts to 1100 European and American employees of BAPCO and 400 wives and 350 children, the latter two groups being honorary members. The Club with its manifold activities is organised by the Oil Company for the entertainment of its employees during their leisure hours. Among the sports played under the auspices of the Club are cricket, association football, golf, hockey, squash, and tennis, as well as rifle shooting, archery and riding. Some of these activities are organised by separate clubs but they are all dependent upon BAPCO for financial aid and are, therefore, part of the BAPCO Club. There is also in Awali an amateur dramatic society, a library and billiards rooms. 466 ● 575

Every Thursday evening there is a dance at the club, once a month this is formal ; also in the winter there are old-time dances which are particularly well attended.

*The Pakistan Club.* As its name implies, the majority of the members of this club are Pakistanis, but its 200 members also include many other 575

## PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT

(Report by Mr. S. Hills, Director of Works)

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For the first time for many years the Department failed to show any increase over the preceding year in its expenditure, or—more important—the volume of work carried out. This was due entirely to the failure to increase the size of the supervising staff commensurate with the obligations of the Department. Despite the lack of any expansion, however, the year's figures indicate the P.W.D. had another very busy and productive year. An average number of 1,350 men were employed daily which shows that the Department was still second only to Bahrain Petroleum Company in being the biggest economic factor in the lives of ordinary people of Bahrain. As previously, P.W.D. carried out far more work than any of the local contractors, and continued to set a standard for local development.

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Weather conditions were exceptionally favourable for the Department's activities. The winter months were unusually mild and there was no severe storm at any time during the year. The summer was good, although there were one or two unpleasantly hot and humid spells in July and August.

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Costs continued to rise, but the increase was not so marked as in the two previous years. Indeed, there was a welcome drop in the prices of various imported stores, but locally produced stores—which form so big an item (about 26 per cent.) in the Department's total costs—became considerably dearer. As the cost of these is almost entirely one of labour and transport, it would not have been surprising if this increase had occurred a year or so ago. There was some small rise in labour costs, caused by increased rates being paid to better-grade tradesmen—the basic rate for coolies and second-grade tradesmen remaining the same. This is really a good thing, as the standardisation of wage rates is surely one of the most lamentable features of the modern trend of development ; and a man should be encouraged to expect to be paid according to his ability. As before, the increase in cost was most marked in the smaller works and in maintenance. A feature out of the Department's control, which added to the rise in costs was the quite deplorable shipping situation which developed towards the end of the year. Many ships, carrying stores for Bahrain, failed to discharge their cargos, but overcarried them to Basra where they were transhipped and taken all over the Gulf (and at times as far as Aden) before they were eventually off loaded at Bahrain. Many works were delayed in consequence, with an inevitable rise in costs.

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This question of costs is closely linked with labour and supervision. Labour troubles were rather less than in the last year or two. In the early months of the year, the strength of carpenters, which had fallen so low at the end of 1371, was again built up ; and maintained throughout the year. The most serious shortage, in the year under review, was in good decorators. The standard of painting throughout Bahrain is very poor indeed. The local idea is to apply paint as thickly as possible, but never to worry about first preparing the work, and still less if much of the paint goes on the floor, window glass, or nearby furniture or fitments. P.W.D's annual commitment for decorating is now so large that the poor standard of performance is becoming a serious matter ; and as far as new work is concerned, the better standard of construction now being achieved is all too often spoilt by the indifferent standard of finish. There can only be one answer—constant and exacting supervising, and the Department was not, this year, in a position to give this.

Although the labour strength was just maintained at a level adequate to meet committments, yet the position was always delicate, because of the greatly increased amount of work being done by local contractors, who were only too ready to lure away good P.W.D. men by paying higher wage rates.

During the year, one man, Mohamed Bussager, foreman fitter, went to England for six months, under the auspices of the British Council. He greatly benefitted by his visit. It is hoped that more men may be sent on similar courses during the next few years.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
BahrainMZ2
QatarMK3



so much that was orderly and progressive had been done already. In the days of Shaikh Hamad (1923–42) conditions in the pearl industry had been reformed, and municipalities, education, and other public services had been developed. These are now being further expanded. The state provides free medical services for all its people and free education in primary and secondary schools and in a technical school; in 1953 there were 4,700 boys and 2,300 girls at school, at a budget cost of 2½ million rupees per annum.

Socially, the impact of good employment in the oil company has been more widespread in Bahrain than in Kuwait, firstly because of the much longer period during which the company has been operating and secondly because it policy, unlike that of the Kuwait Oil Company, is to transport its local workers daily from homes in neighbouring towns instead of constructing a special township near the oilfield. Both policies present certain advantages; one effect of the former is to integrate the oil company into the daily life of the state. Yet there are so far no Bahrainis in BAPCO's senior administrative grades since all local men of this calibre have so far preferred to find jobs in commerce, with its prospects of a larger and speedier return for effort. As in Kuwait, more and more well-to-do merchants are sending sons abroad for education and it is an open question how these will react to the autocratic rule of a family in years to come.

The unit of currency in Bahrain is the Indian rupee. Imports constituted in 1952 about double the value of exports and re-exports (£14·6 million as against £7·4 million). More than half the latter were to Saudi Arabia, the balance chiefly to Qatar and to Persia with which, despite Persia's shortage of hard currency, there continues to be a considerable volume of barter trade.

## QATAR

The Shaikhdom of Qatar comprises the peninsula of that name, lying midway along the western coast of the Persian Gulf. It has an area of about 8,000 square miles with a population of some 25,000. From a dangerous coast-line the land rises to a low, monotonous plateau. The main water-supplies are from wells. Its only land frontier—that with Saudi Arabia—has never been demarcated.

Qatar has been in relations with Great Britain since 1882. An agreement with Britain of 3 November 1916 had provisions similar to those with the other Trucial shaikhs, and included a clause making the grant of pearling concessions or other mono-

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M22



600 season. The men go out and dive in this coöperative way for one summer, but they are back again the next year as parts of the old machine. What drives them back? From a distance it looks like insanity, but any one acquainted with the local conditions knows this result is inevitable. The Arabs simply cannot coöperate to that extent. They cannot trust each other even in such an association. In a community where simple business partnership between two men in the bazaar is almost unknown, it is futile to expect a dozen divers to coöperate successfully in an enterprise like diving, where mutual forbearance and mutual confidence would be essential, and where the catch might be good sometimes but quite certainly would be bad at other times. The road out of the diver's present trouble is obvious enough, but it is not a possible road for the Arab as he is constituted at present. No road could be more impossible. A little coöperation would save him from the exactions of dishonest captains and greedy pearl merchants, but of that coöperation the Arab is incapable. So since he is unable to organize his industry for his own benefit, it is organized for him by others for their interest, and it goes without saying that the organizer exploits the men under him to the utmost limit.

464 The fundamental difficulty is in the divers themselves.
466 The majority of the divers of Bahrein are Persians, or
426 belong to that semi-Persian community known as the "Baharina." They are cheated and defrauded by their employers to a degree almost beyond belief. Their economic condition is pitiable. Not so the comparatively small number of divers who come in from the desert. The Bedouins who come and dive are never exploited. A captain who attempted to cheat them would lose his

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M22
Qatar MK3



head and he knows it. Therefore these Bedouins, who avoid debt as they would the plague, receive a much better reward for their work than the others. These wild men bow to no authority except that of Allah in Heaven, and are not easy victims. They usually club together and dive in boats by themselves. They keep out of debt, and so have no limitations to their independence. I asked one of them once in a jocose way whether he was sure that the captain was honest in the reports that were submitted as to the prices secured for pearls and the season's proceeds. "Ah," said the diver with the broadest sort of an engaging smile. "What is that you say? Does the captain lie about the price of the pearls he sells for us? No, indeed, he does not lie. He tells the truth. If he should try to cheat us, ha-a." Here the smile extended till it took in his whole face, and he drew the edge of his hand across his own neck in a gesture the meaning of which could not be misunderstood.

The most conspicuous example, however, of divers who are out of debt and therefore out of bondage, is to be found in Katar. Here is a small diving community where practically all of the men are out of debt, and the atmosphere of freedom and equality, good fellowship and comfort is a refreshing contrast to the conditions in Bahrein. The men show real independence and self-respect. These divers can change their employers if the treatment they receive is not satisfactory. They can move to another city to live. In a word, they are free men. Yet the system under which they work is no different from that obtaining in Bahrein. It is the divers who are different. They are Bedouins or descended from Bedouins. They keep out of debt and as a result the system works very well.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrein M2.2



### *Company Policies and Activities*

471 In accordance with the conditions of the concession, laid
464 down by the British Colonial Office, Bapco employed a considerable number of Bahreinis in its undertakings, almost exclusively in the lower grades. The total number of employees in 1948 was 6,078, and of these 4,650 were local employees.
[161] While this was only 4.23 per cent of the total population, then estimated at about 110,000,[18] it was 76.5 per cent of the total employed by the company. The staff was increased in 1951 to 7,749, and of this number 4,937 were Bahrein nationals.[19] This drop in the percentage of native employees, from 76.5 to 64, was not the result of Company policy but was due to the greater demand for workers in the expanded oil-producing areas of the Gulf—Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Qatar. Many Bahreinis, finding the wages offered in other areas more attractive, left their home islands, which made it necessary for Bapco to employ more foreigners such as Indians, Pakistanis, Persians and others. This created a peculiar phenomenon: educated and semi-educated Bahreinis sought work abroad, while destitute foreigners flocked to the islands.

471 In addition to direct payments in revenue and indirect pay-
466 ments in terms of wages and purchases of local materials for the operation of the concession, the Company contributed directly to many social and economic projects aimed at bettering the general conditions; these included housing, electric lighting, water supply, and sanitary facilities. It operated a hospital and clinics, and also subsidized the American Mission Hospital. In the field of education it assisted the Government's technical school for native boys; upon graduation students from that school were employed by the Company, which provided further mechanical training.[20] It also cooperated in many agricultural and irrigation projects.[21]

471 However, the impact of the oil industry on the people of
651 Bahrein came primarily from the utilization of the revenue from the oil. The oil payments were divided into three parts:

[18] Max Steineke and M. P. Yackel estimated the population at about 125,000, "Saudi Arabia and Bahrein," in *World Geography* (Princeton, 1950), 226.
[19] U.N., *Review 1949-50*, 60;—*Summary 1952-53*, 58.
[20] The Bapco training program is described by its vice-president, Russel M. Brown, "Schooling in Skills," *Oil Lifestream of Progress*, IV, 6-8, Oct., 1954.
[21] U. S. Senate, *American Petroleum Interests in Foreign Countries*, 288-289.

505 ment with launch or dhow owners, but it should be remembered that some of them are private property. Umm as-Sabaan is the private 423 property of Mr. Max W. Thornberg, Jidda being a penal settlement, 486 is forbidden ground, and Umm an-Nasaan may only be visited with permission of H.H. The Ruler. The others, the small islands south of Muharraq, Nebih Salih, Jezira and the Howar islands are free to all visitors and a visit to them makes a change from drives around the islands.

489 Transport in Bahrain includes both bus and taxi, the former are not 493 the luxurious affairs seen in Europe and England but have wooden bodies built in Bahrain and attached to an imported chassis. Taxis, however, are not too expensive if care is taken to pay the correct fare which is recorded in a fare book that should be carried by every driver. It is rumoured that taxis will soon carry meters, which will certainly simplify matters, but till that happy day passengers who have complaints to make about being over-charged should make them to the Traffic Department of the State Police.

435 Petrol and oil are cheap in Bahrain, which is not surprising, and the import tax on cars and motor cycles is only 10%, so that to own and run 493 a private car is cheaper than in England or the States, as many fortunate 651 people have discovered. Most makes of cars are obtainable in Bahrain, garage facilities have increased and the improvement in the roads has enabled English cars to be used with comfort.

492 The old-fashioned form of transport in Bahrain was the donkey. 489 It was used for every task, for bringing the produce of the country for sale in the town, for pulling carts and for riding. The white Bahrain donkeys used to be well known all over the Middle East and they were exported from Bahrain to places as far distant as the East African coast. Today buses are replacing donkeys, there are bus services between most of the villages, though many of the young men prefer to use bicycles. Lorries too have successfully competed with donkeys and now carry most of the goods between the towns and villages, but in the gardens and in the narrow country lanes one still meets many donkeys though few of the fine white beasts for which the islands were famous long ago. However, the donkey will never entirely die out, for he has certain advantages over other methods of transport, he can reproduce young donkeys, he can find his own way along small and narrow tracks in the gardens and he produces manure, which is a valuable commodity in Bahrain.

## CHAPTER V

## BAHRAIN'S OIL INDUSTRY

315 THE man who was chiefly responsible for the discovery of Bahrain's ● 471 oil resources was an Australian, Major Frank Holmes, who came to Bahrain on behalf of the Eastern and General Syndicate, a British prospecting company. Major Holmes, after drilling a number of artesian wells and thus discovering something about the composition

315 of the ground below the surface of Bahrain, believed that oil was present
471 in the islands in commercial quantities and so obtained from the Ruler, on December 2nd, 1925, a prospecting concession which was to run for two years. During this period Holmes tried to interest British oil companies in the petroleum possibilities of Bahrain, but their experts declared that there was no oil in Bahrain and that it would be a poor gamble to start operations in that country. Finally Major Holmes went to the States and on November 30th, 1927, an American corporation, the Eastern Gulf Company, acquired a two years option. After negotiations which involved the Foreign Office and the State Department, for Bahrain was a protected State, and after discussions between various important oil interests, the Eastern Gulf Company assigned its option over the Bahrain concession to the Standard Oil Company of California. On August 1st, 1930 the concession was assigned by Standard Oil to its fully owned subsidiary, the Bahrain Petroleum Company Ltd. (BAPCO), which was registered in Canada in order to give it the status of a British company. Such are the politics of oil that it had taken five years for an oil company to be formed to develop Bahrain's oil, and had it not been for the enterprise of an American company, which took up the concession after it had been refused by the British, the oil of Bahrain might never have been exploited.

315 Directly the concession was signed, surveying and drilling operations were commenced and in 1932 the first well "came in." This
382 well can be seen immediately south of Awali and is still producing. By 1935 there were sixteen producing wells and six more drilling. It was then decided that the crude oil should be processed in Bahrain, and in the following year the first small distillation unit was erected and put into operation. A year later the capacity of the refinery was expanded to 25,000 barrels a day. The refinery was continually enlarged and improved so that finally it was able to process more crude than was forthcoming from the Bahrain field. A 12" pipeline was therefore laid from the Dammam field on the coast of Saudi Arabia to the refinery, a distance of 34 miles, of which 17 were under the sea, making it the longest private pipeline of its kind in the world. Having expanded the refinery it became necessary to improve the shipping facilities to speed the export of oil products so a three mile jetty was constructed from Sitra Island to the deep water, at the head of which a four berth pier was built to add to the existing two-berth island loading wharf. Rows of pipes carry crude oil and refined products to the waiting ships while huge freight trailers carry drums for bulk package loading. Each month 70-80 ocean vessels are alongside the wharves removing some 4½ million barrels of bulk exports and 60,000 drums of refined products and asphalt. The drums are made in the Sitra drum plant, manned entirely by Bahrainis.

At present the activities of the company are carried out in four parts of Bahrain, at Awali, at the Jebal, at the Refinery and on Sitra Island.

464 Europeans. For the latter the company provides many amenities.
382 In the town of Awali there is a cinema, a club and other recreational
511 facilities. There is a Commissary for the supply of foods and goods
466 unobtainable elsewhere in Bahrain; a school for American and European children with qualified teachers and hospitals for the various nationalities employed by BAPCO. A cinema, swimming bath and mosque are also being constructed in the Arab Camp, and a swimming bath and cinema in the Indian and Pakistani camp at Rifaa. The company also maintains dispensaries in some of the villages and has built three schools for the Bahrain Government. There is cordial co-operation between the Bahrain Government and BAPCO in all fields of social service and although it may seem strange that an oil company should be encouraged to occupy itself with so many activities not directly connected with the production of oil, yet it is now recognised in the Middle East that it is an obligation of oil companies not only to work for their shareholders but also for the benefit of the people of the country from which they derive their profits.

471 In 1940 a Supplementary Agreement was signed between the Ruler
382 and the Bahrain Petroleum Company in which the latter received an extension to its concession including all lands, shoals, reefs, waters and submerged lands of "the present and future domains" of the Ruler of Bahrain.

315 It is a comparatively rare thing for people visiting Bahrain to see the actual oil which has made the Islands famous, gone are the days when to "strike oil" meant that a huge gusher of oil would leap skywards covering everything about it with what is termed, in the hackneyed phrase of the journalist, "black gold." Today the drilling of a well is normally a tidy process ; when oil is struck the drillers have complete control over its flow and quickly cap the well with a "Christmas Tree," the nickname for the mass of taps and valves which are placed over the well head. From the well the oil is piped to the Refinery and then to the storage tanks at Sitra. But in every part of its processing little is seen of the oil except by the workers in the laboratories.

433 The oil industry today is the most important factor in Bahrain's economy and is recognised as such by the Government and the people of the country.

## CHAPTER VI

## JEWELS OF THE DEEP

228 Pearl diving is probably the oldest industry in Bahrain and has been the reason why an otherwise small and comparatively unproductive group of islands has been the scene of so many bitter wars and has been over-run by so many invading armies. From earliest times Bahrain has been famous for its pearls : in an Assyrian inscription of some 2000 B.C. a parcel of "fish eyes" from Dilmun is believed to be

471 228 The financing of a pearl boat is a complicated affair. Formerly most boats were owned by their captains, but today the majority of the larger boats belong to land merchants. In cases where boats belong to captains but are financed by land merchants, the latter make a profit of about 10%, but in cases where the merchants both own and provision the boats they receive 20% of the profits. After deducting costs, the remainder of the profit is shared in fixed proportions, the nakhuda receiving five parts, the diver two and the Saib one.

437 228 When the nakhuda sells the catch he must always be accompanied by two members of the crew, to see fair play. Sales are carried out in an unusual way. If the nakhuda and the purchaser or broker do not want the audience to know the amounts offered for the pearls, and as the sales take place in the quarter of the pearl brokers there are always interested bystanders, they spread a cloth over their hands and bargain by a sort of deaf and dumb language. Once they have agreed on the price the nakhuda must obtain the consent of the two witnesses before the sale is considered valid. The value of the pearls is established in 804 a special way. In the case of ordinary pearls, they are collected in 435 great numbers, sorted for size by a set of graded sieves, and each group is weighed and counted and their value in "chows," a form of measure- 228 ment derived from the weight of the pearls, is discovered from a book printed for the purpose. Once a pearl or pearls have been assessed at so many chows, the question of the value per chow is settled by bargaining, the price per chow depending on the average shape, texture and colour in the case of bunches of pearls or in single pearls. In the case of pairs of pearls their value depends greatly on how well they are matched. Seed pearls, the smallest form of pearls, are sold entirely by weight, while a single pearl has been known to sell for as much as £15,000, as in the case of the Bahrain pearl which was eventually bought by a well known American lady.

228 433 It is very difficult to estimate the value of the Bahrain catch in past years, the figure for 1833 was estimated at £240,000, £400,000 in 1835 and £303,941 in 1896. In more recent years the Bahrain Government has given official figures which outline the history of the industry during the past quarter of a century. In 1833 it was also said that there were 1,500 boats leaving Bahrain annually for the pearl banks, and in 1896, 900. The largest number of Bahrain pearling boats has been given as 2,000 but this figure is probably an exaggeration. That the industry has declined is proved by the figures, in 1930, 509 boats manned by 19,300 men found pearls worth Rs. 2,125,000, while in 1948 there were only 83 boats with a crew of 2,000 and finding a catch worth Rs. 855,000. Although the numbers of boats and divers decreased by about 6 times and 9 times respectively it is noticeable that the catch only decreased in value by 2½ times and in 1950 the catch was worth Rs. 1,650,000, more than half of the 1930 figure.

228 178 433 The reason for the decline in the industry, which started in 1930, was the severe trade depression which began in that year and which reduced the wealth of those in Europe who were in the habit of buying

## REVIEW OF 1372

000 The two most important events during the year were the conclusion of a new oil agreement between the Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company and His Highness Shaikh Sulman's first visit to Europe to attend the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth.

471 651 439 The new oil agreement was on a 50—50 basis on the same lines as other agreements which have recently been made between governments and oil companies in the Middle East, it also provided for a payment to the State on oil imported into Bahrain for refining. As a result of this agreement the total revenue for the year under review was 373½ lakhs of rupees, approximately £2,800,000, though the new scale of payments was not in operation throughout the whole of 1372.

652 652 Expenditure was higher than in 1371. Excluding the one third of the oil revenue, which is paid to the Privy Purse, 48 per cent. of the State's expenditure was on social and public services; Education, Public Health, Public Protection and grants to Municipalities absorbed 18½ per cent., 15-3/8 per cent., 10-4/5 per cent., and 3 per cent. respectively, including capital expenditure on new schools, dispensaries and police quarters. The demand for more schools and hospitals is continuous and insistent but few Bahrain people realise the heavy recurrent cost of medical and education services which can be maintained on the present scale only as long as the present revenue continues.

651 511 342 471 Trade flourished and the revenue from customs was higher than in the previous year; during recent years customs collections have risen annually. Local prosperity was apparent from what might be described as a building boom. Many new houses and shops were built in the towns and suburbs by private enterprise. The type of house varied from European style bungalows and blocks of flats, built by merchants and shaikhs for letting, to small stone houses which are gradually replacing barastis, palm branch huts. Several serious fires in barasti areas, which destroyed many dwellings, gave an impetus to building. Working men who owned pieces of ground built small houses and the Government received hundreds of applications from people who wished to buy building plots. Unfortunately the Government owns very little land in and around the towns, much of it having been given away or sold cheaply many years ago.

511 167 161 The standard of living in Bahrain is very much higher than it was a few years ago and the health of the people is noticeably better than it used to be. For these reasons and owing to a steady influx of foreigners, mostly from Oman and the Trucial Coast, who come to Bahrain to work, it is believed that there has been a substantial increase in the population which at the time of the last census, in 1950, was found to be 110,000.

578 The state of public security was good in spite of the presence of large a number of foreigners who are not as naturally law abiding as the people of Bahrain. There were no political or labour disturbances.

648 439 Relations with Quatar deteriorated owing to incidents connected with the visit of a party of Bahrain schoolboys and school teachers to Zubara during the Spring holiday. The commercial development of Qatar tended to reduce Bahrain's transit trade and deprived some of the Bahrain merchants of agencies which used to include both Bahrain and Qatar. Relations with Saudi Arabia and Iraq were friendly, a deputation headed by Shaikh Isa bin Sulman, His Highness's eldest son, represented Bahrain at the coronation of King Faisal in Baghdad.

## HIDD MUNICIPALITY

651 633 **Finance.** The total revenue was Rs. 28,739, slightly higher than in 1372. At the end of the year there was a surplus of Rs. 6,102. The amount expended was almost the same as in the previous year. At the end of the year His Highness granted Rs. 25,000 to the Municipal funds for building property to increase the Municipal revenue.

The town was clean and well kept and some progress was made in widening the one main street which passes through the length of the town.

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## RAFAA MUNICIPALITY

**which includes East, West and North Rafaa**

(From the report of Shaikh Abdulla bin Khalid, President of the Municipal Council)

651 633 363 This Municipality, the last one to be formed in Bahrain, having been established in 1371, carried out its duties successfully during the year. Its revenue was Rs. 37,000 of which Rs. 20,000 was a grant from the Government.

Houses were registered and numbered for the purpose of charging house tax and a piece of land below East Rafaa was laid out as a building area, in conjunction with the Land Department. The Municipality began work on widening the road which passes through East Rafaa and removed part of some houses in order to widen this road.

365 Repairs were carried out to Ain Hinainiyah, the old well on the plain below East Rafaa which provides fresh drinking water, which used to be sold in Manama at a high price, being of superior quality to the artesian well water.

364 Ancient rubbish heaps, which disfigured the edge of the town, were removed and the material was used to fill in deep pits, inside the town, where mud had been dug for building houses.

The Municipality began to establish a regular town cleaning service.

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## MINORS' ESTATES DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Mr. Mohammed Dowaiger, Superintendent of the Department)

471 657 The Department took over the administration of 19 new estates and dealt with 28 compensation cases relating to persons in the employment of the Bahrain Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The value of the estates was Rs. 131,000. Compensation paid by the Bahrain Petroleum Company in cases of death or disablement of employees is passed by the Government to the Minors' Estates Department which pays the persons who are entitled to receive compensation.

657 427 Rents of property administered by the Department produced almost 2 lakhs, the number of properties, including shops, houses, gardens, etc., was 530. The Department sold nine lots of property during the year, for approximately half a lakh and made purchases amounting to Rs. 9,000. The sum of Rs [illegible]000 was recovered from divers who were in debt to various estates.

262 439 Over the past three years the Government has subsidised the price of meat and dates to the extent of approximately £70,000/-, sugar costing from £6 to £7 10s. has been sold to importers of livestock and dates at £3 15s. per bag.

656 That this policy has been wise is shown in the figures of imports of livestock during Ramadhan and Shawal 1372, as under :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Ramadhan* 1372 : | Cattle .. .. | 1019 | head |
| | Sheep and Goats .. | 13327 | ,, |
| *Shawal*, 1372 | Cattle .. .. | 526 | ,, |
| | Sheep and Goats .. | 10914 | ,, |

The retail prices to the public of beef, mutton, and goat meat in Bahrain are very much cheaper, by half at least, than in the neighbouring countries of Saudi Arabia and Kuweit.

Fish supplies were more plentiful than in the previous year, with prices again well below neighbouring states :

Imports of consumer goods increased during the year, and there are signs of over-stocking of certain commodities, particularly piece goods, flour, tea and motor cars.

During the year it was noticed there was a downward trend in the price of certain commodities such as timber, iron bars, windows, joists and muraba wood.

Large supplies of fresh fruits arrived in Bahrain from Lebanon. Persia, Australia, America and India, during the year with prices considerably lower than in the previous year.

Although the Government ended rationing during the year, it still maintains a price control on such essential commodities as meat, fish, rice, sugar, flour, wheat, tea and coffee.

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## STATE ENGINEER'S DEPARTMENT

(Report by Mr. D. Brammer, Assoc.I.E.E., M.A.S.E.E., State Engineer)

### The Electricity Undertaking

377 655 ●471 **The Power Station.** A new 750 K.W. Generating Set was completed and put into commission on 10th Ramadhan, increasing the total installed capacity of the station to 3,750 K.W.

Units generated amounted to 10,58,560, an increase of 28 per cent. on the previous year and the electricity supply to the public was maintained without any major interruption.

A notable achievement was the reduction in transmission losses from 13.25 per cent. to 6.26 per cent., a saving of some 360,000 units.

**Mains Department.** The four skilled linesmen who were recruited in India last year were discharged in Dhul Haj, 1372. Their work had become most unsatisfactory. The work of renewal and maintenance proceeded satisfactorily but the rate of connection of new consumers is still far too low and further efforts are now being made to recruit skilled staff in order to speed up this work.

A new underground H.T. cable was laid from the Power Station to "C" Sub-station and the H.T. overhead line between Muharraq Town and the Royal Air Force Station was re-erected and its capacity doubled.

[365] The H.T. underground cable around Muharraq Town was completed giving an extra supply of 320 k.w. to districts which had never before had an electricity supply, and some two miles of L.T. distribution were erected in the town, together with street lights.

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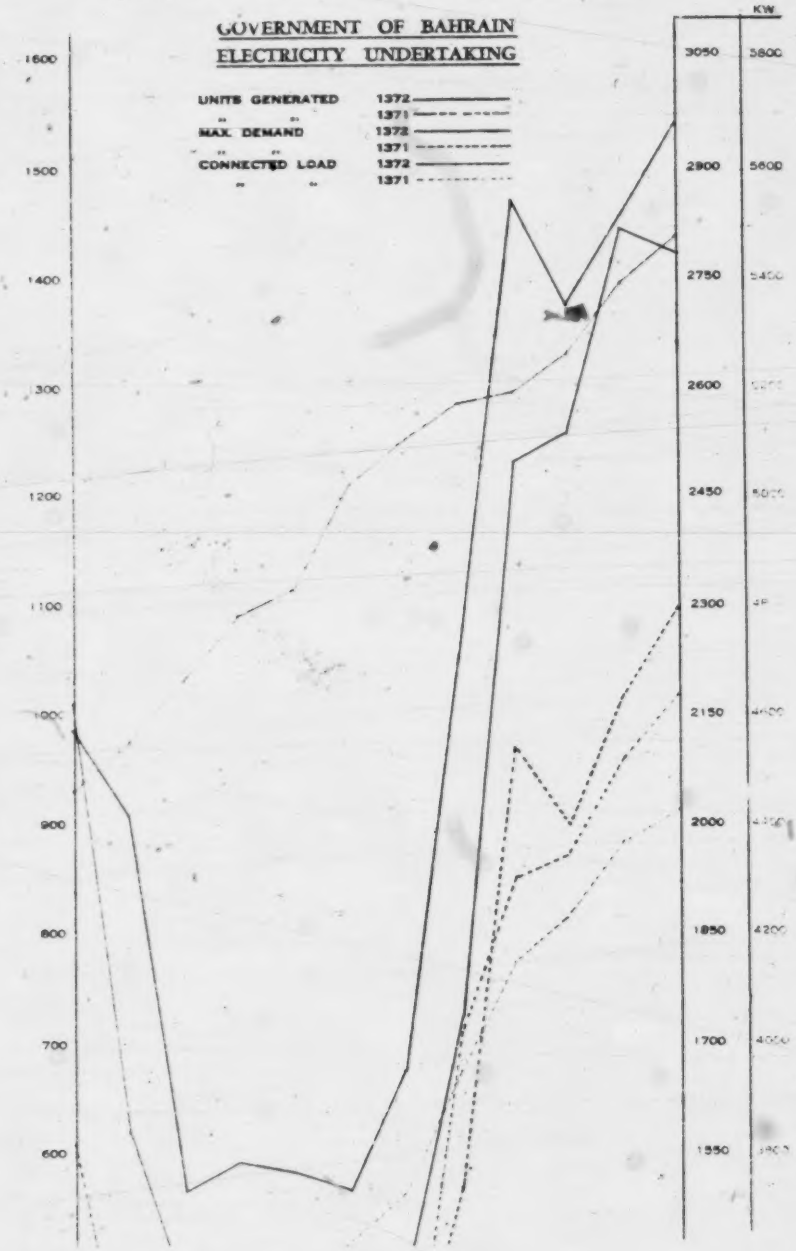


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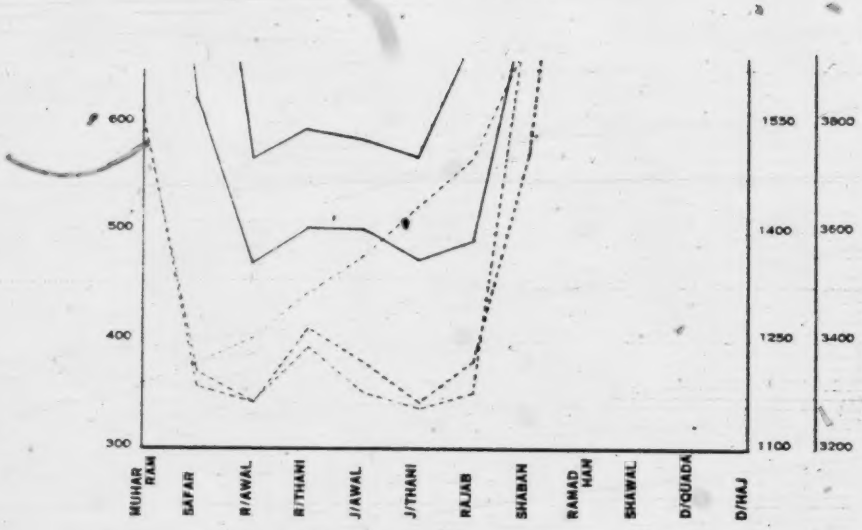


[facing page 62 Bottom]

## GENERAL

648 **Distinguished Visitors.** Among the many notable persons who visited Bahrain during the year were H.R.H. The Duchess of Kent and H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, who were on their way to the Far East. H.H. Shaikh Abdulla As Salim, Ruler of Kuwait paid his usual visit to the country; H.E. Ghulam Mohammed, Governor General of Pakistan, stayed for a night on his way to Saudi Arabia. Other visitors were H.E. Dr. Mohammed Fadhel Al Jamali, Prime Minister of Iraq; Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck; His Eminence Jirgis Daoud Kandila, Metropolitan of the Syrian Catholic Church; a group of British Members of Parliament; numerous rulers of the Shaikhdoms of the Trucial Coast; foreign diplomats; journalists of many nationalities and senior British and American Army, Navy and Air Force Officers.

**Coronation of King Faisal.** H.E. Shaikh Isa, the eldestson of His Highness, represented his father at the coronation in Baghdad in June of H.M. King Faisal II. He was accompanied by several of his relations. The Bahrain delegation travelled to and from Baghdad by air.

655 **Postage Stamps.** A Bahrain 1¼ Anna stamp, for internal postage, bearing a portrait of His Highness Shaikh Sulman, was brought into circulation during the year. Some progress was made in the process of the Government gradually taking over the administration of the postal services.

000 **"Caltex Bahrain."** The new oil tanker, *Caltex Bahrain*, was launched in December, in England. The launching ceremony was performed by Lady Belgrave.

471 274 **Pepsi Cola Factory.** Mr. Husain Ahmedi, a local merchant, built a factory on the south-west of Manama for making Pepsi Cola. This is the first enterprise of this type which has been undertaken in Bahrain.

423 656 **Stamped Paper and Title Deeds.** The Government adopted a new design of stamped paper, which is used for agreements, receipts, powers of attorney, etc. New forms were also introduced for title deeds.

797 **Anglican Church.** The building of an Anglican Church was completed on a site east of the Fort which was presented to the Anglican Community by His Highness Shaikh Sulman.

000 **Agriculture.** No report on agriculture has been included this year as Mr. J. Edmond, the Agricultural Officer, completed his period of contract with the Government and proceeded on leave, pending retirement, on 15th September, 1952.

Mr. Van Ollenbach was appointed Agricultural Officer and began his duties on 5th January, 1953.

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## HIS HIGHNESS SHAIKH SULMAN'S VISIT TO ENGLAND

648 His Highness Shaikh Sulman left Bahrain, by air, on 13th May and arrived back in his country on June 26th. His party consisted of his youngest son, Shaikh Mohammed bin Sulman, Sir Charles and Lady Belgrave, Mr. Husain Yateem and two secretaries.

He travelled by air to Beirut where he stayed for one night; by sea, in S.S. *Esperia*, to Venice where he stayed for three days; by train to Montreux, on the Lake of Geneva, where he spent four days, and on by train to Paris where he stayed for two nights. He reached London on May 28th.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Ruler's house at Sakhir with the exchange by means of a line from Manamah through the Bahrain Petroleum Company's exchange. Telephonic communication now exists over a great part of the islands; from the aerodrome in Muharraq it is possible to talk to steamers lying off Sitra, as a submarine cable was laid by the Bahrain Petroleum Company to the Sitra anchorage, or to distant points on the oil field far down at the south end of the island.

At the end of 1355 (1936-37) there were 40 telephone subscribers, and it is expected that during the next year this number will increase to 60. The trunk line to the Bahrain Petroleum Company's Camp was duplicated in order to deal with the increased traffic. The possibility of installing an automatic switchboard (100 lines) is now under consideration. The advantages would be the elimination of operators and the language difficulties and the prevention of listening-in.

SUMMARY OF SEVEN YEARS' WORKING

| *Year.* | *Units Generated.* | *Units Sold.* | *Revenue Rs* | *Connected Load in Kw.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1349 (1930-31) ... | 88,080 ... | 47,340 ... | 20,750/- ... | 102 |
| 1350 (1931-32) ... | 111,367 ... | 65,813 ... | 22,486/- ... | 46 |
| 1351 (1932-33) ... | 120,629 ... | 79,550 ... | 27,463/- ... | 23 |
| 1352 (1933-34) ... | 134,744 ... | 83,241 ... | 30,987/- ... | 9 |
| 1353 (1934-35) ... | 147,050 ... | 100,449 ... | 36,797/- ... | 16 |
| 1354 (1935-36) ... | 163,751 ... | 116,440 ... | 43,828/- ... | 27 |
| 1355 (1936-37) ... | 232,320 ... | 151,255 ... | 60,108/- ... | 58 |

The revenue figures are shown to the nearest rupee.

## AGRICULTURE

Until a few years ago agriculture in Bahrain consisted of cultivating dates and lucerne fairly extensively and growing citrus fruit and a few poor vegetables such as onions, tomatoes, radishes, and melons. In 1930 the Government attempted to encourage agriculture by employing an agricultural expert from Iraq, but owing to lack of funds his services were dispensed with before he could make much progress.

The encouragement of agriculture presents many difficulties. Bahrain Arabs regard all agricultural work as derogatory; I have never met one who worked in a garden or a date grove. All the cultivators are Shia aboriginals or Hasawis imported from the mainland as labourers. This feeling against working on the land, and also the question of land tenure have, I believe, restricted the increase of agriculture during the last century. There is ample evidence to show that in the past a great deal more land was cultivated than is to-day. The people who do work on the land are intensely conservative and view all methods except their own with dislike and suspicion.

**Land Tenure.** Most of the open cultivatable land, which is along the coast, is claimed by the Ruling Family, who make no use of it themselves, but prevent the Bahama from extending their existing gardens. In the past, Shaikh Sir Isa was in the habit of issuing papers to various of his relations, gifting to them whole districts of Bahrain. These 'hiba' documents, which were often written on scraps of paper, included large areas described as 'sehar,' containing roads, villages, springs, privately owned property as well as open land. The Shaikhs who acquired 'hibas' enjoyed feudal rights over the territories which were mentioned in their documents, and in the past they were allowed to make what they could out of them by independent taxation of the people living in the villages, by employing forced labour and by using open land as grazing grounds for the animals which they used to own before the days of motor cars. When the 'hiba' system began, long before the introduction of artesian wells, the possibility of increased cultivation was not visualised, but now the holders of 'hibas'

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

have interpreted them as giving actual and exclusive ownership of all land which is not privately owned which is really State land. As a result of this condition, nearly all the land from Manamah to beyond Zellaq, along the coast, is claimed by various members of the Ruling Family.

**Date Cultivation.** Dates are the most important crop in Bahrain; though not as good as the Hassa dates, they are said to be more lasting. Most gardens contain a large proportion of inferior species which are used only for feeding animals. Few gardens are well kept. More than half of the gardens belong to the Khalifah, who for years have spent no money on improving them, but in spite of this they complain incessantly that the rents have fallen off, which is owing to the decrease in the market price of dates by over 60%, and the deterioration of the gardens from lack of care and expenditure on improvements. Dates form part of the staple diet in Bahrain and are much used for provisioning the pearl fleet, but the home-grown crop is not enough to meet the local demand, and every year about six lacs' worth of dates are imported from Hassa and Iraq. There is no land tax and no tax on date trees in Bahrain, so it is impossible to give an estimate of the number of date palms, but the whole area under cultivation is very small, perhaps one-fiftieth of the total area of the islands. Recently the number of date gardens has been slightly increased, as a few people, notably the Ruler himself, have sunk artesian wells and planted land with trees. The date crop could undoubtedly be improved if more care was taken over the cultivation. In Bahrain, date cultivation is a casual affair, trees are never manured, and there is no regular system of planting. In one of the Ruler's gardens the experiment was made some years ago of manuring the roots of the trees, and the result of this was that the trees produced better crops than those which had not been manured. The use of any form of fertiliser, either decayed leaves and camel thorn or animal manure, was unknown a few years ago, but it is now being used in gardens, but not for date trees.

**Lucerne.** Lucerne is used extensively as fodder for cows and donkeys. It grows rapidly and is easily cultivated on poor soil. Both Hassa and Bahrain seeds are used, the latter being more expensive, and when once established it will grow for as long as ten years and will give a crop every month. It is very hardy in growth, but is liable to attacks by a kind of small caterpillar which appears once or twice every year and destroys all the lucerne in whole districts of the country. Experiments have been made by the camel section of the police in drying lucerne and using it as dry fodder when out on patrol; this has been found very successful.

**Cereals.** At one time it was the custom of the people of Rafaa to sow barley before the rainy season on the plain below the town, and for many years successful crops were harvested, but the crop occasionally failed owing to lack of rain. For some years now this practice has ceased, partly because the people of Rafaa are more prosperous than before, as almost all the able-bodied men of the town have obtained employment with the Bahrain Petroleum Company.

An experiment was made in growing California barley by the Government some years ago on irrigated land, and this was found to be a success.

Last year, millet was raised in the Fort garden. It sprang from the camel manure which was used in the soil. It grew sufficiently well to show that there were possibilities of its being grown on a large scale. Maize or Indian corn has also been grown in small quantities.

Three years ago a crop of rice was grown by Khan Bahadur Abdul Aziz Gozaibi, who is a large landowner and interested in agriculture. The rice was grown in rich, well-watered land near Sehlah; the seed was from Hassa, where it is cultivated extensively, and the crop yielded a small profit.

A little maize or Indian corn is grown in some gardens, and finds a ready sale in the bazaar; the quality is poor, probably because no care is taken to procure good seed.

**Cotton.** In the time of the Caliphs, cotton from Bahrain used to be sent to Baghdad, but it is not certain that this cotton was grown in the islands, as at that time much of the mainland was also known as Bahrain. In 1930 an experiment was made in growing

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

are chairs, tables, window curtains, often framed pictures and photographs, and usually a gramophone; in the houses of the wealthier people there is often a wireless set. Coffee shops reflect the change in ways of living. They are important institutions in Bahrain and take the place of clubs or cafes in Europe. Each has its regular clientele, but the popularity of individual coffee shops varies according to fashion. Ten years ago, coffee shops were usually small shops inside the bazaar, furnished with a few rough benches, where little else than coffee could be obtained. To-day, most of the coffee shops are elaborately decorated and illuminated, provided with little tables and chairs, and a gramophone or a wireless set which plays loudly and incessantly, relaying Arabic programmes to the customers. Some of the coffee shops are divided into two parts: in one part only coffee and drinks are served, and in the other part regular meals can be obtained, including Indian and Persian dishes, bread, cakes, and ices in the summer. Most of the proprietors are foreigners—Indians, Persians, and Iraqi, who are more enterprising in these matters than the local people. The bigger coffee shops are now referred to by the public as 'otels.'

**Games.** The popularity of games is another recent development during the last ten years. Before this, nobody played games except the men of the Levy Corps, who were made to do so, which was regarded as a peculiarity of the Commanding Officer. To-day, there are half-a-dozen local football teams and several hockey teams, who play against each other or against teams of sailors or Europeans from the Bahrain Petroleum Company. They play well, and are very keen, and every match attracts a large and interested audience from the town. Many of the parents of the young men who play disapprove of hockey and football, which they consider dangerous and unnecessary, chiefly because they did not play themselves when they were young. There is an entire lack of class distinction in these games: the sons of shaikhs play side-by-side with policemen, clerks, and taxi drivers. Although games have improved the physique of those who play them, the use of motor cars instead of horses or donkeys has caused a great many people to become soft and flabby. Sons of wealthy fathers, especially the young members of the Ruling Family, have entirely left off taking any exercise. They use a car to go a few yards; they never walk, and the only occasion on which they ride a horse is during marriage celebration or on public holidays, such as the annual accession celebrations.

**Class Changes.** The depression in the pearl trade and the recent improvement in the bazaars has caused an upheaval in financial positions, and with it a certain change in the political importance of classes. This change is gradually, though unwillingly, being appreciated by the Ruling Family. In the days when the pearl trade was flourishing, pearl merchants and nakhudas were the monied classes, and their money gave them great power, which they did not scruple to use for their own benefit. To-day, the men who used to be worth lacs of rupees are, in many cases, almost bankrupt, and petty traders, shop-keepers, and men who happen to own property in Manamah, are becoming the monied class. The old powerful pearl merchants were, in many cases, self-made men who started life as divers, but their wealth made them important and, though most of them could neither read or write, they were the people who mattered in Bahrain. Many of these men have lost all their influence because their money has gone. The class which is now becoming prosperous is more progressive, more mixed, and better educated, but as a community it does not hang together because, unlike the case of the pearl industry, its prosperity does not depend upon one trade alone. One of the serious disadvantages of the change is that the pearl industry provided work, during part of the year, for many thousands of men, but the people who are now making money provide little employment for the people. At present, about five thousand divers are working in the oil field. They are making a great deal more money than they would normally make from diving and, besides earning money, they are paying back their debts to the nakhudas by regular monthly instalments, so both parties are satisfied; but this employment is not permanent and, when present construction work at the oil field is finished, there will be a sudden increase in unemployment which will have to be dealt with by the Government.

**The Ruling Family.** The life and outlook of the members of the Ruling Family, with a few notable exceptions, has changed less than that of any other community. Although there is a great difference between the outlook of the older men and those who have grown up during the last ten years, the attitude of the family as a whole is

still that of feudal chiefs, though the feudal feeling no longer exists among the people of Bahrain. They consider it their right that they should be well provided for financially by the State, and they resent any suggestion that they should add to their incomes by doing work. They are still the biggest landowners in Bahrain, but by draining their property dry, and not spending any money on improvements, their property has deteriorated in value. They regard any real work as degrading, and only accept posts on courts or councils for the sake of obtaining more money, not because it is incumbent on them, as members of the Ruling Family, to occupy public positions. Their attitude in this respect is a contrast to that of the merchant class in Bahrain, who are unusually public minded and who freely give up much of their time to sit on courts and committees and councils.

**The Women.**

Among the women, too, there have been changes, but they are more gradual than among the men. Every step towards emancipation is firmly resisted by the older female members of the households, but in spite of this there is a definite feeling among the younger women that they should have more freedom. Their ambition, at present, is not to take any part in public matters, but to be able to go out more frequently. They are becoming restive of the restrictions of the purdah system. Some are now educated, and a few have travelled abroad in Syria, Persia, India, and Iraq, and there they have seen the changes which are taking place in the life of the women of those countries. Many who have never been out of Bahrain read newspapers and listen to news on wireless sets, and frequently meet Indian and Syrian women in Bahrain. All this causes them to feel unsettled.

One of the notable recent changes is that nowadays a great many young men only marry one wife, not because they cannot afford to support more wives, but because they prefer monogamy. The younger men are no longer ashamed of mentioning their wives and talking about their families, and many of them take their wives out with them in cars. A few years ago, if a man was seen with a woman in his car, one could be quite sure that she was not his wife. The modern young men look for wives who are educated, and frequently marry Persian or Iraqi girls because they received better education. One of the effects of education among the women in Bahrain is that they learn to keep their houses clean and they appreciate the value of hygiene, which is taught at school. Education also makes them willing to employ qualified doctors, especially at childbirth, when, in the past, they would have been treated by local Arab untrained midwives who are dirty and dangerous, and whose use of the notorious salt method is undoubtedly responsible for an enormous number of casualties among children and pregnant women.

Changes are taking place all over the Gulf, but of the Arab States, Bahrain is changing most rapidly. The most conspicuous visible changes in comparing Bahrain to-day and ten years ago are in the capital, where a person returning to the country would notice the wider streets, better buildings, and a decrease in straw huts, trees, gardens and more vegetation, large shops selling European goods, motor traffic, European dress worn by natives, increasing use of machinery, partly owing to installation of electric power, knowledge of English language, and a far greater interest being taken in outside world affairs.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

439 In 1944 U. S. imports from Bahrein amounted to $30,859, most of which was classified in Group 9 (Miscellaneous) by the Department of Commerce. Of the total imports the New York Customs District received $27,551, or almost 90%. The total of the exports to Bahrein from the United States in the same year was $12,369,647, of which lend-lease materials accounted for $293,786.

The following table shows the principal articles which Bahrein imported from the United States for the year 1944.

Table 7. IMPORTS FROM UNITED STATES—1944

| Item | Value (in U.S. Dollars) |
|---|---|
| Animals and Animal products | 323,846 |
| Vegetables and Vegetable beverages | 320,318 |
| Vegetable products (except Wood and Fibers) | 155,188 |
| Textile fibers and manufactures | 104,808 |
| Non-metallic minerals | 545,221 |
| Metals and manufactures (except Machinery) | 3,823,521 |
| Machinery and Vehicles (Electric pumps, Engines) | 5,434,105 |
| Chemicals and Related products | 1,023,226 |
| Miscellaneous | 188,129 |

## OIL

471 The oil concession on Bahrein Island is held by the Bahrein Petroleum Company, which is Canadian registered but owned by American companies, 50% by Standard Oil of California and 50% by The Texas Company.[1]

315 After a geological survey the company began drilling in 1931 in the Jabal Dukhān region, and oil was discovered in June 1932 at a depth of 2,009 feet.

382 By 1935 there were sixteen producing wells and six more drilling. At that time more than 10,000 acres had been proved oil bearing and potential production was estimated at 20,000

1. For a detailed account of the history of oil development in the Persian Gulf, see History, p. 103.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

August 2, 1928, which developed in detail the matters discussed in the preceding note and affirmed Persian sovereignty over Bahrein. England answered on February 18, 1929, developing the arguments in her first note and reiterating her previous contentions.

Meanwhile, the Bahrein Government instituted visa regulations and established a land registry office. Since the promulgation of the decree of December 21, 1927, all real properties had to be registered, but no one except "a subject of Bahrein" had right to own property in the island.

Obviously this was to deprive Persians of their rights of ownership in Bahrein. Many sold their land and migrated to Persia, and those who stayed behind had to accept Bahrein citizenship.[1]

Also, previously passports had not been required from Persians travelling to Bahrein, and Persia protested against the change. According to the Persian note, the change "was the explicit recognition by the English authorities of the indisputable right of Iran [Persia] over Bahrein."

Publication of the news of oil concessions obtained previously by Major Holmes from the Bahrein Government, provoked on July 23, 1930, another note from Persia, in which she declared the concession invalid and "reserved—the right to reclaim or to demand restitution of all profits resulting eventually from that concession, without prejudice of all damages relating to it." This strong protest did not deter the English syndicate from ceding its rights to the Standard Oil Company of California, which began systematic exploitation.

The concession to prospect and explore for oil in Bahrein had been obtained on December 2, 1925, to Major Frank Holmes, representing Eastern and General Syndicate, a British company headed by Edmond Davis. For two years, the syndicate tried without success, to interest first British, and later American concerns, in the development of the Bahrein concession. Finally, on

1. This decree was still stiffened by the decrees of 1930 and that of May 23, 1941.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

971 November 30, 1927, an American corporation, the Eastern 648 Gulf Company,[1] acquired the option which was scheduled to expire January 1, 1929. Under the terms of the option, Eastern Gulf started preparatory work and made a surface geological map of Bahrein Island.

Gulf, however, which at that time was a member of the American Group[2] of the Turkish Petroleum Company,[3] signed the Group Agreement of July 31, 1928. This Agreement incorporated the restrictive clause of the Foreign Office Agreement of 1914, which prohibited the signatories from acting independently "directly or indirectly in the production or manufacture of crude oil" in an area bounded on the map by a red line.[4] In order to hold on to its interests in Iraq Petroleum, and also because it held an option on a concession for Koweit, Eastern Gulf, with the consent of the Syndicate,[5] on December 28, 1928, assigned its Bahrein option to the Standard Oil Company of California for the sum of $50,000. Under the terms of the option, the syndicate was to secure from the British Colonial Office a one-year renewal of the concession, due to expire December 2, 1928.

In the meantime, after the payment of the rent due in October 1928, the Colonial Office, now aware of the transaction, made the renewal of the lease "contingent upon insertion in the agreement of a clause providing, among other things, that the managing director and a majority of the other directors should be British subjects, that the Concessionaire Company should be

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1. A subsidiary of the Gulf Oil Corporation of Pennsylvania, which was controlled by Andrew Mellon.
2. This group owned 23.75% of Turkish Petroleum. The other four members of the American Group were: Atlantic Refining Company, Pan-American Petroleum and Transport Company, Standard Oil Company of New York (since 1931, Socony Vacuum Oil Company), and Standard Oil of New Jersey.
3. Iraq Petroleum Company since 1929.
4. For this reason, the Group Agreement is commonly referred to as the "Red Line Agreement." The restricted area includes most of the pre-World War I territory of the Ottoman Empire, the islands of Rhodes, Cyprus, Kamaran, and Bahrein, excluding Farsan Island and the Sheikdom of Koweit.
5. After consultation with its partners in Iraq Petroleum.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

British registered, and none of the rights and privileges which the Sheik had granted in the Concession would be controlled directly or indirectly by foreigners."

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These conditions seemed contrary to the Open Door policy and to the equality of commercial opportunity advocated by the United States since the first World War. Secretary of State Kellogg, on March 28, 1929, instructed the American Chargé d'Affaires "to discuss this case informally" with the British Government.

The British, in their answer declared themselves to be "prepared in principle to consent to the participation of United States interests in [the Bahrein] concession, subject to [their] being satisfied as to the conditions on which U. S. capital will participate and in particular as to the nationality of the operating company, of its chairman and directors, and of the personnel who will be employed in the Islands." The note suggested "direct discussions between representatives of the Eastern and General Syndicate, as the existing Concessionaire, and the Colonial Office."

The negotiations which took place in London were successful, and Standard Oil of California nominated its fully-owned subsidiary, the Bahrein Petroleum Company,[1] as the company to which the concession should be transferred. On August 1, 1930, in agreement with the Sheik of Bahrein, formal assignment of the concession to the Bahrein Petroleum Company was concluded.

September 19, 1930, British authorities had arrested a number of important Persian residents in the island who had been accused of inviting the Bahreinis to send a petition to the League of Nations against the projected union of the Arab Principalities of the Persian Gulf, a movement patronized by the British Government. After some disturbances, calm was restored when units of the British fleet started "maneuvers" in plain view of the island.

By now, the Bahrein oil companies had started their exploita-

1. Incorporated in Canada (Ottawa, January 11, 1929).

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648 tion of the island, and in a note to the United States Minister at Teheran dated May 22, 1934, Persia denounced the concession as having been granted by "legally incompetent authorities," thus rendering it null and void. As in the British note, she "reserved all . . . rights . . . to all profits realized by the said concessions", and stated that she regarded the United States liable for all damages sustained by the Persian Government.

The American Department of State was reluctant to recognize Persia's claim over the Bahrein Island. It should be recalled, that the Reservation sponsored by Senator King of Utah, and approved to the Convention for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War, which the Senate passed on June 15, 1934, was strongly opposed by the Administration. This Reservation was to prevent the United States Government undertaking steps which would "deny any right of sovereignty which Persia might have, in, and to, the Persian Gulf." Finally the Senate approved the Convention without the King Reservation.

Soon these exchanges of diplomatic correspondences were terminated by Sir John Simon, the British Foreign Secretary, who in a note addressed on July 23, 1934 to the General Secretary of the League of Nations, declared that his Government "did not intend for the moment to add anything to her former notes." This was a dead end, and the "Bahrein Affair" became another of the forgotten cases of the League.

The Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs prepared yet another note, but for some reason it was not sent.

On December 29, 1934, the Sheik of Bahrein granted the Bahrein Petroleum Company a mining lease to extend for fifty-five years from January 1, 1935. This lease covered approximately 100,000 acres selected by the company in one block on the main island of Bahrein.

The Bahrein Petroleum Company, however, did not have facilities to market its production. The Texas Corporation, on the other hand, had extensive marketing facilities, both direct and through agents, in the areas east of Suez. Therefore, Stan-

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

dard Oil of California and the Texas Company therefore, 471
consolidated their interests "east of Suez", and in July 1936 648
created Caltex (the California-Texas Oil Company, Ltd.), incorporating in the Bahamas. The Texas Company transferred to the Bahrein Petroleum Company, (sole owner of Caltex), its five wholly-owned subsidiaries with marketing facilities in eastern and southern Africa, eastern and southern Asia, the Philippine Islands, the East Indies, Australia, and New Zealand. In turn, the Texas Company acquired a 50% interest in Bahrein which doubled its capitalization, and issued the newly created shares to The Texas Company. Standard Oil of California continued to hold the remaining 50%.

The rivalry between Britain and Italy, and the Italo-Ethiopian 648
War, motivated Great Britain to strengthen her defenses in the Persian Gulf. Since 1930, the Baghdad-Karachi route, which had passed over the Persian mainland, had been detoured southward to pass over Koweit, Bahrein, and Sharjah (in Oman), then follow the coast to the Persian Gulf to Gwadar, in English Baluchistan, and thence to Karachi.

The British Government purchased from the Sheik of Bahrein, the vast promontory on the northeastern point of the island at Manama, in order to transfer their naval base from Henjam and Basidu, to Bahrein. The Bahrein Government agreed to undertake the construction there of the necessary buildings for lodging officers and men, and a military airport was built for the R. A. F., as well as a base for hydro-planes.

The British Naval base at Basra was abandoned, and Bahrein became the strategic center for Britain in the Gulf. It is the seat not only of the Political Resident, but also of the Political Agent for Bahrein, the Assistant Political Agent, the Political Officer for the Trucial Coast, and the Publicity Officer for the Persian Gulf. These officials are to be distinguished from the technical advisers to the Sheik, who, although they are also British subjects, are state servants of Bahrein, and thus not subordinate to the Persian Gulf Residency. Chief among these are: the Political Adviser to the Government of Bahrein, the

Crown, and the King of England wrote to each to thank him for his generous offer. A typical gesture, announced proudly by BBC, was that of the Sheik of Bahrein, who declared that, although he had no men whom he could put in the service of the British, he was able to send a gift of money. This gift, which amounted to £30,000, was added to a pool organized to buy a Spitfire which was to be named *Bahrein.* In addition to the monetary gift, the Government put at the disposal of the British Admiralty "for the duration of the war", the entire pearl fishing fleet of the island, estimated at more than 3,000 units.

Meanwhile, by a Supplementary Agreement dated June 19, 1940, the Bahrein Petroleum Company received an extension of its concession, to include the area covering all lands, shoals, reefs, waters, and submerged lands of "the present and future domains" of the Sheik of Bahrein. The new concession supplants the mining lease of 1934, and the revised agreement with the Bahrein Petroleum Company covers a period of fifty-five years, dating from June 19, 1940. The present area of the concession is given as approximately 1,664,000 acres, with a proved reserve of about 200 million barrels.

The refineries and oil depots of the Bahrein Islands were bombed in October 1940 by three Italian heavy bombers—with "satisfactory results", according to a communiqué of the Italian High Command of October 20, 1940. The planes had taken off from Dodecanese bases, and the 2,500 mile raid was the longest then on record by any of the belligerents.

The results were not, according to Allied sources, as satisfactory as the Italians claimed. The planes which dropped about fifty bombs, caused very little damage to the main part of the refinery.

According to *Middle East Journal,* the Persian Government protested to Italy for this violation of its national territory.

On February 20, 1942, at the age of 70, Sheik Hamed died of a stroke and his eldest son, Salman, the Governor of Manama, succeeded him. British recognition was announced by the

voted unanimouly to place at the head of its agenda, a bill to assert Iranian sovereignty over Bahrein.

The Iranian authorities announced that telegrams and letters for Bahrein would be dispatched at domestic rates, as the Islands are part of Iranian national territory.

To complicate the matter, there was talk of partnership between the English and American oil interests in the Persian Gulf.

The question of participation of Socony Vacuum and Standard Oil of New Jersey in the holdings of Arabian Oil Company, and the building of the Tap Line, were under consideration.

Then there emerged an entirely new problem. On October 2, 1945, President Truman issued a presidential proclimation, that whatever may be under the waters of the Gulf of Mexico to the continental shelf "appertains" to the United States.

His precedent was the exploitation of the guano deposits of the Navassa Island, which since 1804 had legally belonged to Haiti. The United States, however, over the protest of the Haitian government, declared that Navassa "appertained" to the United States.

This was to extend the control by the coastal states over submarine areas beneath the high seas and outside of territorial waters.

The Iranian Government in a draft legislation submitted to the Parliament on May 19, 1949, affirmed the intention to extend Iranian sovereignty to the Continental Shelf in the Persian Gulf.

On May 28, the Saudi Arabian Government also pronounced, although on somewhat different theory, on a concept of contiguity, its claim over the waters of the Persian Gulf. This was followed on June 5, 1949, by a proclamation by the Sheik of Bahrein that the "sea bed and sub-soil of the high seas of the Persian Gulf bordering on the territorial waters of Bahrein and extending seaward," . . . belong to the country of Bahrein, and are subject to absolute authority and jurisdiction."

However, the limit was to be determined "after consultation with the neighboring governments," . . . with the principles of justice, when occasion so requires."

Soon afterwards, the Bahrein action was followed by proclamations of six other Sheikdoms along the Trucial coast, in substance similar to that of Bahrein.

Since then, the extraction of oil and other minerals from the bottom of the sea, has become a relatively easy every day operation.

At present, there are several wells operating in the Gulf of Mexico at distances of ten to forty miles from the American mainland, and at various depths. Therefore, the legal problems created by these proclamations have more than academic interest.

The islands and subsoil of the Persian Gulf have been classified as Zone 8, in the Operational Agenda plans of the Iranian Oil Company, which is a nationally owned company.

On the other hand, the Arabian Oil Co. and the Bahrein Petroleum Co. are exploiting Saudi Arabian and Bahrein oil. It is obvious that the two interests are working in opposite directions.

By the signing of the Anglo-American Oil Agreement, the two Governments are acting jointly, and the partnership of the Anglo-Iranian "oil deal" has united the interests of the two Governments.

However, to the eyes of Persians, Bahrein constitutes a "terra iredenta", and the Persian Government naturally resents any attempt to neglect its claim over Bahrein which it considers an integral part of its national territory.

In the last three years, Persia has proclaimed this attitude three times.

On April 2, 1949, the International Postal Union, in a circular, represented Bahrein among its adherents. Persia protested, and affirmed that it would continue to consider Post Office in Bahrein as an office in the territory of Persia.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



as the 19th century even the British recognized that Iran had some rights in Bahrain. The Iranian government has never relinquished its claims to the islands, a fact which has had a direct bearing on the position of the Persian community.

Under these favorable circumstances, Persians have been able until recently to move in and out of Bahrain without hindrance or restriction. Over the centuries a prosperous community developed, made up mostly of merchants, so that today some of the wealthiest inhabitants of Manamah are Persians. Generally speaking, this community is more enterprising, better educated, and has a higher standard of living than the local inhabitants of the land. But although the Persians grew prosperous and acquired property in houses and some land, their hearts were never in Bahrain — they were across the Gulf in the mother country. Bahrain is regarded by the Persians as an outpost for commercial activity but not for permanent settlement.

The Persians are resented by both the Arab inhabitants and the British. They are resented by the Arabs because they constitute a foreign community which is somewhat aloof from the rest of the population; in part, also, because of envy of their general prosperity and because they are regarded as interlopers who are taking the wealth of the country away. Two other serious objections to them are that they are Shi'is by religion and tend to look toward Iran rather than the Arab world for political association.

As for the British, they resent them for numerous reasons. In almost every way they constitute a threat, minor and insignificant though it may be, to the consolidation of their position in the shaykhdom. This is especially true since Bahrain has become the chief base for British naval, air, and political activity in the Persian Gulf. Specifically, the British resent the Persian community because it has always opposed what it regards as the "Indianization" policies of the British in Bahrain. It has played the double role of an opposition party and a fifth column. The recent difficulties of the British government and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Iran brought the problem of Anglo-Iranian relations to a sharp focus. The situation has constituted a threat to British prestige in the Gulf. In Bahrain Mosaddaq was regarded as a liberator — in the early part of 1953 pictures of him could be seen in many shops in Manamah.

The policies of the government of Bahrain have been detrimental to the position of the Persian community. In 1927 visas for entry to Bahrain became required of Persian subjects. In December of the same year a land registry office was established and a decree passed requiring that all land be registered; it also stipulated that only Bahrain subjects could own real property. With the passage of the decree a good many Persians had only two alternatives: either to acquire Bahrain citizenship, which many of them

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



did, or sell out and return to the mother country. Those who remained are engaged either in trade or employed by the oil company or some other business establishment. In the last few years the government has been refusing to grant citizenship to Persian residents even though they may legally qualify.[12]

The Indians, the second largest foreign community, are in a certain sense in a position similar to that of the Persians. Bahrain, like other principalities in the Persian Gulf, has had a long association with the subcontinent through trade. In 1913, when the Bahrain Order-in-Council was passed, the country became administratively subject to the jurisdiction of the Governor-General of India.

The Indians constitute a prosperous and fairly well educated community. Some are engaged in trade on a big scale or as petty merchants. The rest — and they are the majority — are employed either by the government, the oil company, the British military and civil establishment, or other foreign business concerns in the country. They work mostly as clerks, foremen, cooks, waiters, and domestic servants.

Various explanations have been made as to why Indians are employed in such large numbers in preference to local Bahrainis or persons from other nationalities. In the first place, Bahrain does not have enough young men with a minimum of education and clerical or industrial training to fill these positions. Secondly, in view of British policy to tie Bahrain to India, it was only natural to look to it for the necessary labor supply. Furthermore, India could supply labor well trained by the British and used to their ways. Finally, Indian labor could be obtained at a lower rate than equally skilled labor from other countries.

The status of Indians is a rather peculiar one, for they live in a social zone all by themselves. They are resented by the native population and accepted only as subordinates by Westerners, with whom they would like to associate and with whom they would like to be classified. This is true especially of the clerical and professional group among them.

The causes of Bahraini resentment against them are psychological and economic in nature. In the first place, they constitute a community which is definitely foreign and makes a point of it, and in some respects looks down on the local population. This is especially the case among the white-collar workers.

Secondly, on the whole, the Indian community wields power far beyond its number. The people in Bahrain see Indians in government and business establishments and develop the feeling that they are being governed by them along with the British.

In the third place, clerical positions occupied by Indians and other for-

[12] *Census 1950*, p. 6.

3;Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2



175 island and was referred to the League of Nations in 1927 and ensuing years, when Persia protested against an Anglo-Saudi treaty which bound King Ibn Saud not to interfere with the Shaikh of Bahrain and other 'Gulf Chiefs'. Persia again protested when, in 1930 and 1934, the Shaikh granted oil concessions to Western companies. The claim has steadily been maintained by Dr Moussadeq and by the Zahedi Government. It is not popular with Bahrain's inhabitants.

The Shaikh's relations with Britain are regulated today by agreements of 22 December 1880 and 13 March 1892, by which he bound himself not to enter into any relationship with a foreign government other than the British without the latter's consent. In a letter of 14 May 1914 the Shaikh undertook not to exploit any possible oil deposits himself or to 'entertain overtures' regarding them from any quarter without British approval. Bahrain has been described as 'the strategic centre for Britain's position in the Gulf.' It is the seat of the British Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, and of the Political Agent for Bahrain with his assistants. The Shaikh also employs British nationals in various capacities in his Government, the most senior of whom, Sir Charles Belgrave, has been financial adviser to the Government since 1926, and has rendered it services that are deeply appreciated.

Bahrain was the first assembly point of the British Expeditionary Force which in 1914 opened the Mesopotamian Campaign, and in 1935 it became the principal British naval base in the Gulf after the abandonment of Henjam on the Persian coast. In the Second World War it was once bombed ineffectively by Italian aircraft. The ruling family of Bahrain, the al-Khalifa family, trace their origin to a tribe from which the Saudis of Saudi Arabia and the as-Subah family of Kuwait are also descended. They have ruled the island since the eighteenth century. During the nineteen years (1923–42) of the rule of the late Shaikh Hamad, Bahrain was transformed into the neat modern state that it is today. Under the present ruler, Shaikh Sir Salman ibn Hamad al-Khalifa, who acceded in 1942, it is undergoing many further developments thanks to increases in the state's share of its revenue from oil. One-third of these earnings are paid to the Shaikh and two-thirds to the state.

*Oil*

471 In December 1925 the first oil concession to be granted on the Arab side of the Gulf was given to a British syndicate to prospect in Bahrain. In 1927 an American concern secured an option from the British syndicate, but, hampered by the so-

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2



called 'Red Line' agreement of 1928,[1] was unable to agree to conditions that IPC was in a position to dictate; it therefore sold its option to the Standard Oil Company of California. After negotiations in which the British Government and the American State Department both took a hand, the Bahrain Petroleum Company (BAPCO), a subsidiary of Standard Oil, registered in Canada, was allowed to take up the concession provided that, to conform to Britain's prior agreements with the Shaikh, it employed a considerable number of British subjects. In 1936 the Texas Company acquired a 50 per cent interest in BAPCO. These details are given to explain why the present company is Canadian by nationality and American by management, and employs a large proportion of British staff. The two American companies concerned are two of the four participants in Aramco.

Oil was first discovered in Bahrain in 1932 and first exported in 1934. Production was suspended during the Second World War, but since then it has risen to a steady level of 11 million barrels per year. A refinery was erected before the war, and has (since the Abadan refinery ceased to put through its daily 550,000 barrels) been stepped up to a throughput of over 200,000 barrels per day; it includes a catalytic cracking unit for high octane fuel. It is fed both with BAPCO's own production of oil from the Bahrain field and by a 12-inch under-sea pipeline from Aramco's wells in Saudi Arabia. The jetty for loading tankers lies off Sitra Island on the seaward side of Bahrain Island itself.

Originally, the Shaikh enjoyed the same royalty rate as his neighbour in Kuwait—3 rupees and 4 annas a ton, or 14 cents a barrel. In 1951 reports of the new agreements reached by his neighbours caused him to ask for equality of treatment. In 1952, therefore, he signed a new agreement with the company which established the fifty-fifty profit-sharing arrangement now universal on the Gulf. He also enjoys a payment on each ton of Saudi Arabian oil passing through his territory to the refinery. His revenue has risen relatively less than that of his neighbours because the volume of oil produced in Bahrain has for some years been virtually stationary; nevertheless earnings from oil have risen from $1·4 million in 1948 to $3·8 million in 1951 and $6·3 million in 1952, and three-fourths of Bahrain's national income is now derived from petroleum activities. The social and economic changes brought about by this increased wealth are not so spectacular in Bahrain as elsewhere because

[1] See R. F. Mikesell and H. B. Chenery, *Arabian Oil* (Chapel Hill, University of N. Carolina Press, 1949).

14: Liebesny G-4 (no date)1947 MI Middle East
Bahrain MZ 2



those contained in the treaties with Protectorate rulers, the foreign relations of Bahrein were brought under full British control. The treaties with Bahrein do not contain any clause expressly extending British protection to the country; nevertheless, Bahrein can be regarded as a British-protected state enjoying a large degree of internal autonomy.[16]

It is characteristic of British relations with this and other Persian Gulf states that the British Government by agreement reserves for itself the final decision with regard to the exploitation of the natural resources of the country, especially pearl fisheries and oil. Thus in a letter written in 1911, the Sheikh promised not to grant any pearling concessions without British consent. As far as oil deposits are concerned, the Sheikh undertook in a letter of May 14, 1914, not to exploit any possible oil deposits himself or to "entertain overtures from any quarter regarding that (i.e. the oil deposits) without consulting the Political Agent in Bahrein and without approval of the High Government."

An oil concession in Bahrein was acquired originally by a British company. When it became apparent that the concession would pass into American hands, the Colonial Office objected to the control of Bahrein's oil resources by foreign interests. In a note of March 28, 1929, the U. S. Department of State, following its traditional policy of insisting upon equal opportunity for American interests, asked the British Government for a statement of its policies with regard to foreign oil concessions in Bahrein and in territories with a similar status. The British Government subsequently agreed to the participation of American interests in the concession in Bahrein; but it did not make any general statement of policy, declaring that each case would have to be considered on its individual merits.[17] The Bahrein concession is owned at present by Standard Oil of California and the Texas Company through a jointly-owned subsidiary, the Bahrein Petroleum Company. This subsidiary is registered in Canada, and is thus legally located within the British Empire. The Bahrein case

[16] See the note of Sir Austen Chamberlain to the Persian Minister in London, January 15, 1928, where Bahrein is referred to as being under British protection. League of Nations, *Official Journal*, 1928, p. 607.

[17] Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States* (1929), vol. 3, pp. 80–82.

14: Liebesny G-4 (no date)1947 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M22



shows the practical effect of the Sheikh's undertaking with regard to his country's petroleum resources, and the controlling influence acquired by the British Government in any decision affecting this important source of national wealth.

The position of Bahrein as an independent sheikhdom under British protection has been challenged repeatedly by the Iranian Government, which claims sovereignty over the islands on historical grounds. Protests have been made to the British Government intermittently since 1829, and have been as often repudiated. The most extensive airing of the dispute took place between 1927 and 1930, when Iran protested against Article 6 of the Treaty of Jidda concluded in 1927 between Great Britain and Saudi Arabia. There Bahrein had been referred to as a state in special treaty relations with the British Government. In a lengthy exchange of notes both governments set forth their points of view. Iran claimed that Bahrein had been under its unchallenged sovereignty before the British intervened, and that Iranian sovereignty over the islands had been recognized by Lord Clarendon, the British Foreign Secretary, in 1869. This claim was denied in the British notes, which stated that the Sheikh of Bahrein had on various occasions during the first half of the nineteenth century professed only "an unwilling allegiance" to the Ottoman Empire, Persia, and various Arab countries, and that often conflicting claims to sovereignty over Bahrein had been put forward in the course of time by a number of countries. Britain denied that Lord Clarendon had ever recognized the Iranian claim.

Iran forwarded its original note of protest to the League of Nations under Article 10 of the Covenant; all subsequent notes were likewise sent to the Secretary-General of the League. However, the League took no action in the conflict and no settlement was ever reached.[18] Iran again asserted its position when it protested to the U. S. Government in 1933 against the Sheikh's grant of an oil concession to an American company, stating that it

[18] The various notes exchanged in this dispute are reprinted in the *Official Journal* of the League of Nations; a brief account of the question is contained in A. J. Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs*, 1934 (London, 1935), pp. 221–24; a treatment from the Iranian point of view is found in Malek Esmaili, *Le golfe persique et les isles de Bahrein* (Paris, 1936).

14: Liebesny G-4 (no date)1947 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M22
Kuwait M11



B
648 regarded the concession as null and void since it was granted by
471 authorities who had no right to do so. Iran also reserved the right to claim all profits from the concession, and possible damages. The U. S. Government apparently did not reply to this note. Likewise, when Bahrein was bombed by Italian planes in October 1940, Iran, which was then neutral, protested to Italy against this alleged violation of its territory. The Iranian claim was brought up again in 1946 when it seems to have found some support in the Russian press.

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648 The dispute regarding the sovereignty over Bahrein is one of those territorial disputes, not uncommon in Asia, in which one party bases its claims on historical arguments dating back several centuries; but it is doubtful whether the yardstick of Western international law and its definition of sovereignty and undisturbed possession can be applied at all to the situation prevailing in the Persian Gulf in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries. It is likely that the relationship between the large Eastern empires and the small tribal sheikhdoms was one of suzerainty rather than sovereignty, and that allegiances shifted fairly rapidly. However, it has to be noted that the Iranian claim has never been settled. Should other historical claims based on similarly remote evidence find a sympathetic hearing either at the peace table or in the United Nations, Iran may be expected to advance its grievances again.

K
648 *Kuwait.* The legal position of Kuwait is very similar to that of
471 Bahrein. A treaty along the same lines as that concluded with Bahrein was entered into by the Sheikh of Kuwait on January 23, 1899. A Political Agent for Kuwait was first appointed in 1904. As in Bahrein, the British Government has reserved for itself control over the exploitation of Kuwait's natural resources. In a letter of July 29, 1911, the Sheikh promised not to grant any pearling concession without British consent. By a note of October 27, 1913, he likewise agreed not to grant oil concessions "to anybody except a person appointed from the British government."

The Sheikh of Kuwait remained loyal to the British Government when Turkey entered World War I on the side of the Central Powers. In return for this loyalty, the British in a note of

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN M22

nama, Muharraq and Hedd and the 3 villages of East and West Rafaa and Sakhir was less than 1 per cent.

## Social Economy

Prior to the opening of the Bahrain oil fields, the economy of the islands was based upon pearl fishing and the transshipment of goods between Iran, India and other countries and the neighboring Arabian ports. The waters of the Persian Gulf contain famous pearl fishing banks, and, since ancient times, Bahrain has been recognized as the traditional center of the industry. It constituted the principal source of wealth for centuries, but it reached a low level in the 1920s, due in part to the competition of Japanese cultured pearls in the world markets. Early records are nonexistent, but the former Bahrain pearl fleets probably consisted of 600 to 1,000 vessels. The number has declined progressively: only 83 departed for the banks in 1950. In that year, about 2,000 Bahrainis were engaged in pearl fishing during the season from mid-April to October, undoubtedly a fraction of the total employed when the demand for pearls was at its height.

In previous decades, dhow building also was one of the major industries of Bahrain, but its decline has paralleled that of the pearl fisheries. Nine boats were constructed in 1949, as against 100 reported in 1928-29.

Today, oil is the foundation of Bahrain's prosperity. The royalties derived from the industry not only have bolstered the declining resources of the government, but have made possible the expansion of public works and social services. Operations are conducted by the Bahrain Petroleum Company, Ltd., which holds long-term concessions from the Sheikh of Bahrain for the development of the petroleum resources of the islands. Oil was discovered in the Jabal ad Dukhan region, near the center of Bahrain Island, in 1932, and production started in 1934. The proven reserves of this field are estimated in the neighborhood of 200 million barrels. The company also operates a

p. 257(A)

THE COMPANY A...

refinery on the eastern side of the island, opposite Sitra. It was expanded in 1945, and 80 to 85 per cent of the crude oil processed is now obtained by pipeline from Saudi Arabia. The refined petroleum products are pumped to storage tanks on Sitra Island, and subsequently to a deep-water loading terminal 3 miles offshore. Over 6,000 Bahrainis, as well as some 1,600 British and Americans, are employed in different branches of the industry. Two thirds of the royalties accrue to the Bahrain government, half of which are utilized for capital expenditures designed to raise the standards of living of the people. Reports for 1951 indicate that 68 per cent of the government income was derived from oil revenues, as against 26 per cent from customs receipts.

The renewed prosperity of the islands and the concurrent growth in population have stimulated private enterprise and the growth of small factories to supply current needs, particularly as regards building materials. Fishing is an important seasonal occupation of many villagers, and preserved fish, fish oils and other fish products are items of export. Agriculture plays a minor role. Barely 5 to 10 per cent of the total land area is under cultivation, and further expansion is restricted by the nature of the terrain, the concentration of water supply in limited areas and a feudalistic system of land tenure. Date gardens flourish in oases on Bahrain, Muharraq and Sitra Islands, but the supply equals less than one quarter of the local requirements. The government is endeavoring to promote the introduction of other crops, and maintains an experiment station at Budaiya.

The sea approaches to the archipelago are shallow, making it necessary for ocean vessels and oil tankers to anchor 2 to 4 miles from the shore. Bahrain and Muharraq, however, have good harbors which accommodate dhows and other shallow-draft vessels. Manama is an active trading center: coastal traffic is more or less continuous, while frequent steamer services are available to the northern Gulf ports and to India AND PAKISTAN.

p. 257 (B)

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrein MZ2



In 1910 geologists of the British Indian Survey discovered seepages of oil in Bahrein. Coming as it did after the successful discovery of oil in Persia and the organization of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, there was apparently considerable discussion of oil possibilities in Bahrein. The British pressed the Sheikh for a definite commitment not to permit the exploitation of oil by non-British concerns. On May 14, 1914 the Sheikh wrote the British Political Agent in Bahrein that he would not himself embark on the exploitation of oil in his territory, nor would he entertain overtures regarding such exploitation from any quarters without consulting the British Political Agent and without the approval of the British Government.[2]

Oil, however, was not discovered. In the early 'twenties Major Frank Holmes, representing the Eastern and General Syndicate, was seeking oil concessions in the Persian Gulf area, and as noted above, succeeded in 1924 in obtaining a concession from Ibn Saud in the al Hasa province. On December 2, 1925 Holmes acquired from the Sheikh of Bahrein for his British syndicate an exclusive oil exploitation concession over an area of about 100,000 acres. It was provided that if the concession rights were not exercised within four years, it would lapse. The Syndicate tried to interest British concerns in the concession, but without success.[3] At the end of November 1927 the Eastern Gulf Oil Company, a subsidiary of the American Gulf Oil Corporation, entered into an option contract to purchase the Syndicate's rights in Bahrein, and was given until January 1, 1929 to exercise its option. Gulf, at the time a member of the American group in the Turkish Petroleum Company, had in the meanwhile signed the Red Line Agreement which covered the Bahrein islands, and the Board of Directors of the Turkish Petroleum Company ruled that for Gulf to exercise its option would be a violation of Article 10 of the Agreement.[4] On December 21, 1928 Gulf, with the con-

[2] *Ibid.*, 124.

[3] The following comments from two different directions are interesting: British—"American interests were first engaged almost fortuitously when oil was struck on the Manama Island of Bahrein, after British prospects had failed. The successful company is the one which has subsequently extended its activities to the great Saudi Arabian oil fields." "The Persian Gulf—A Romance," *The Round Table*, XXXIX, 134, Mar., 1949. American—"It was our good luck that the British failed to discover oil which we later found in great abundance." Harold L. Ickes, "We're Running Out of Oil." *The American*, 84, Jan., 1944.

[4] See above, Chap. XI.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 MI Middle East
Bahrein MZ 2



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sent of the British Syndicate, transferred its rights to the Standard Oil Company of California for $50,000.[5]

Under the option contract, the Syndicate was to have secured from the British Colonial Office a one-year renewal of the concession. When the Colonial Office was approached, it made the renewal contingent on the insertion in the concession agreement of the British Nationality Clause, which provided that the managing director and a majority of the other directors of the company must be British subjects, that the concessionaire company must be British-registered, and that none of the rights and privileges which the Sheikh had granted in the concession must be controlled directly or indirectly by foreigners. To this the United States Government took serious objection, for such a provision would have meant the absolute exclusion of Americans from holding or operating the concession, which was contrary to the American Open Door policy. On March 28, 1929 the Secretary of State instructed the American Chargé d'Affaires in London to discuss the Bahrein concession question informally with the proper authorities. The legal difficulty involved, so far as the American claims were concerned, was the status of the concession; the legal owner was the British Syndicate and the negotiations between the Colonial Office and the Syndicate were purely British affairs, and the position of the American Government was not legally clear. The British Foreign Office replied on May 30 that it had no objection in principle to American participation in the concession, subject to the British Government being satisfied as to the conditions under which American capital would participate, and particularly as to the nationality of the operating company, its chairman and director and the personnel employed on the islands. The British Government suggested that since the Eastern and General Syndicate was still the existing concessionaire, the Syndicate should negotiate with the Colonial Office.[6]

[5] U. S. Senate, *International Petroleum Cartel*, 71-72; United States, Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1929*, III, 80, hencefor[illegible]ited *Foreign Relations* and year; Duce, *Middle East Oil Developments*, 8, 10; Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 103-104; United States Senate, *American Petroleum Interests in Foreign Countries*, 318. In March 1926 the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. was ready to take over the concession from Holmes, but in April it advised that its geologists in the area had reported unfavorably and that it was therefore no longer interested. E. DeGolyer, "The Oil Fields of the Middle East," in *Problems of the Middle East*, 77; Sanger, *The Arabian Peninsula*, 100.

[6] *Foreign Relations 1929*, III, 80-81.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrein MZ21



Negotiations between the Colonial Office and the Syndicate were carried on for about a year and a half. On June 12, 1930 the Syndicate signed an agreement with the Sheikh, and transferred it to the Bahrein Petroleum Company, a Canadian subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company of California. The major provisions of the agreement were: The Bahrein Petroleum Company must remain a British company; one of the directors must be a British subject and *persona grata* to the British Government; the Company's chief local representative must be approved by the British Government and all communications with the Sheikh must be through him and the Political Agent; as many of the employees as was consistent with efficiency must be subjects of Britain and Bahrein.[7]

Standard of California immediately sent out geologists and drillers. On May 31, 1932 the first commercially-producing well was brought in. Drilling was continued, tanks were built, and in December 1934 the first tanker load of Bahrein oil entered the world market. By 1935 there were sixteen producing wells. Standard of California, searching for markets for its increased production of crude, and with the anticipated output from Saudi Arabia, sold one-half of its Bahrein concession to the Texas Oil Company for a half share in the latter's numerous marketing facilities east of Suez. A new company registered in the Bahamas, the California-Texas Company (Caltex), was organized for the purpose of conducting Bahrein's marketing operations.[8]

In June 1940 the Bahrein Petroleum Company (Bapco) received an extension of its concession covering all the lands and other areas under the jurisdiction of the Sheikh, an area of some 1,644,000 acres,[9] for a period of fifty-five years from June 19, 1944.

[7] DeGolyer, *loc. cit.*, 77-79; *Foreign Relations 1932*, II, 5. The British backed down from some of their previous demands but insisted on some of the others. The State Department apparently considered this achievement a victory for American interests and claimed credit for it. In its memorandum to the Senate Special Committee Investigating Petroleum Resources, the Department declared: "Here again the prompt and positive action of the State Department has secured results favorable to an American-owned company. By securing the entry of American oil interests into Bahrein, the way was paved for some American interests to obtain concessions in nearby Arabia." U. S. Senate, *American Petroleum Interests in Foreign Countries*, 23-24.

[8] U. S. Senate, *International Petroleum Cartel*, 79; Chap. XI above.

[9] Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 111; Sanger, *The Arabian Peninsula*, 147. DeGolyer was of the opinion that the Sheikh delayed granting the extended concession because of the efforts of Holmes in 1937, when he reappeared in Bahrein

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 MI Middle East
Bahrein MZ2



### *Production*

From 1936 production progressed rapidly, reaching the 20,000 barrel per day mark in 1939. During the years 1942-1944 some wells were shut in as a war measure, and production was reduced by some 2,000 barrels per day. By 1951 there were 67 producing wells, with an average per well output of 430 barrels per day. The following table gives production in tons and barrels:

Table XII. *Bahrein Oil Production 1933-1954*

| *Year* | *In Tons* | *In Barrels* |
|---|---|---|
| 1933 | 4,000 | 31,000 |
| 1934 | 39,008 | 285,000 |
| 1935 | 173,072 | 1,265,000 |
| 1936 | 635,555 | 4,645,000 |
| 1937 | 1,058,511 | 7,762,000 |
| 1938 | 1,138,000 | 8,298,000 |
| 1939 | 1,041,000 | 7,589,000 |
| 1940 | 971,000 | 7,074,000 |
| 1941 | 932,000 | 6,794,000 |
| 1942 | 856,000 | 6,241,000 |
| 1943 | 902,000 | 6,572,000 |
| 1944 | 921,000 | 6,714,000 |
| 1945 | 1,003,000 | 7,309,000 |
| 1946 | 1,099,000 | 8,010,000 |
| 1947 | 1,291,000 | 9,410,710 |
| 1948 | 1,496,000 | 10,915,000 |
| 1949 | 1,508,000 | 10,985,484 |
| 1950 | 1,512,000 | 11,016,000 |
| 1951 | 1,508,000 | 11,008,000 |
| 1952 | 1,510,000 | 11,004,000 |
| 1953 | 1,506,000 | 10,978,380 |
| 1954[10] | 1,570,000 | 10,994,000[11] |

and attempted to get a concession for the additional area. For suddenly, in the spring of 1937, the Sheikh halted all negotiations with Bapco for one year." "He finally granted it to the Bahrein Petroleum Company on June 19, 1940, but the British officials distilling the last drop of advantage that could be obtained hooked on a political agreement of June 29, 1940." DeGolyer, *loc. cit.*, 79. "The 'Bahrain unallotted area,' being the difference between the 100,000 acres and the whole extent of the Shaikh's dominions, was from 1934 to 1940 the subject of lengthy negotiations between the Shaikh, Bapco, and another candidate, the Iraq Petroleum Company." Longrigg, *Oil in the Middle East*, 104.

[10] United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs, *Review of Economic Conditions in the Middle East 1949-1950*, 60, henceforth cited U.N., *Review* or *Summary*, and year;—*Review 1951-1952*, 55;—*Summary 1952-1953*, 47; Economic Cooperation Administration, Special Mission to the United Kingdom, *The Sterling Area. An American Analysis*, (London, 1951), 418; *World Petroleum*, X, 43, July, 1939.

[11] United States Senate, *Petroleum Requirements—Postwar. Hearings Before A*

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2



### *Royalties*

471 The original concession called for 3 1/2 rupees per ton of
648 crude oil produced. This was equivalent to 14 cents per barrel, or $1.05 per ton, before the devaluation of the rupee in September 1949.[12] After the devaluation, and because of the general demands for higher royalties throughout the Persian Gulf region, Bapco increased the royalty to the Bahrein Government from 3 1/2 rupees to 10 rupees, approximately 29 cents per barrel, or about $2.10 per ton, effective as of January 1, 1950. In 1951 another supplemental agreement increased payments by an annual lump sum, and the following year, in line with the general tendency in the area, a 50/50 profit-sharing of net income from production and sale of oil was agreed on, effective as of January 1, 1952.[13]

651 The following table gives an approximate picture of the steady increase in royalties.[14]

Table XIII. *Royalty Payments to Bahrein (selected years)*

| *Year* | *In Dollars* |
|---|---|
| 1933 | 8,800 |
| 1938 | 305,000 |
| 1940 | 1,000,000 |
| 1945 | 780,000 |
| 1946 | 1,200,000 |
| 1948 | 1,508,876 |
| 1949 | 1,500,000 |
| 1950 | 3,300,000 |
| 1951 | 3,800,000 |
| 1952 | 6,300,000 |
| 1953 | 6,500,000 |
| 1954 | 8,100,000[14] |

*Special Committee Investigating Petroleum Resources* (Washington, 1946), 40; U.N., *Summary 1950-1951*, 22; George P. Stevens, "Saudi Arabia's Petroleum Resources," *Economic Geography*, XXV, 221, July, 1949; Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 43; *Le Commerce du Levant*, Oct. 15, 1954; DeGolyer and MacNaughton, *Twentieth Century Petroleum Statistics 1954*, 9; *World Oil*, CXL, 198, Feb. 15, 1955.

[12] U.N., *Summary 1950-51*, 37;—*Review 1951-52*, 61. Faroughy stated that royalty was 3 rupees and 8 annas plus one shilling per ton, *The Bahrein Islands*, 45. Adamiyat, who follows Faroughy closely, also gives the royalty as 3½ rupees and one shilling. Fereydoun Adamiyat, *Bahrein Islands. A Legal and Diplomatic Study of the British-Iranian Controversy* (New York, 1955), 200.

[13] U.N., *Summary 1950-51*, 37-38;—*Review 1951-52*, 61; Adamiyat, *Bahrein Islands*, 200; Economic Cooperation Administration, Special Mission to the United Kingdom, *The Sterling Area. An American Analysis*, 409.

[14] J.H.D.B., "Oil and Bahrein," *The World Today*, VII, 77, Feb., 1951; U.N.,

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Bahrein M22



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The nature of the Bahrein islands as the commercial port of the Saudi Arabian coast and the Qatar peninsula made it an ideal location for a refinery, and as soon as oil was discovered in commercial quantities in Bahrein and the prospects for Saudi Arabia looked promising, Bapco built a refinery which went into operation in July, 1935. Increased production and the demand for oil for war needs made it necessary to expand the refinery and by 1945 the Company had spent about $27.5 million. By 1951 the refinery had a capacity of 155,000 barrels daily. Most of the crude came from the Saudi Arabian mainland as the maximum of local production was only 30,000 barrels per day. At first the oil was brought by tanker, later it came by way of a 12-inch 34-mile long pipeline, two-thirds of which was submarine. During 1947 another 12-inch pipeline was laid, bringing the total capacity of the pipeline to 126,000 barrels per day.[15] By 1949 about 85 per cent of the refinery's throughput was coming from Saudi Arabia. The output in 1950 was 56,059,000 barrels; in 1951, 8,040,000 tons; in 1952, 8,621,000 tons; and in 1953, 10,408,000 tons. It has been estimated that the parent companies have invested about $75 million in the Bahrein undertaking.[16]

### *Reserves*

Of all the major oil-producing areas of the Middle East, Bahrein was the least promising as regards reserves. From the very beginning the reserve estimates were generally static. In January 1949 they were estimated as 170 million barrels; two years later Faroughy gave them as 200 million barrels; at the end of 1954 they were estimated at 235 million barrels. The United Nations experts estimated the reserves as 40,900,000 tons in 1951 and the same in 1953. Compared to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, the Bahrein reserves are considered of little significance.[17]

*Summary 1950-51*, 37-38;—*Review 1951-52*, 58-59; "Oil and Social Change," *The Economist*, 3, July 2, 1955.

[15] For a Company description of the pipeline and the refinery, see "Submarine Pipeline," *Oil Lifestream of Progress*, III, 20, Oct., 1953.

[16] U.N., *Summary 1950-51*, 24; "Oil and Bahrein," *The World Today*, VII, 78, Feb., 1951; Sanger, *The Arabian Peninsula*, 145; Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 44-45; *Le Commerce du Levant*, Oct. 15, 1954.

[17] U. S. Senate, *International Petroleum Cartel*, 6; U.N., *Review 1951-52*, 53;—*Summary 1952-53*, 40; Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 111; *World Oil*, CXL, 205, Feb. 15, 1955.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrein M2.2



### *Company Policies and Activities*

471 In accordance with the conditions of the concession, laid 464 down by the British Colonial Office, Bapco employed a considerable number of Bahreinis in its undertakings, almost exclusively in the lower grades. The total number of employees in 1948 was 6,078, and of these 4,650 were local employees. [161] While this was only 4.23 per cent of the total population, then estimated at about 110,000,[18] it was 76.5 per cent of the total employed by the company. The staff was increased in 1951 to 7,749, and of this number 4,937 were Bahrein nationals.[19] This drop in the percentage of native employees, from 76.5 to 64, was not the result of Company policy but was due to the greater demand for workers in the expanded oil-producing areas of the Gulf—Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Qatar. Many Bahreinis, finding the wages offered in other areas more attractive, left their home islands, which made it necessary for Bapco to employ more foreigners such as Indians, Pakistanis, Persians and others. This created a peculiar phenomenon: educated and semi-educated Bahreinis sought work abroad, while destitute foreigners flocked to the islands.

471 In addition to direct payments in revenue and indirect pay- 466 ments in terms of wages and purchases of local materials for the operation of the concession, the Company contributed directly to many social and economic projects aimed at bettering the general conditions; these included housing, electric lighting, water supply, and sanitary facilities. It operated a hospital and clinics, and also subsidized the American Mission Hospital. In the field of education it assisted the Government's technical school for native boys; upon graduation students from that school were employed by the Company, which provided further mechanical training.[20] It also cooperated in many agricultural and irrigation projects.[21]

471 However, the impact of the oil industry on the people of 651 Bahrein came primarily from the utilization of the revenue from the oil. The oil payments were divided into three parts:

[18] Max Steineke and M. P. Yackel estimated the population at about 125,000, "Saudi Arabia and Bahrein," in *World Geography* (Princeton, 1950), 226.
[19] U.N., *Review 1949-50*, 60;—*Summary 1952-53*, 58.
[20] The Bapco training program is described by its vice-president, Russel M. Brown, "Schooling in Skills," *Oil Lifestream of Progress*, IV, 6-8, Oct., 1954.
[21] U. S. Senate, *American Petroleum Interests in Foreign Countries*, 288-289.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 MI Middle East
Bahrein M22



one went to the Sheikh for the maintenance of his household and family; one was for current Government expenses and development projects; and one for investments abroad as a reserve for future contingencies. With the increase in income—directly from oil revenue and indirectly from customs duties—as a result of the Company's activities, Government services increased and a number of development projects were undertaken. By 1951 there were three hospitals on the islands—the American Mission Hospital and the Company hospital mentioned above, a Government hospital for men and women operated by a British staff, including a section for the mentally ill—as well as a number of municipal clinics. General health conditions were not good: malaria and other fevers and dysentery were prevalent; bilharzia, trachoma and hookworm took a heavy toll; and above all, a large proportion of the population was infected with venereal diseases. Medical services were supplied to every Bahreini free of charge.

Though there had been some educational facilities before the development of the oil industry,[22] it was not until 1934 that the Government engaged a number of Iraqi teachers and enlarged the facilities. By 1951 there were nine elementary schools, one secondary school, founded in 1940, and one school for girls opened in 1939, all tuition-free. The schools were staffed with 258 teachers, who instructed some 6,000 boys and girls. The Government, in conjunction with the Company, also provided scholarships to graduates of the secondary schools for study abroad.

The Government built roads, bridges, harbors and a large airport; water was supplied from artesian wells instead of being brought in by boat; and efforts were made to improve housing conditions. Though without a single newspaper in 1951, Bahrein had a broadcasting station, built in 1940 for Allied war purposes, a dial telephone system, forty miles of roads and 2,000 automobiles. Most of the streets of the main towns were electrically lighted, and a sewerage system had been installed. The net result was a higher standard of living for the Bahreinis, not only in comparison with their own pre-oil standard, but also with the people of the neighboring states.[23]

[22] In 1926 there was one school for boys only, and it was poorly attended. James Bell, "He Said Forward! to the Backward," *Life*, Nov. 17, 1952.

[23] U.N., *Summary 1952-53*, 58-59; Sanger, *The Arabian Peninsula*, 148-149;

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrein MZ2



652 There have also been other implications. The Sheikh, the
651 Government and the people have become increasingly, in fact almost exclusively, dependent on the oil. In 1932 the entire government budget was about $143,600; in 1951 the total government revenue was $5,271,000, of which approximately 61 per cent came from oil and 34.9 per cent from customs duties,[24] which must be considered an indirect result of the oil industry. In 1953 the Government revenue was derived 68 per cent from oil, 24 per cent from customs duties, and 5 per cent from
[464 interest on the reserve fund.[25] The oil boom also created in-
458 flationary pressures which caused many Bahreinis to seek em-
• 471 ployment in other oil-producing areas in the Gulf. Because of
178 its central location, the I.P.C. subsidiary, Petroleum Concessions Ltd., which held concessions in Qatar and on the Trucial coast, had made its Gulf headquarters in Bahrein and built large offices and houses for its staff. Bahrein had become a resort and shopping center for the oil employees, especially Americans and Europeans, in Saudi Arabia and Qatar. These not only added to the inflationary pressures, but so greatly increased the social vices of gambling, drinking, prostitution and their concomitants as to cause grave concern to those responsible for the health and welfare of the population.[26]

185 The Bahrein islands are limited in area and in resources; oil,
652 in a more definitely limited quantity than that of any of the other areas in the Gulf, is the only resource supporting the Sheikh, the Government and its extended services, and also to a considerable degree the people at large. Though perhaps originally a little more advanced than some of their neighbors, the people of Bahrein, prior to the discovery of oil, had a low standard of living and consequently a very low standard of governmental and social services. When the pearling industry suffered a serious setback as a result of the world depression and the development of cultured pearls, Bahrein was in a desperate situation. With the arrival of the Bahrein Petroleum Company,

aroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 20 *et passim;* "Oil and Bahrein," *The World Today*, VII, 77-79, Feb., 1951; Bell, *loc. cit.*

[24] Bahrain Petroleum Company, Limited, *Bahrain 1952* (pages not numbered).

[25] Angus Sinclair, "The Resources and Their Potentialities. III, Petroleum and Minerals," in *Middle East Resources Problems and Prospects* (Washington, 1954), 46. The 68 per cent of the revenue directly from oil did not include the one-third which went to the Sheikh.

[26] "Oil and Bahrein," *The World Today*, VII, 79, 81-83, Feb., 1951; Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 20 *et passim.*

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrein M22



178 perity and a higher standard of living, and that the oil revenue there has been better employed than in other areas. The credit for that must go to the British Government and the British adviser to the Sheikh.[29]

471 What of the Bahrein Petroleum Company? As mentioned above, Standard of California paid $50,000 to the Gulf Corporation for the concession. Bahrein's capitalization was $100,000. At the end of 1947, H. M. Herron, chairman of the Board of Directors, testifying before the Special Senate Committee Investigating the National Defense Program, stated that the Company's earned surplus was $55,472,255. In addition, it had paid-in capital surplus of $28,191,709 and surplus reserves of $8,705,779. From its organization until 1947 it had paid no dividends.[30]

The reason for these enormous profits was given by Mr. Herron when he reluctantly revealed to the Committee that the cost of producing a barrel of oil in Bahrein, including royalties paid to the Sheikh, was about 25 cents.[31] If crude was selling in the Persian Gulf at the time at $1.05—$1.15 a barrel, that would have produced a profit on each barrel of 80-95 cents.

Caltex, Bapco's subsidiary marketing company, was organized in the Bahamas in 1936 with a capitalization of $1,000,000. As of December 31, 1946, ten years later, it had an earned surplus of $17,192,529, and a paid capital surplus of $8,195,144. No dividends were paid.[32]

[29] For Belgrave's contributions to the achievements in Bahrein, see Bell, *loc. cit.*, and the many articles and books by Belgrave himself. A more ideal picture of the adjustment of the Bahreinis to the new conditions resulting from the oil development is presented in Bahrain Petroleum Company, Limited, *Bahrain 1952*.

[30] U. S. Senate, *Hearings Saudi Arabia*, 25030-25031. Senator Owen Brewster, chairman of the Committee, intimated that had dividends been paid to the parent companies, the latter would have had to pay U. S. taxes. Faroughy states that in 1945 the Bahrein Petroleum Co. estimated that its consolidated net profit for the year, after taxes and all other costs had been deducted, was approximately $10.5 million. In 1946 profits were estimated at $23 million. The total investment, according to Faroughy, was not more than $65 million. *The Bahrein Islands*, 45.

[31] U. S. Senate, *Hearings Saudi Arabia*, 25022.

[32] U. S. Senate, *Hearings Saudi Arabia*, 25029-25030. The earnings for the years 1942-1946 were 1942, $1,903,520; 1943, $686,673; 1944, $1,457,509; 1945, $2,416,362; 1946, $1,469,245. While the Bahrein Petroleum Company was a Canadian corporation registered in the British Empire, Mr. Herron admitted that Caltex could have been an American corporation. The inference drawn by Senator Brewster was that it was registered in the Bahamas only to escape United States taxation, and that for the same reasons no dividends were distributed. The Government of the Bahamas does not tax corporations, and the Canadian Government taxes only declared dividends. *Ibid.*, 25016-15018.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 MI Middle East
Bahrein MZ2



Thus the profits of Bapco and Caltex, on an initial limited capitalization of $100,000 and $1,000,000 respectively, though not as fabulous as those of Saudi Arabia, were exceptionally high. In spite of the various measures undertaken by the Company to assist the Bahreinis to improve their standard of living, the latter actually received only a very small portion of the income from the oil, compared with the Company's profits. Only after the 1952 profit-sharing arrangement did Bahrein begin to get a little larger share of the profits from the production and sale of crude. But, since all the oil produced by Bapco was sold to its subsidiary, Caltex, for marketing, the price of Bahrein oil was not that of the open market, but was arbitrarily established by the parent company and the marketing subsidiary. The basis for the calculation of the profits was therefore narrow.[33]

[33] Iran claimed sovereignty over Bahrein and continuously challenged the British rights to the islands. The Iranian Government tried to bring the case to the League of Nations; it protested against the granting of the concession to Standard of California, and during the oil nationalization period agitated for the return of the islands. A voluminous literature has grown up on the subject. Two complete studies which present the Iranian case are those mentioned above: *The Bahrein Islands,* by Faroughy, and *Bahrein Islands,* by Adamiyat. The Iranian Government's note to the League of Nations claiming sovereignty over the islands, which was circulated to all the members of the League, and the British reply, are in League of Nations, *Official Journal,* 9th year, 1928, 1360-1363;—*Official Journal,* 10th year, 1929, 351, 790-793. See also *P.D.C.,* 213, col. 843, Feb. 15, 1928; *P.D.L.,* 81, col. 418, June 25, 1931; *P.D.C.,* 300, col. 776, Apr. 8, 1935. For the protest note to the United States on May 22, 1934, see Arnold J. Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs 1934* (London, 1935), 221-224. For a more recent study, see Majid Khadduri, "Iran's Claim to the Sovereignty of Bahrein," *American Journal of International Law,* XLV, 631-647, Oct., 1951.

648 internal autonomy. (19)
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19. Cf. the note of Sir Austen Chamberlain to the Persian Minister in London, 15 January 1928, where Bahrein is referred to as being under British protection; League of Nations, Official Journal, 1928, p. 607.

It is further characteristic of the British relations with this and other Persian Gulf states that the British Government has reserved for itself by agreement the final decision with regard to the exploitation of the natural resources of the country, especially pearl fisheries and oil. In a letter written in 1911 the Sheikh promised not to give out any pearling concession without British consent. As far as oil deposits are concerned, the Sheikh undertook in a letter of 14 May 1914 not to exploit any possible oil deposits himself or to "entertain overtures from any quarter regarding the /i.e, the oil deposits/ without consulting the Political Agent in Bahrein and without approval of the High Government." With British consent a concession was actually granted to American oil interests in 1930. The Bahrein Petroleum Company was then formed which is at present owned by the Standard Oil Company of California and the Texas Oil Company.

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Bahrein is the seat of the Political Agent for Bahrein, the Assistant Political Agent, the Political Officer for the Trucial Coast, and the Publicity Officer in the Persian Gulf. From these British officials one has to distinguish the technical advisers of the Sheikh who are also British subjects but are not subordinated to the Persian Gulf Residency. They are state servants of Bahrein. Chief among them are the Political Adviser to the Government of Bahrein, the Collector of Customs, the State Engineer, and the Superintendent of Schools.

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The position of Bahrein as an independent sheikdom under British protection has been challenged repeatedly by the Iranian government which claims sovereignty over the islands on historical grounds. Protests have been made to the British government intermittently since 1820. A lengthy exchange of notes between the two governments took place when in 1927 Iran protested against Article 6 of the Treaty of Jidda of 1927. There Bahrein had been referred to as a state in special treaty relations with the British government. Great Britain rejected Iran's claim and repudiated also the contention that Iranian sovereignty over the islands had been conceded by Lord Clarendon in

228 The Bahrain Government has tried hard to encourage the diving
656 industry, by the remittance of the registration fees on diving boats,
178 by customs concessions and by other means, but it is certain that the industry will never return to its palmy days when so many of the people of Bahrain were connected with it or depended on it.

228 Visitors to the pearl banks are advised to set out at about midnight
431 from Bahrain. Launches can be hired in Manama or Muharraq and
609 if they leave at twelve midnight, the banks will be reached at two or three in the morning. The remainder of the night can be spent lying at anchor and in the early morning the opening of the shells can be watched, followed by the preparations for the day's work and the actual diving. The divers have no objection to being photographed at their work and welcome foreigners on board their boats, they do, however, appreciate a present from visitors and it is a good plan to take out some fresh dates or other fruit, for the boats, particularly at the end of the season, are usually low in fresh provisions and such a gift is very welcome.

## CHAPTER VII

## LOCAL INDUSTRIES

### THE POTTERIES

323 PEARLING is not the only ancient industry in Bahrain, for the presence
[438] in many parts of the islands of pottery sherds indicates that pottery has been made here for many centuries. Today this industry is restricted to the village of Aali whose inhabitants work in the same way as did their forefathers, scorning modern innovations.

● [472] From the hills around Rifaa the clay is brought to Aali ; brown and red clay for the coarser objects and white clay for finer work. The raw clay is beaten and then mixed with water until it is ready for throwing by the younger members of the potter's family, for each pottery is a separate family concern. All the processes which go into the making of pottery take place in small sheds, in each one a potter can be seen at work, his feet in a pit working the wheel which is on a level with his waist. Rapidly he flings lumps of clay on to the spinning wheel and with deft fingers works the shapeless mud into graceful jars, bowls and other utensils. When each piece is completed it is set in the sun to dry before being taken to the oven. Most of the ovens
[172] are built in the prehistoric tumuli south of the village, which have been excavated. A hole is made in the roof of the tomb and another at the side; in the former the objects to be baked are placed and the latter is filled with firewood. When the fires are lit the tombs become miniature volcanoes with thick smoke belching from their peaks, slowly the fires die down, the smoke clears and the baked pottery is removed and the ovens are prepared for the next baking.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

need not be registered, but the existence of a Government title deed ensures that the property is free from claims. Before this rule was made, cases frequently occured in the courts in which the same property was mortgaged to two different people.

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**Government Title Deeds.** Government title deeds are hand-written documents in Arabic, describing the property with all measurements, boundaries, water rights, and particulars, and on the reverse of each title deed there is a plan of the property with measurements shown in feet and inches. The documents are signed on both sides by the Ruler, the Adviser, and the Superintendent of the Land Department. A person wishing to register his property makes a written application to the Land Registration Department. The property is surveyed by the Land Department surveyors in the presence of the owner or his agent, or, in the case of a sale, in the presence of both parties; if necessary, boundary pillars are erected. A proclamation is then issued, calling on all persons having any claim on the property to submit claims in writing within fifteen to thirty days in the case of a sale, and ninety days in the case of registration of ownership. Claims are forwarded to the Bahrain Court by the Land Department and are decided by the court, which also examines all applications for titles before the final documents are issued. The procedure is somewhat slow, but it is effective, and since it has been in force the number of disputes about land, boundaries, water rights, and fish-traps is gradually declining. Fees are charged for registration of sales according to a sliding scale in the case of sales, depending upon the sale price, and at a fixed rate in the case of registration of ownership. The fees in the latter case are low and do not cover in some cases the cost of the work, but it is to the advantage of the public and the Government that as much property as possible should be registered and, to encourage registration, fees are small. Between 400 and 500 title deeds have been issued by the department every year during the last ten years, and each year there has been a gradual but steady increase in applications for registration of ownership.

**Fish-Traps.** In 1353 (1934) all fish-traps round the coast of Bahrain and the various islands were registered, and rules were laid down with the object of preventing people from erecting and then claiming ownership to fish-traps on Government property. It was enacted that the owners of fish-traps had no rights over the boundaries mentioned in their title deeds, except as far as protection from other persons who might wish to erect fish-traps within the area described. In many cases great pieces of the sea were described in old documents as being the boundaries of a certain fish-trap, and if full ownership to these areas was admitted, valuable land along the foreshore would be lost to the Government if the owners chose to reclaim it. The department dealt with the question of a batch of very valuable traps close to the Bahrain Petroleum Company's pier at Sitrah, and was mainly responsible for arranging a settlement between the Bahrain Petroleum Company and the owners of the traps.

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**Land Leases and Government Forms.** In addition to survey and registration work, the Land Department is responsible for leasing Government land, mostly in the neighbourhood of Manamah, to persons who live upon it in Barastis. The rents are very low, but the existence of a regular agreement between the Government and the occupier of the ground ensures that the Government retains its ownership of the land. In Bahrain, ten years' undisputed and uninterrupted occupation is sufficient to establish the ownership of the ground. Printed Government forms, the use of which is compulsory in the case of sanads, powers of attorney, and diving 'barwas,' etc., are sold by the Land Department, and every year over 15,000 of these forms are purchased by the public.

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The revenue collected by the Land Department does not cover the cost of the department, but the value of land registration to the Government and to the public is very great. The continued success of the registration work can only be ensured as long as the principle that Government title deeds, when once issued, cannot be contested is maintained. Frequent attempts have been made, usually by influential personages, to set aside title deeds, but so far without success. If one case of this kind should meet with success, the whole system would be seriously affected.

### ZELLAQ

361 South again of Malakiya is Zellaq, the southernmost village on the
342 western Coast of Bahrain and approximately three miles west of Sakhir. A road runs from Zellaq to Awali and is much used by BAPCO employees coming to swim at the former place. The houses of Zellaq village, which are of stone, are built along the shore and many of them are large and spacious. As a result of the activities of BAPCO, Zellaq village has increased in size and prosperity and now contains a number of substantial white stone buildings which are conspicuous from a long distance across the flat and sandy plain that surrounds it.

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## MUHARRAQ ISLAND

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486 1¾ mile long causeway and Shaikh Hamed Bridge, completed in 1942,

The condition of school buildings varied, but in all cases overcrowding was common. The new schools are well built, lighted and ventilated and are provided with ample recreation space and adequate latrines and ablution facilities. Most of the others are reasonably good, but require improvements in lighting, ventilation, condition of floors and desks as the case may be. Samahij is, however, quite unsuitable and a new building is required. Some of the town schools are situated in congested areas and accordingly lack adequate playground space. All country schools must have good washing facilities and the pupils given routine baths. This would reduce their high incidence of disease resulting from dirt and uncleanliness.

The service has been well received by the teaching staff and has been given their full co-operation and help.

**Port and Quarantine.** The number of people entering Bahrain, their place of entry and the number arriving without valid certificates of vaccination were recorded as follows :—

| Number of arrivals. | Place of Entry. | Number without valid vaccination certificate. |
|---|---|---|
| 67,172 | Manama Jetty .. .. .. | 9,292 |
| 22,107 | Muharraq Airport .. .. | 721 |
| 2,112 | Muharraq Jetty .. .. | 684 |
| 2,344 | P. C. L. Jetty, Sitra .. .. | nil |
| 111 | Sitra Port .. .. .. | nil |
| Total 93,846 | | 10,697 |

This was an increase of 18,710 arrivals on last year's figures. Once again the heaviest traffic passed through Manama Jetty and also the largest number without vaccination certificates. This traffic was mostly local, coming from neighbouring Gulf ports by launch and dhow and necessitated a strict watch, but no quarantine measure other than vaccination was necessary.

Muharraq Airport still lacks adequate control arrangements for the segregation of passengers from the general public until they have passed through quarantine. To assist in this matter, a separate enclosure has now been provided for non-passengers, but due to lack of organisation it has not achieved its purpose.

The number of arrivals at Muharraq Jetty was small but important in that so many of them did not possess the necessary vaccination certificates.

Neither of the two remaining places of entry at Sitra presented any difficulty.

It was not necessary to place any person, ship or aircraft in quarantine and no case of quarantinable disease occurred during the year.

Medical attention was afforded to 1701 members of ships' crews, 1,258 attending the Port Health Dispensary at Sitra and the remaining 443 at the Public Health Dispensary in Manama. The Bahrain Government Hospital provided hospitalisation facilities and sick personnel from overseas tankers were accommodated in the Bahrain Petroleum Company's hospital. There were 36 heat cases with two deaths, otherwise illnesses were of a routine nature. Attention was again drawn to the inadequacy of arrangements on board many ships plying in the Persian Gulf in respect of insufficient supplies of cold drinking water, medicines, salt tablets, refrigeration, ventilation and air-conditioning facilities.

The Mecca Pilgrimage of the year 1372 Hegira (A.D. 1953). It is estimated that 2,578 pilgrims passed through Bahrain. All came by air, and a transit camp was established at the Airport. There was no case of infectious disease and all possessed the necessary certificates of vaccination against small-pox and cholera.

744
●484

Bahrain Port Health Regulations 1952 were drawn up in accordance with International Sanitary Regulations and were put into effect during the year.

**Number of Ships granted Practique**

| | |
|---|---|
| After Boarding | 352 |
| Without Boarding | 1179 |
| Total | 1531 |

**Number of Passengers, Dhows and Launches arriving at Bahrain.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Manama Jetty | 1558 |
| Muharraq Jetty | 157 |
| P.C.L/ Jetty, Sitra | 152 |
| Total | 1867 |

**Number of Passenger Aircraft arriving at Muharraq Airport** .. .. 4348

**Number of Aircraft, Ships or other vessels placed in Quarantine** .. .. nil.

**Number of Deratization Exemption Certificates issued** .. .. .. 38

**Number of Vaccinations and Inoculations carried out against :**

| | |
|---|---|
| Smallpox | 25,840 |
| Cholera | 3,698 |
| Enteric Group | 680 |
| Yellow Fever | 129 |
| Typhus | 120 |
| Plague | 104 |

During the year the Department[1] sent a deputation consisting of one of the members of the committee and the Superintendent to Kuwait to make a claim for the Waqf funds from the large and very valuable building on the Sea Road west of the Customs pier. This building was acquired by one Hilal Al Materi a Kuwaiti pearl merchant. He dedicated it as a Waqf for charitable purposes, not specifying whether the funds should be spent in Bahrain or in Kuwait. The Sunni Waqf Department obtained an opinion on the case from Al Azhar in Cairo supporting their claim that the Waqf should be spent in the country where the property was situated. The Deputation was not received with any enthusiasm in Kuwait, some sort of compromise was arrived at but at the end of the year the Department had not received any contribution from the Waqf towards charitable objects in Bahrain.

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## PASSPORT DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Mr. Kadhim Al Asfoor, Passport Officer)

**Revenue.** The total revenue was Rs. 53,789/-, about Rs. 19,000 less than was collected in 1371. This decrease was due to a shortage of book passports which were being printed in England. Some changes were made in the new passports which now contain the name of the holder on the outside of the cover as well as inside it. A further change in the wording is "date of birth" instead of "age," though at present very few of the people who use the passports know either the date of their birth or their age. Revenue from Travel Passes was Rs. 22,339, from entry forms, Rs. 8,236 and from miscellaneous forms Rs. 5,041.

**Pilgrims.** Only 280 persons did the Pilgrimage to Mecca, this number included 19 Persians, long resident in Bahrain who were granted passport facilities to perform the pilgrimage. Over 3,500 Shia pilgrims visited the Holy Cities of Iraq, an increase of about 500 over the previous year's number. These pilgrims included many people from the villages. Some of them crossed from Iraq to Persia and visited the Shia shrines of Persia. Such journeys are lengthy and expensive and the increase in the number of Shia pilgrims every year is an indication of prosperity among the working classes.

About 200 Arabs from Bahrain went to the Lebanon, mostly during the summer, this was about half the number who travelled there last year. In spite of inducements by the Government of the Lebanon to encourage tourists from the Gulf the people of Bahrain are beginning to find that they cannot afford to pay the excessively high prices which prevail in Beirut and in mountain resorts. The much advertised wealth of certain Gulf states seems to have caused the people of the Lebanon to regard any Arab from the Gulf as a rich traveller and a potential spender.

| | | *Arrivals.* | *Departures.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Passengers.** | By Air | 22,542 | 23,758 |
| | By steamers | 13,206 | 13,136 |
| | By Country Craft | 34,220 | 35,228 |

Number of dhows and launches visiting Bahrain : 4,958.

During the year 1,077 gratis passes were issued to Shaikhs, their followers, teachers and students. Numerous members of the Ruling Family with their followers went on hunting trips to Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Kuwait.

During the diving season 496 Persian divers were allowed to land in Bahrain and to return to Persia after the diving season.

[1] [Sunni Waqf Department — Ar. Text]

204 In addition to the English language papers published in Iraq, Lebanon and Egypt, many English and American papers have airmail editions, which take a very short time in reaching Bahrain. Other papers and magazines are on sale in the Manama shops, both American and English, but they take rather longer to arrive. It is possible to receive the *Irak Times* by air, and also numerous Arabic papers from Egypt and Lebanon.

217 There is a public library in Bahrain, the Library of the Education Department, in Shaikh Abdulla Road, which contains Arabic and English books and magazines. There is a subscription library of English fiction and non-fiction at the Residency, Jufair and also libraries in many of the clubs. The largest library in Bahrain is that of the Bapco Club. Some Manama shops have large selections of books and one of them specialises in new books on Middle Eastern topics and stocks them soon after their publication.

## CLOTHING (EUROPEAN)

291 Men in the summer wear shirts and slacks or shorts and light tropical suits on formal occasions. In the evening white opened-necked and short sleeved shirts and white trousers are usual, with black shoes and socks and a black cummerbund at more formal affairs. Aertex or similar day shirts are the most suitable form of wear and cellular vests are useful, not for warmth but to absorb sweat. All forms of clothing for summer wear in Bahrain can be bought in Manama, both ready made and tailored.

In cold weather ordinary tweed suits are worn, or flannel trousers and sports coats and dinner jackets in the evening. It is cold enough for pullovers and overcoats, especially after sunset.

Washing frocks, preferably cotton, are the best wear for women in the very hot weather, as linen or silk are unsuitable when the temperature and humidity are high. Light frocks are usually worn from April till December. Hats are worn on rare occasions. Cotton dress materials can be obtained locally as well as ready made English and American frocks.

In the cold season women require the type of clothing which is worn in England in April and May, and in the Fall in the States. In addition, the cold winter winds call for a really warm coat. As with summer clothes, those needed in the winter can be made in Manama from locally purchased material.

## HOTELS

185 366 There are only two hotels in Bahrain attaining European standards, the B.O.A.C. Guest House and the Bahrain Hotel. The former is primarily built for the benefit of transit passengers and it is often difficult for visitors to Bahrain who expect to stay for some time to get a room there. The Bahrain Hotel, which is at the west end of Prior Road, offers good food and is in fact the only alternative to the B.O.A.C. Guest House. There are a number of small local hotels which are not in the same class as these two.

Bahrain Government receives 50% of the profits of the oil industry. The Eastern Bank, since it was established in 1919, has served as the State's Treasury and a Budget is published every year showing the revenue and expenditure of the State. 652

The Customs Directorate is in the centre of the Manama sea front and there are subsidiary offices in Muharraq Town, at the Airport and at Sitra. All goods of any kind which are imported or exported must pass through the customs. The Customs Pier at Manama, which was originally built in 1917, has frequently been lengthened and enlarged and now extends for a quarter of a mile out to sea. Owing to shallow water, vessels in the Manama harbour have to anchor some three miles from the shore and passengers and cargo are conveyed to and from the steamers by launches, barges and sailing dhows. The port and storage facilities in Bahrain are better than elsewhere in the Gulf and importers are allowed to retain their goods in the customs premises for ninety days before re-exporting them. There are usually about 90-100 sailing vessels and launches alongside and anchored off the pier, these come from other Gulf ports, from the west coast of India and from the Red Sea. Walking down the customs pier one sees many interesting types of vessels and sea-faring Arabs from all parts of the Gulf and beyond it. 651 439 504

On the west of the entrance to the Pier is the Passport Office. Passport Officials go aboard all passenger vessels and are present at the Airport when aircraft arrive. Bahrain has had its own passports since 1929. 486

On the south side of the Square, which has a little garden in the centre of it, is the "Bab al-Bahrain," the Gateway of Bahrain, consisting of two large blocks of office buildings with an archway in the centre. On the south side of the western block there is a fine old Arab door and on the balconies of the buildings as well as around the garden in the Square there are cement panels containing Arabesque patterns copied from old buildings in Bahrain. 344

The Bab al-Bahrain contains the finance and accounts department where all payments to the Government for electricity, water, etc., etc., are made, the Land Department which deals with sales and registration of property and questions about boundaries and ownership of land, the registration of sales being compulsory, and several other government offices. His Highness has a reception room overlooking the square on the first floor of the building where he sits on Wednesday mornings. Here he receives any visitors who wish to call on him and sees people who present petitions. On Monday mornings he visits the Municipal Buildings at Muharraq where he holds a similar reception. 344 655 423 643

East of the Customs, on the sea front, is the Law Courts Building which contains a number of different courts including religious courts presided over by the Qadis of the Sunni and Shia sects. Certain foreigners, including British, Americans, Pakistanis and Indians are under the judicial authority of H.B.M.'s Political Agent. In mixed 692

491 south past the Jebal ad-Dukhan and the oil field. This last road, which deteriorates after leaving Awali, after passing Jebal Amr crosses the plain and ascending the rim-rock reaches the Ruler's Hunting Lodge at Rumaitha. From here the road goes due west to another Hunting Lodge at Matalla and joins the road from Zellaq to Ras al-Barr, the southern end of Bahrain Island.

The third main road leading from Manama runs parallel to and about 1-2 miles from the north coast of Bahrain. Passing through some of the most flourishing gardens in the islands, with thick green hedges by the road's edge, the driver is shaded by rows of tall date palms that cast a shadow over the road during most of the day and form an umbrella against the sun. After leaving the village of Jidhafs the road crosses patches of desert, clumps of tumuli alternate with gardens, and for the last few miles before reaching Budaiya, on the north-west corner of Bahrain, there is a shrubby desert where camels, sheep and goats graze. Beyond the Government Experimental Garden the road reaches the sea, and swinging south by the Police Post it enters the village of Budaiya. From here it bears south, through a number of villages and across the pipe-line road from Rifaa to Jesra, and finally to Zellaq.

The fourth road out of Manama, in fact a continuation of the sea road, leads across the Muharraq causeway to the town and island of that name, and after following the Muharraq sea road swings inland and crosses a short stretch of sand before reaching the edge of the Airport. Here the road branches ; one branch leads to the north in the direction of the Airport and the other follows the curve of Arad Bay and then goes straight across the desert to the town of Hedd. Other roads branch off from this to the villages which fringe the coasts of Muharraq and to the gardens of Arad.

To return to the main island of Bahrain. Along the length of the Awal Road and particularly where it passes through the gardens, there are various roads and lanes leading to Zinj and Bilad al-Qadim to Saar and Salmabad, while a little distance to the south of Suq al-Khamis is the turning to the south towards the Adari Pool. Further south again a well-surfaced but somewhat winding road connects the Awal and Budaiya Roads, coming out on to the latter about half a mile west of Jidhafs. Shortly after passing Radhm al-Qawari, second class roads to the east and west lead respectively to the villages of the north-east coast, Tubli, Sanad and Ikur, and to Aali and beyond. Further on along Awal Road there is a road junction with a main road branching off to the south-east in the direction of the Refinery and Sitra. This road, after crossing the Awali-Sitra Road skirts the Refinery and then follows the east coast to the villages of Asker, Jaw and Dour.

It is impossible to describe in detail the many roads in Bahrain, but these are shown on the map of Bahrain and most of them branch off from the main roads which have been mentioned.

505 423 486 Communication with the other islands of Bahrain are mentioned in Part III and visits can usually be arranged to them by private agree-

ment with launch or dhow owners, but it should be remembered that some of them are private property. Umm as-Sabaan is the private property of Mr. Max W. Thornberg, Jidda being a penal settlement, is forbidden ground, and Umm an-Nasaan may only be visited with permission of H.H. The Ruler. The others, the small islands south of Muharraq, Nebih Salih, Jezira and the Howar islands are free to all visitors and a visit to them makes a change from drives around the islands.

Transport in Bahrain includes both bus and taxi, the former are not the luxurious affairs seen in Europe and England but have wooden bodies built in Bahrain and attached to an imported chassis. Taxis, however, are not too expensive if care is taken to pay the correct fare which is recorded in a fare book that should be carried by every driver. It is rumoured that taxis will soon carry meters, which will certainly simplify matters, but till that happy day passengers who have complaints to make about being over-charged should make them to the Traffic Department of the State Police.

Petrol and oil are cheap in Bahrain, which is not surprising, and the import tax on cars and motor cycles is only 10%, so that to own and run a private car is cheaper than in England or the States, as many fortunate people have discovered. Most makes of cars are obtainable in Bahrain, garage facilities have increased and the improvement in the roads has enabled English cars to be used with comfort.

The old-fashioned form of transport in Bahrain was the donkey. It was used for every task, for bringing the produce of the country for sale in the town, for pulling carts and for riding. The white Bahrain donkeys used to be well known all over the Middle East and they were exported from Bahrain to places as far distant as the East African coast. Today buses are replacing donkeys, there are bus services between most of the villages, though many of the young men prefer to use bicycles. Lorries too have successfully competed with donkeys and now carry most of the goods between the towns and villages, but in the gardens and in the narrow country lanes one still meets many donkeys though few of the fine white beasts for which the islands were famous long ago. However, the donkey will never entirely die out, for he has certain advantages over other methods of transport, he can reproduce young donkeys, he can find his own way along small and narrow tracks in the gardens and he produces manure, which is a valuable commodity in Bahrain.

## CHAPTER V

## BAHRAIN'S OIL INDUSTRY

THE man who was chiefly responsible for the discovery of Bahrain's oil resources was an Australian, Major Frank Holmes, who came to Bahrain on behalf of the Eastern and General Syndicate, a British prospecting company. Major Holmes, after drilling a number of artesian wells and thus discovering something about the composition

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

361 laughter comes from the Club House Swimming Bath and in the evenings sports of all kinds take place inside the camp. Today Awali
382 is a town of some 400 houses inhabited by 2,000 Europeans and
[162] Americans. Shady trees line the roads and in fact there is little to suggest the presence of oil. The roads are surfaced with it, but otherwise it is not visible, though oil is the *raison d'etre* of this town set in such an inhospitable situation, to which water has to be piped from miles away and where to plant a tree a pneumatic drill is required to pierce the rock on which the town is built.

### SAKHIR

361 Driving from Awali to Zellaq the traveller will notice a group of large buildings on the south of the road near the foot of the Jebal. This is Sakhir, founded by Shaikh Muhammad bin Khalifa (1843-67, d. 1890), but the majority of buildings which exist today were built by the late Ruler of Bahrain. The present Ruler makes little use of Sakhir, and the attractive mosques, balconied dwelling houses and high roofed rooms are now deserted ; the only human beings who remain are the Bedouin in charge of the horses and camels which are still kept there. The climate of Sakhir is excellent and in the spring there are fields of grass which provide grazing both for domestic animals, gazelle and hare. When Sakhir was occupied Saluqis were much in evidence, Shaikh Hamed was a great lover of this fine breed of dogs and his
● [486] favourite hound, Housha, followed him wherever he went. It should be remembered that Sakhir is the private property of the Ruler, from whom permission must be obtained before it is visited.

### JEBAL AD-DUKHAN

133 The "Mountain" of Bahrain has already been mentioned in the Introduction, but it deserves further notice. From its peak, which is marked by a trigonometry marker, it is possible to see, on a clear day, the entire area of Bahrain from Manama and Muharraq on the north to Ras al-Barr, while on the east and west the sea is even nearer. From the peak an excellent bird's eye view of Awali can be seen, and, at night, the flares at Dhahran and at Dukhan in Qatar are visible. The strange formation of the island, with the rim-rock and the central depression can be seen from the Jebal. At the head of a wadi facing towards Awali is the Jebal cave, some 15 × 35 × 6 ft., which is hollowed out of the rock, probably by water erosion for the fantastic patterns on the walls would seem to point to nature's rather than man's handiwork.

### JAW AND DOUR (DAR AL-MANADIL)

361 On the east coast of Bahrain about a mile south of the highest peak of the Jebal are the villages of Dour and Jaw, similar in character and appearance and the southernmost inhabited villages on the east coast
[342] of Bahrain. The villages are about a mile apart and both are on the shore, they consist of a poor type of stone and gypsum hut inhabited

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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which opens at 11 a.m. and at midnight, for an hour, to allow the passage of vessels through the deep channel between the two islands. There is a toll gate at the bridge and cars coming from Muharraq to Manama are charged 4 annas. Beyond the bridge, around a group of white buildings, the Customs House, Police Station and Municipal Office, there is always a scene of much activity. Here boats unload their cargoes and buses fill with passengers bound for all parts of the Islands. The sea road continues along the water front until it turns inland towards the airport. Much of the ground inside the sea road has not yet been reclaimed and at high tide the sea forms little squares of still water where children sail home-made boats. On Muharraq sea front there are several important buildings, a government dispensary, a large school and, at the northern corner, a block of flats.

Another road, opposite the causeway, runs up into the town passing through the bazaars, which branch off to the north and south. The Muharraq shops are of the old fashioned type, with neither plate glass nor fixed prices. There are antique dealers and carpet sellers and all the usual traders found in Arab towns. Ships chandlers are numerous as Muharraq has always been a sea faring centre. Arab chests, carved or brass bound, carpets, worked leather sandals, divers' equipment and goods of interest to tourists can be bought here at prices lower after judicious bargaining, than those in Manama.

Today Muharraq is still a typically Arab town, a fact of which its inhabitants are proud. Most of the shops are owned by Arabs and are not occupied by Indians or Persians as in Manama. The town, although it was once the capital of Bahrain, the centre of the pearl industry and the focus of trade (a fact that its inhabitants remember with pride) has developed more slowly than Manama. There are few modern buildings, only one cinema and no large European style shops, but its climate is said to be pleasanter than Manama and it is not so humid in the summer. Muharraq was once a walled town but no traces of the walls now remain. The high old houses which line the narrow streets have changed little during the last century, except where corners have been cut away to make passages for large American cars. Many of the larger houses belong to the Ruling Family. They are built around courtyards and in some cases a big house contains three or four such courtyards, surrounded by high walls with few outward-looking windows in them to screen the house from prying eyes.

Muharraq has a telephone service, electric light, a Post Office and a filling station, but no main water supply, apart from artesian wells. As in the case of Manama, the affairs of the town are controlled by an elected Municipal Council presided over by a member of the Ruling Family.

The sea surrounds the town on three sides but at the northern end a new residential area is developing on land which is being sold by the Municipality for building purposes. East of the town is the bay of Arad, the ancient name for Muharraq at the time of Alexander,

of the Egg," a small village with many seafaring inhabitants. To the north of Sitra there is a very pleasant sandy beach looking towards Umm a-Hasan where there is excellent bathing; the view also includes Nabih Salih and Jaziyra. There is deep water to the north of Sitra, and it is here that the Bahrain Government is building the new Port of Manama with a pier running into deep water from the shore between Umm al-Hasan and Jufair.

361 [504]

### JIDDA

This island is about 2½ miles from Budaiya. It is small and rocky and in appearance unlike any of the other Bahrain Islands. Its high cliffs rise abruptly from the water and a few fort-like buildings are silhouetted against the sky-line. On the south side of the island there is a level strip of land which is extensively cultivated. Jidda is Bahrain's penal settlement; here all long term prisoners are detained, spending their time cutting stone, weaving and working in the gardens. There is a small house on the top of the cliffs above the jetty which catches all the wind in the summer and which is used by the Adviser to the Bahrain Government. Being a prison island, Jidda is forbidden to general visitors.

101 133 697 [486]

The stone quarries at Jidda are of great age and it is likely that the large stones which line the graves in the burial mounds were cut here. There is an Arabic inscription roughly cut on one of the cliffs which reads as follows :

316

"During the month of Shaban in the year 968 (April/May, 1561) there was completed the cutting of the 100,000th rock for the mending of the tower of the Bahrain fort in the wazirate of the Great Wazir Jilal ad-Din Murad Mahmud by the hand of the slave . . . " (a few words after this are unreadable).

### UMM AN-NASAAN

This, the second largest of the Bahrain islands, lies a few miles across the shallow water to the south of Jidda. It is sandy and flat, with the exception of two small limestone hills towards its centre which break the monotony of its shape. At the north end of the island there are several natural springs and artesian wells from which extensive date gardens are irrigated; they were planted by the late Ruler of Bahrain, H.H. Shaikh Hamed, who also established on the island a herd of black buck and gazelle, the former being imported from India and the latter from the mainland of Bahrain.

101 133 312 [136]

There is evidence of ancient habitations on Umm an-Nasan, foundations of many old houses are visible and sherds of pottery can be picked up. Local legend has it that Nasaan, after whom the island is named, was one of the early rulers of Bahrain, but this legend has not been substantiated by historical research.

172

## CUSTOMS REGULATIONS

439 There is usually little difficulty in importing goods into Bahrain, except the following, which are not allowed :—

656 (a) Arms and Ammunition,

651 (b) Alcoholic and intoxicating liquors (except under licence).

(c) Cultured, bleached or tinted pearls and undrilled pearls produced outside the Persian Gulf,

(d) Obscene, indecent or seditious literature or pictures,

(e) Dogs, except with special permission of the Director of Customs which will only be granted in the case of dogs accompanied by a veterinary surgeon's certificate of innoculation against rabies.

(f) Counterfeit coins,

(g) Opium and its allied products and cocaine and its allied products.

Books and printed matter, gold and silver bullion and coinage, samples, undrilled Persian Gulf pearls, implements and tools of trade for the use of the traveller are exempt from customs duties. For those arriving for the first time in Bahrain to take up residence, household effects, new clothing, silver and plate are also exempt from duties.

[276] All travellers may bring into the country not more than 100 cigarettes, 50 cigars or ½ pound of tobacco, the containers of which must have been opened.

651 All other goods are liable to a customs duty. The duty on tobacco and liquor is 15%, luxuries pay 10% and necessities, 5%, but prospective travellers should not depend upon this as a hard and fast rule but are advised to ascertain the rates for each article. The Bahrain Government published a Customs Ordinance in 1950 in the form of a booklet, price Rs.2, which is obtainable from the Director of Customs, Manama, Bahrain.

## LANGUAGES

191 The official language of Bahrain is Arabic, but some English is spoken in most parts of the State; it is usually possible in cases of difficulty to find an English-speaking Arab

On the other hand the Arabs much appreciate foreigners who take the trouble to learn even the rudiments of their language, which, it must be admitted, is very difficult. For this purpose possibly the best book in print is Van Ess's *Spoken Arabic of Irak*. There are, of course, many other excellent books on Arabic, but for conversational purposes the one above approaches nearest to the particular brand of Arabic spoken in Bahrain.

## PASSPORTS AND VISAS

486 All intending visitors to Bahrain are required to have passports endorsed for Bahrain, and in addition they should apply for an entry

visa either directly to the Bahrain Government or to the nearest British Consulate which will, after reference to the Bahrain Government, accept or reject the application on the latter's behalf. Passengers arriving in Bahrain without visas are likely to find themselves on the next plane outward bound. 486

Travellers from Bahrain who require visas for other countries must apply for them to H.B.M.'s Political Agency. In some cases the Agency is able to issue these visas on behalf of the foreign countries, but in the case of others it will be found necessary to apply for visas directly to the nearest consulate of the country concerned. H.B.M's Political Agency are in a position to inform prospective travellers about the latest regulations on this subject.

## TAXES

There is no income tax in Bahrain, but for owners of houses and other premises within the Municipal areas of Manama, Muharraq, Hedd and Rifaa there is a small Municipal tax. 651

## WATER AND ELECTRICITY

Within the Municipal area of Manama both water and electricity is provided by the State. 312 377

Within the Municipal area of Muharraq electricity only is provided by the State. 655

Rates for these amenities are as follows :—

| *Electricity.* | *Water.* |
|---|---|
| First 50 units per month, 4 *annas* per unit. | 1,000 gallons *Rs.*1 *As.*14. |
| Next 200 units per month, 3 *annas* per unit. | Meter rent, 8 annas per month. |
| Over 250 units per month, 2 *annas* per unit. | Minimum charge, *Rs.*1 *As.*14 per month. |
| Meter rent 8 *annas* per month. | |
| Minimum charge *Rs.*1 or 4 units per month. | |

## CURRENCY

Local currency in use in Bahrain at the time of writing is the Indian Rupee, worth, at the current rate of exchange, 1/6d. 436

Coinage is as follows :—

12 pice make 1 anna.
4 pies make 1 anna.
16 annas make 1 rupee.

The following coins and notes are in circulation :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 pice (1/12 anna) | copper | 1 rupee | nickel and note |
| 1 pie (¼ anna) | copper | 2 rupees | note |
| 1 anna | nickel and brass | 5 rupees | note |
| 2 annas | nickel and brass | 10 rupees | note |
| 4 annas | nickel | 100 rupees | note |
| 8 annas | nickel | | |

During the year the Department[1] sent a deputation consisting of one of the members of the committee and the Superintendent to Kuwait to make a claim for the Waqf funds from the large and very valuable building on the Sea Road west of the Customs pier. This building was acquired by one Hilal Al Materi a Kuwaiti pearl merchant. He dedicated it as a Waqf for charitable purposes, not specifying whether the funds should be spent in Bahrain or in Kuwait. The Sunni Waqf Department obtained an opinion on the case from Al Azhar in Cairo supporting their claim that the Waqf should be spent in the country where the property was situated. The Deputation was not received with any enthusiasm in Kuwait, some sort of compromise was arrived at but at the end of the year the Department had not received any contribution from the Waqf towards charitable objects in Bahrain.

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## PASSPORT DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Mr. Kadhim Al Asfoor, Passport Officer)

**Revenue.** The total revenue was Rs. 53,789/-, about Rs. 19,000 less than was collected in 1371. This decrease was due to a shortage of book passports which were being printed in England. Some changes were made in the new passports which now contain the name of the holder on the outside of the cover as well as inside it. A further change in the wording is "date of birth" instead of "age," though at present very few of the people who use the passports know either the date of their birth or their age. Revenue from Travel Passes was Rs. 22,339, from entry forms, Rs. 8,236 and from miscellaneous forms Rs. 5,041.

**Pilgrims.** Only 280 persons did the Pilgrimage to Mecca, this number included 19 Persians, long resident in Bahrain who were granted passport facilities to perform the pilgrimage. Over 3,500 Shia pilgrims visited the Holy Cities of Iraq, an increase of about 500 over the previous year's number. These pilgrims included many people from the villages. Some of them crossed from Iraq to Persia and visited the Shia shrines of Persia. Such journeys are lengthy and expensive and the increase in the number of Shia pilgrims every year is an indication of prosperity among the working classes.

About 200 Arabs from Bahrain went to the Lebanon, mostly during the summer, this was about half the number who travelled there last year. In spite of inducements by the Government of the Lebanon to encourage tourists from the Gulf the people of Bahrain are beginning to find that they cannot afford to pay the excessively high prices which prevail in Beirut and in mountain resorts. The much advertised wealth of certain Gulf states seems to have caused the people of the Lebanon to regard any Arab from the Gulf as a rich traveller and a potential spender.

| | | *Arrivals.* | *Departures.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Passengers.** | By Air .. .. .. | 22,542 .. | 23,758 |
| | By steamers .. .. | 13,206 .. | 13,136 |
| | By Country Craft .. .. | 34,220 .. | 35,228 |

Number of dhows and launches visiting Bahrain : 4,958.

During the year 1,077 gratis passes were issued to Shaikhs, their followers, teachers and students. Numerous members of the Ruling Family with their followers went on hunting trips to Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Kuwait.

During the diving season 496 Persian divers were allowed to land in Bahrain and to return to Persia after the diving season.

1 [Sunni Waqf Department -- Ed.]

**Abolition of visas.** An order was issued at the beginning of the year allowing nationals of Oman, the Trucial Coast, Muscat, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the Yemen to enter Bahrain without being in possession of visas for Bahrain, issued by the British Consular or other authorities, provided that they had valid national passports or travel documents endorsed for Bahrain. Unfortunately this arrangement enabled a large number of Persians to enter Bahrain carrying travel papers describing them as being subjects of Trucial Shaikhdoms. The Government has no wish to restrict Arabs from other parts of the Gulf from coming to work in Bahrain, where there is still a demand for unskilled labour, but it views with distaste any increase in the Persian minority which exists in Bahrain. When it became evident that a number of Persians were entering Bahrain under the guise of being permanent residents of Oman or the Trucial Coast the passport authorities were ordered to allow such persons to remain in Bahrain not longer than 15 days. It is estimated that during the year about 9,075 immigrants from Oman and the Trucial Coast entered Bahrain in order to find work, they were issued with permits to remain in Bahrain for one year, subject to renewal. In almost every case the immigrants were men.

**Illegal Entries.** The number of persons who were arrested and repatriated to their countries, having attempted to enter the country without travel documents, was 124, consisting of 68 Pakistanis, 23 Omanis and 33 Persians. The number of persons who succeeded in entering Bahrain without being caught is undoubtedly large. The Pakistanis crossed the Gulf to Muscat by dhows and continued their journey by foot up the coast to Doha, there they chartered a dhow to take them to the nearest port in Saudi Arabia, on their way to Mecca. The Nakhuda, however, landed them on the Bahrain coast, somewhere near Jaw, probably telling them that it was the coast of Arabia. These unfortunate pilgrims were eventually sent back by steamer to Karachi.

During the year the Bahrain courts heard four cases against Bahrain Nakhudas who had landed passengers in Bahrain knowing that they were illegal entrants. They were severely dealt with. Most of the passenger smuggling is done by Qatar Nakhudas who land the people on unfrequented stretches of coast or on shoals on the Eastern side of Bahrain. Two Persian Nakhudas were prosecuted in the Agency Courts and sentenced to imprisonment and fines for the same offence.

In January 1953 information was received that a certain Persian Nakhuda, Ghulam Reza, a naturalised Bahrain subject, had arranged to ship a number of Persians to Bahrain. His launch arrived with 63 Persians on board who were refused permission to land, not being in possession of papers. They were transferred to another launch bound for Kuwait. Later some of the same passengers were found in Manama and it was discovered that the Nakhuda had, after leaving Bahrain, transferred the passengers to another vessel and landed them on the coast where they were met by motor buses which conveyed them to Manama. Ghulam Reza was subsequently arrested, prosecuted, imprisoned for one year and fined Rs. 4,000. His charge was Rs. 150 a head for landing Persians in Bahrain.

**Bahrain Nationality.** During the year 31 applications were received from people of various nationalities applying for Bahrain nationality. Of these 19 were accepted, being from persons long resident in Bahrain and possessing immovable property; three of these were Indian subjects and three were Pakistanis. The courts investigated 44 applications by Persians who claimed to have been born in Bahrain. Proof of birth, especially in the case of older people, cannot easily be produced. Only 9 of these applicants were able to prove that they were born in the country. At the beginning of the year an order was issued to the effect that no Persian whose application for Bahrain nationality was accepted would be issued with a passport until two years had elapsed from the date on which he was granted nationality. As a result of this order only a small number of Persians submitted applications. The main object of the Persians who applied for Bahrain nationality was to obtain passports with which to enter Saudi Arabia where their presence was not appreciated.

**Passport Official's Course.** Ali bin Abdulla, a clerk in the Passport Department, did a course in England studying and learning passport and immigration methods and procedure. The course was arranged by the British Government, the results appear to be satisfactory.

## PASSPORT DEPARTMENT

Passport control by the Bahrain Government was begun in 1928, when a passport official was appointed whose duty was to register the names of all passengers landing from steamers in Bahrain. Soon afterwards all passports which were in order were stamped with the Bahrain passport control stamp. 486 647

In 1929 the Government began issuing its own passports to its subjects. The book passports are similar to those of other countries; the binding of the passports is scarlet. Passports are valid for two years, but can be renewed for eight more years. Application for passports is made on a printed form; the cost of a book passport is Rs 7/- and for each renewal Rs 5 -.

Soon after the introduction of book passports the Government began to issue travel documents for use within the Gulf, costing Rs 2/-, which are valid for one year only and are not renewable. The proposal that special travel documents should be issued for pilgrims to Mecca and the Shia holy cities in Iraq has not yet materialised.

For the last seven years the British Consular authorities abroad have, on behalf of the Bahrain Government, given visas to persons travelling to Bahrain, and to Bahrain subjects abroad.

Bahrain passports are not considered valid by the authorities in Persia. Persians living in Bahrain are given special exit and return passes, valid for twelve months, which enable them to go to Persia and return, and a special arrangement is made in the case of genuine Persian divers working in Bahrain boats. Other Persians who wish to visit Bahrain have to obtain special permission from the Bahrain Government, and such permission is only given on the written and stamped guarantee of a respectable local merchant, who assumes responsibility for the person returning and for his good conduct in Bahrain. Should occasion require it, these privileges could be cancelled, and no Persian would be entitled to visit Bahrain without the necessary visa on his passport.

Bahrain nationals travelling to any foreign countries outside the Gulf obtain a visa from the Political Agent, Bahrain. Travel documents issued by recognised authorities in other Gulf States to their own nationals are recognised by the Bahrain Government, and the holders are admitted without a visa.

Various fees and stamp duties are collected by the Passport Department, and at one time the collection from passport fees was the third largest item of revenue in the Budget. The Passport Officer, who has been the head of the department since it started, is Mr. Jalal-lu-din Ahmed. [651]

In spite of the vigilance of the passport officials, especially during the last year, great numbers of indigent Persians have entered Bahrain, illegally, at various points on the coast. Many of these people obtain work with the Bahrain Petroleum Company and fill posts which should be occupied by Bahrain subjects. The enormous increase in Persians, most of whom entered Bahrain without permission, is especially noticeable in Manamah, where almost every other person in the bazaar and nine out of ten of the beggars appear to be Persians. When once these highly undesirable aliens have entered the country it appears to be almost impossible to repatriate them. Being foreigners, they are not under the control of the Bahrain Government. [167]

## MUNICIPALITIES

**Constitution and History.** **Manamah.** Municipalities exist in Manamah and Muharraq. The Manamah municipality was founded in 1919, under the presidency of Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa. As in the case of almost every innovation in Bahrain, the first proposal to form a municipality met with open and hidden hostility, not from the small people, but from the important landowners in the town, who feared that their vested interests would be affected. In after years the people who objected most actively became strong supporters of the municipality. The ill-feeling soon subsided, and in 1927 another municipality was formed in Muharraq at the request of the people of that town. 632

August 2, 1928, which developed in detail the matters discussed in the preceding note and affirmed Persian sovereignty over Bahrein. England answered on February 18, 1929, developing the arguments in her first note and reiterating her previous contentions.

Meanwhile, the Bahrein Government instituted visa regulations and established a land registry office. Since the promulgation of the decree of December 21, 1927, all real properties had to be registered, but no one except "a subject of Bahrein" had right to own property in the island.

Obviously this was to deprive Persians of their rights of ownership in Bahrein. Many sold their land and migrated to Persia, and those who stayed behind had to accept Bahrein citizenship.[1]

Also, previously passports had not been required from Persians travelling to Bahrein, and Persia protested against the change. According to the Persian note, the change "was the explicit recognition by the English authorities of the indisputable right of Iran [Persia] over Bahrein."

Publication of the news of oil concessions obtained previously by Major Holmes from the Bahrein Government, provoked on July 23, 1930, another note from Persia, in which she declared the concession invalid and "reserved—the right to reclaim or to demand restitution of all profits resulting eventually from that concession, without prejudice of all damages relating to it." This strong protest did not deter the English syndicate from ceding its rights to the Standard Oil Company of California, which began systematic exploitation.

The concession to prospect and explore for oil in Bahrein had been obtained on December 2, 1925, to Major Frank Holmes, representing Eastern and General Syndicate, a British company headed by Edmond Davis. For two years, the syndicate tried without success, to interest first British, and later American concerns, in the development of the Bahrein concession. Finally, on

1. This decree was still stiffened by the decrees of 1930 and that of May 23, 1941.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



as the 19th century even the British recognized that Iran had some rights in Bahrain. The Iranian government has never relinquished its claims to the islands, a fact which has had a direct bearing on the position of the Persian community.

Under these favorable circumstances, Persians have been able until recently to move in and out of Bahrain without hindrance or restriction. Over the centuries a prosperous community developed, made up mostly of merchants, so that today some of the wealthiest inhabitants of Manamah are Persians. Generally speaking, this community is more enterprising, better educated, and has a higher standard of living than the local inhabitants of the land. But although the Persians grew prosperous and acquired property in houses and some land, their hearts were never in Bahrain — they were across the Gulf in the mother country. Bahrain is regarded by the Persians as an outpost for commercial activity but not for permanent settlement.

The Persians are resented by both the Arab inhabitants and the British. They are resented by the Arabs because they constitute a foreign community which is somewhat aloof from the rest of the population; in part, also, because of envy of their general prosperity and because they are regarded as interlopers who are taking the wealth of the country away. Two other serious objections to them are that they are Shi'is by religion and tend to look toward Iran rather than the Arab world for political association.

As for the British, they resent them for numerous reasons. In almost every way they constitute a threat, minor and insignificant though it may be, to the consolidation of their position in the shaykhdom. This is especially true since Bahrain has become the chief base for British naval, air, and political activity in the Persian Gulf. Specifically, the British resent the Persian community because it has always opposed what it regards as the "Indianization" policies of the British in Bahrain. It has played the double role of an opposition party and a fifth column. The recent difficulties of the British government and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Iran brought the problem of Anglo-Iranian relations to a sharp focus. The situation has constituted a threat to British prestige in the Gulf. In Bahrain Mosaddaq was regarded as a liberator — in the early part of 1953 pictures of him could be seen in many shops in Manamah.

The policies of the government of Bahrain have been detrimental to the position of the Persian community. In 1927 visas for entry to Bahrain became required of Persian subjects. In December of the same year a land registry office was established and a decree passed requiring that all land be registered; it also stipulated that only Bahrain subjects could own real property. With the passage of the decree a good many Persians had only two alternatives: either to acquire Bahrain citizenship, which many of them

505 ment with launch or dhow owners, but it should be remembered that
423 some of them are private property. Umm as-Sabaan is the private
486 property of Mr. Max W. Thornberg, Jidda being a penal settlement, is forbidden ground, and Umm an-Nasaan may only be visited with permission of H.H. The Ruler. The others, the small islands south of Muharraq, Nebih Salih, Jezira and the Howar islands are free to all visitors and a visit to them makes a change from drives around the islands.

489 Transport in Bahrain includes both bus and taxi, the former are not
493 the luxurious affairs seen in Europe and England but have wooden bodies built in Bahrain and attached to an imported chassis. Taxis, however, are not too expensive if care is taken to pay the correct fare which is recorded in a fare book that should be carried by every driver. It is rumoured that taxis will soon carry meters, which will certainly simplify matters, but till that happy day passengers who have complaints to make about being over-charged should make them to the Traffic Department of the State Police.

435 Petrol and oil are cheap in Bahrain, which is not surprising, and the
493 import tax on cars and motor cycles is only 10%, so that to own and run
651 a private car is cheaper than in England or the States, as many fortunate people have discovered. Most makes of cars are obtainable in Bahrain, garage facilities have increased and the improvement in the roads has enabled English cars to be used with comfort.

492 The old-fashioned form of transport in Bahrain was the donkey.
489 It was used for every task, for bringing the produce of the country for sale in the town, for pulling carts and for riding. The white Bahrain donkeys used to be well known all over the Middle East and they were exported from Bahrain to places as far distant as the East African coast. Today buses are replacing donkeys, there are bus services between most of the villages, though many of the young men prefer to use bicycles. Lorries too have successfully competed with donkeys and now carry most of the goods between the towns and villages, but in the gardens and in the narrow country lanes one still meets many donkeys though few of the fine white beasts for which the islands were famous long ago. However, the donkey will never entirely die out, for he has certain advantages over other methods of transport, he can reproduce young donkeys, he can find his own way along small and narrow tracks in the gardens and he produces manure, which is a valuable commodity in Bahrain.

## CHAPTER V

## BAHRAIN'S OIL INDUSTRY

315 The man who was chiefly responsible for the discovery of Bahrain's
471 oil resources was an Australian, Major Frank Holmes, who came to Bahrain on behalf of the Eastern and General Syndicate, a British prospecting company. Major Holmes, after drilling a number of artesian wells and thus discovering something about the composition

1

**Secondary School.** At the end of the year there were 168 boys in the school. At the end of the school year 20 boys graduated; nine became school teachers, seven went to Beirut, Egypt and Iraq for higher education and four either joined their parents in business or obtained employment in Saudi Arabia. 873

A new class with a special teacher, was started with the aim of providing a two years commercial course. The 12 students who joined this class are being taught typewriting, book-keeping and business methods. The course appeared to be very successful and it was decided that a second class, on the same lines should be started next year.

**School Hostel.** There were 84 boarders in the hostel throughout the year, distributed as follows:— 871

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Attending Secondary School | .. .. .. | 37 |
| „ Technical School | .. .. .. | 15 |
| „ Primary Schools | .. .. .. | 25 |
| „ Teachers Training School | .. .. | 7 |

Yusuf Shirawi continued temporarily to hold the post of Warden, which he relinquished when he went to the United Kingdom to enter Glasgow University.

**Town Primary and Village Schools.** In the towns the four primary and three infants schools were full to capacity throughout the year. In Muharraq a new infants school was opened, owing to lack of space in the Muharraq primary school classes of the lower primary stage were opened in two of the infants schools. In Manama it was not possible to take in all the children who were on the waiting list for admission. 872

Consideration is being given to building more primary and infants schools in Manama and Hidd.

In some of the village schools full primary courses were introduced, up to third form standard. In future village schools will provide a six years programme similar to the course in the town schools.

**Transport.** One of the difficulties in opening more village schools is the matter of transport. Almost all the teachers live in the towns of Manama and Muharraq and even those teachers who came originally from the villages almost invariably move to the towns when they obtain employment as teachers. Local bus services are unorganised and erratic and cannot be depended on. The department has to maintain an expensive transport system for taking teachers to and from schools and for conveying boys to special classes and to games. [487] 872

**Medical.** A school doctor was appointed, under the supervision of the Senior Medical Officer and a system of medical records has been started. The doctor paid regular visits to all the schools and dealt with minor ailments, other cases were passed by him to the Government hospitals.

The health of boys during the year was satisfactory.

**General.** During the Spring holiday a group of boys from the school hostel visited Zubara, on the coast of Qatar, where they camped for several days.

Other young boys went into camp at Safra, near Rafaa.

**Finance.** The amount spent during the year on boys' schools, excluding the cost of building and excluding the Technical School, was Rs. 20,22,500/-. 658 871

The cost of educating one boy at school in Bahrain for a school year, of nine months, was approximately Rs. 400/-.

1 [H.D 1952-53 -- Annual]

377 Six Wiring Contractors' Licences were issued to local merchants bringing the total to 31.
655 Licences were also issued to 12 additional wiremen who had been successful in passing the Department's tests.

**Future Prospects.** When the 750 k.w. Generating Set, now being installed, is put into commission the present Power Station will have reached its full capacity and no further machines will be installed there.

The new scheme, whereby natural gas will be used to generate electric power, is scheduled to commence operating from a new Power Station, situated near the R.N. Wireless Station, Jufair, during the summer of 1373. Initially this station will contain four 1,000 k.w. Gas Engine Generating Sets. The first two of these will operate as Diesel Generating Sets for some twelve months until the natural gas is available from the oil-field.

The Contracting Engineers for this scheme are Messrs. D. and C. and William Press who, at the end of the year had commenced preparing the site for the new Power Station. The project includes for the distribution of ample supplies of electricity to all parts of Bahrain and it is expected that the initial stages will be completed in some two and a half years time.

The distribution of domestic gas is also being considered as a long-term policy.

655 **Workshops Department.** This Department continued to carry out new work and repairs
651 for all Departments of the Government and many private jobs were undertaken for local firms.

Work for the Government produced a revenue of Rs. 22,310, while private jobs produced Rs. 15,822, showing an overall loss of Rs. 2,218.

655 **Transport Department.** There was an increase of 25 per cent. over the previous year of
489 the total number of vehicles, mechanical plant, etc., operated by Government Departments and to cope with this increase the Transport Department continued to expand.
495

A Petrol Filling Station was constructed by Public Works Department and opened on the 8th Shawal, 1372, for the issue of Petrol, Oil, Air and Water. All Government vehicles now draw from this point.

Eight lock-up garages for the storage of spare vehicles were constructed and a heavy duty vehicle lift, capable of lifting vehicles weighing up to eight tons, was installed in the main shed.

The total number of vehicles on charge at the end of the year is :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (*a*) | Load-carrying vehicles (Trucks) | 31 |
| (*b*) | Buses, Station Wagons, etc. | 13 |
| (*c*) | Pick-ups | 15 |
| (*d*) | Saloon Cars | 25 |
| (*e*) | Land Rovers | 19 |
| (*f*) | Motor Cycles | 23 |
| | | 126 |

| | |
|---|---|
| The total number of Launches, Mechanical Plant, Machinery, etc., on charge at end of the year | 41 |
| Vehicles written off as being beyond economical repair | 10 |
| The total number of new vehicles ordered was | 33 |
| The total number of new vehicles received was | 38 |
| The total number of service operations carried out on vehicles during the year was | 3024 |
| The total number of repair jobs, both major and minor, carried out on vehicles, machinery, etc., was | 5887 |

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN MZ2

nama, Muharraq and Hedd and the 3 villages of East and West Rafaa and Sakhir was less than 1 per cent. 161 165 163

## Social Economy

Prior to the opening of the Bahrain oil fields, the economy of the islands was based upon pearl fishing and the transshipment of goods between Iran, India and other countries and the neighboring Arabian ports. The waters of the Persian Gulf contain famous pearl fishing banks, and, since ancient times, Bahrain has been recognized as the traditional center of the industry. It constituted the principal source of wealth for centuries, but it reached a low level in the 1920s, due in part to the competition of Japanese cultured pearls in the world markets. Early records are nonexistent, but the former Bahrain pearl fleets probably consisted of 600 to 1,000 vessels. The number has declined progressively; only 83 departed for the banks in 1950. In that year, about 2,000 Bahrainis were engaged in pearl fishing during the season from mid-April to October, undoubtedly a fraction of the total employed when the demand for pearls was at its height. 433 228 489 228

In previous decades, dhow building also was one of the major industries of Bahrain, but its decline has paralleled that of the pearl fisheries. Nine boats were constructed in 1949, as against 100 reported in 1928-29. 396

Today, oil is the foundation of Bahrain's prosperity. The royalties derived from the industry not only have bolstered the declining resources of the government, but have made possible the expansion of public works and social services. Operations are conducted by the Bahrain Petroleum Company, Ltd., which holds long-term concessions from the Sheikh of Bahrain for the development of the petroleum resources of the islands. Oil was discovered in the Jabal ad Dukhan region, near the center of Bahrain Island, in 1932, and production started in 1934. The proven reserves of this field are estimated in the neighborhood of 200 million barrels. The company also operates a 651 653 471 135 000

p. 257(A)

months up to June 1952 an average of 427 civil aircraft and 122 military planes passed through Bahrain each month while in the year 1951 some 11,897 passengers entered Bahrain by air. As well as being connected with all parts of the world by the major airlines, smaller local services form a network in the Persian Gulf by which it is possible and usual for local merchants to go to Qatar or Saudi Arabia in the morning and to return to Bahrain the same evening. Many people from Bahrain also spend the weekend with friends in the oil camps of other companies. 509

The sea has played an important part in Bahrain's history and with the coming of oil and the increased prosperity of the islanders both steamer and dhow traffic has increased. In the year 1951, 847 steamers and tankers and 1,416 local craft carried over 47,000 visitors to Bahrain, a figure equal to about 45% of the total population. The launches and sailing boats came to Manama, Muharraq and other coastal towns, while the steamers and tankers anchored at the Sitra Jetty or in the anchorage north of Manama. At present the only deep water wharves are those of the oil company. 505

INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS

Despite its small size, Bahrain and the islands of Muharraq and Sitra are provided with a large number of roads, but this can be accounted for by the presence among the date gardens of many villages as well as by the need for some form of communication with the scattered coastal settlements. Within the towns of Manama and Muharraq the main roads have excellent surfaces and are wide enough for the traffic they carry and the extensive paving that has recently been laid down has made them safer both for drivers and pedestrians. 491 363

From the town of Manama four main roads lead into the country ; to the south-east is Belgrave Road ; to the east, the Causeway ; to the south, Awal Road and to the west, Budaiya Road. 491

Belgrave Road becomes Jufair Road after passing through the new residential centre of Qudabiya, and the latter leads past the Race Course to the suburbs of Jufair and Umm al-Hasan.

A second road, Shaikh Isa Road, starts from the Sea Road near the Adviserate and follows a rather erratic course till it leaves the town near the Water Garden and Mental Hospital. From here it passes through four miles of date gardens, broken only by the open ground around the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, then across the bridge at Radhm al-Qawari and into the desert. The road then travels south through the pre-historic tumuli and rises till it passes through an avenue of trees that marks the village of Rifáa al-Gharbi, the winter residence of H.H. The Ruler. From here the road drops abruptly into the central depression and then reaches Awali, 11 miles from Manama. At Awali the road branches in three directions, a road to the east leads to the Refinery and Sitra Island, a second road to the west goes to Zellaq and the west coast of Bahrain and a third skirts Awali and continues

491 south past the Jebal ad-Dukhan and the oil field. This last road, which deteriorates after leaving Awali, after passing Jebal Amr crosses the plain and ascending the rim-rock reaches the Ruler's Hunting Lodge at Rumaitha. From here the road goes due west to another Hunting Lodge at Matalla and joins the road from Zellaq to Ras al-Barr, the southern end of Bahrain Island.

The third main road leading from Manama runs parallel to and about 1-2 miles from the north coast of Bahrain. Passing through some of the most flourishing gardens in the islands, with thick green hedges by the road's edge, the driver is shaded by rows of tall date palms that cast a shadow over the road during most of the day and form an umbrella against the sun. After leaving the village of Jidhafs the road crosses patches of desert, clumps of tumuli alternate with gardens, and for the last few miles before reaching Budaiya, on the north-west corner of Bahrain, there is a shrubby desert where camels, sheep and goats graze. Beyond the Government Experimental Garden the road reaches the sea, and swinging south by the Police Post it enters the village of Budaiya. From here it bears south, through a number of villages and across the pipe-line road from Rifaa to Jesra, and finally to Zellaq.

The fourth road out of Manama, in fact a continuation of the sea road, leads across the Muharraq causeway to the town and island of that name, and after following the Muharraq sea road swings inland and crosses a short stretch of sand before reaching the edge of the Airport. Here the road branches; one branch leads to the north in the direction of the Airport and the other follows the curve of Arad Bay and then goes straight across the desert to the town of Hedd. Other roads branch off from this to the villages which fringe the coasts of Muharraq and to the gardens of Arad.

To return to the main island of Bahrain. Along the length of the Awal Road and particularly where it passes through the gardens, there are various roads and lanes leading to Zinj and Bilad al-Qadim to Saar and Salmabad, while a little distance to the south of Suq al-Khamis is the turning to the south towards the Adari Pool. Further south again a well-surfaced but somewhat winding road connects the Awal and Budaiya Roads, coming out on to the latter about half a mile west of Jidhafs. Shortly after passing Radhm al-Qawari, second class roads to the east and west lead respectively to the villages of the north-east coast, Tubli, Sanad and Ikur, and to Aali and beyond. Further on along Awal Road there is a road junction with a main road branching off to the south-east in the direction of the Refinery and Sitra. This road, after crossing the Awali-Sitra Road skirts the Refinery and then follows the east coast to the villages of Asker, Jaw and Dour.

It is impossible to describe in detail the many roads in Bahrain, but these are shown on the map of Bahrain and most of them branch off from the main roads which have been mentioned.

505 423 486 Communication with the other islands of Bahrain are mentioned in Part III and visits can usually be arranged to them by private agree-

of colour and Arab life, and large modern stores stocked with every type of goods from America, Europe and the East. The spice bazaar, the second-hand bazaar behind the Municipality and the shops of the metal workers are typically oriental ; the stores in the larger streets with plate glass windows and fixed prices stock a wide range of modern goods which are generally cheaper than elsewhere in the Gulf owing to the low customs duty. Apart from pearls, mother-of-pearl, gold and silver thread embroidery and model dhows there are few purely local products for visitors to buy. The best way to see the bazaar is on foot, it provides innumerable subjects for photos and neither here nor anywhere else in Bahrain is there any objection to the taking of photos. 366 443

To the south-west of the town is the Qalat ad-Diwan, beyond it, along Awal Road, is the Isolation Hospital, the Public Health Department and a number of blocks of flats. Opposite them is a large garden with two miniature lakes, known as the Water Garden ; this is a popular place during summer evenings. Beyond the flats is the Mental Hospital. It is probable that within the next few years this area will undergo extensive development. 361 517 368

To the south-east is the district of Manama known as Quadabiya, up to a few years ago an area of barren sand and swamp land where mosquitos bred but which today is rapidly developing into a residential and entertainment centre. Going along Belgrave Road one passes the Secondary School and Hostel, the Palace and, where the road joins Jufair Road, many houses and bungalows occupied by employees of European commercial firms. Jufair Road then passes the Race Course and Gymkhana Club and terminates in the suburbs of Umm a-Hasan and Jufair; at the latter are the headquarters of the Senior British Naval Officer, Persian Gulf and H.B.M.'s Political Residency. 361 368

In the modern districts of Manama there are many wide and well surfaced roads, lined with tree-shaded pavements, while here and there in the town waste plots of land have been made into little gardens with benches, lawns and fountains. Along the water-front runs Sea Road, joining the Muharraq Causeway with the State Hospital at its western end. The Muharraq Causeway took ten years to build, for it served as a relief project when there was unemployment in Bahrain. The Shaikh Hamed Swing Bridge was completed in 1942 by Messrs. Holloways Bros. Many of the principal buildings and offices in Bahrain are on the Sea Road and Prior Road, which is an inland road running parallel to it. In former times the sea extended far into the town, south even of Prior Road, but during the past twenty-five years much of the sea-shore has been reclaimed. In Muharraq similar work can be seen in progress, but in an earlier stage of development. 363 [491] [653]

In the evenings, the busiest part of Manama is Belgrave Road and the part of Quadabiya to its east where there are four cinemas and many coffee-shops, as well as football fields. At sunset the people of the town can be seen strolling along the road to Jufair, or sitting on the benches that line the pavements, later returning to the cinemas 517 [968]

517 and coffee-shops. This activity continues until about eleven o'clock especially in the summer when it is pleasanter to be out in the open air than indoors.

377 Manama is supplied with electric light from the Government Power
655 House, situated on the point at the north-east end of Manama. The
365 town water supply, also a Government concern, comes from artesian
312 wells in what used to be the Municipal Garden from where it is pumped into large tanks high above Manama and from there distributed by mains to all parts of the town and to numerous drinking fountains and public baths. This water system, which was installed by Holloway Bros., was completed in 1949, before this the water came from private and public artesian wells and was distributed by water carriers.

### QASARI

● 491 It is logical in describing Bahrain to leave Manama by the main road, Awal Road, but a more interesting drive can be taken by following the 2nd class road which branches off from Awal Road beyond the
361 Mental Hospital. After passing through a number of villages of
312 comparatively little interest the road comes to a shaded lane bordered on one side by a lake. This is Ain al-Qasari, whose pool, although
529 more extensive than that at Adari, is shallow and therefore unsuitable for swimming. Here there is a garden and a pleasant little house overlooking the pool, admittance to which is free, which is much frequented by picnicers. In the pool there are fish, some of which are as much as eighteen inches in length, as well as turtles. These are so accustomed to visitors that when people walk along the edge of the water or sit in the house, they swim lazily to the surface, waiting to be thrown pieces of bread or food. In a country consisting mostly of desert, and where a small and dirty pool usually constitutes the local water supply, the attractive appearance of Ain al-Qasari, particularly at sunset, is very agreeable.

296 There are in fact two springs called Qasari, the second, situated on Awal Road, is better known by the name of the "Dhobis Pool" on account of the large numbers of Indian washermen who mercilessly beat the dirty clothes on slabs of rock, and when they have finished hang them out to dry in long lines by the side of the road. It is a not unusual sight to round a corner of the road and to see before one lines of clothes, billowing in the breeze like wind-socks, and the frantic activity of the dhobis standing in the water in an odd array of clothing attempting to finish their task and dry the laundry before the sun sets.

### BILAD AL-QADIM

361 A short way beyond Ain al-Qasari is Bilad al-Qadim, literally "The Old Town," formerly the capital of Bahrain, which lies between the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, whose twin minarets are a landmark for navigators, and the Khor Mukhtar inlet on the east coast. Bilad al-Qadim can also be approached from Awal Road opposite the Suq

al-Khamis Mosque and half a mile south of the village there is an inlet of the sea which can be crossed at low tide by a ford which leads to the village of Tubli. 361

Bilad al-Qadim is a Shiite village and was the capital of Bahrain before the Arab conquest of the Islands. It is frequently referred to in local Shiite histories and is described but not named in a number of early Moslem writings. A large area of the town is now in ruins, but its walls and mounds show that it was once a place of considerable size and importance. According to local reports the sandy mound near the School opposite Suq al-Khamis Mosque is all that remains of the fort that protected the town, while the mosque itself was its Friday Mosque. The Thursday Market (Suq al-Khamis), after which the district takes its name, is probably a relic of the time when this was the capital of Bahrain and when goods were brought here from the country for sale, just as today the Wednesday Market serves the same purpose in Manama.

There are several well-known springs in the vicinity including Qasari, which has already been mentioned, the Dhobi Pool and Abu Zaidan. A relic of the old town still stands in the shape of Masjid ar-Rafia, a mosque built over a spring, which is on the west side of the town and contains an ancient Kufic inscription. Date groves and gardens surround the town but many of the inhabitants work in Manama, where some of them own shops. The white buildings in the clearing opposite the Suq al-Khamis Mosque are a Government Boys School and a dispensary. [312]

## ADARI

"The Lido of Bahrain" is a description which is often used for Ain Adari (The Virgin's Pool). It is especially applicable in the summer when every evening buses, cars, lorries and bicycles convey people from Manama to the deep, cool blue waters of the pool where they swim or sit about in the public garden or coffee-shop. Adari is the largest natural spring in Bahrain and the stream which flows from it irrigates many acres of gardens. 312 529

Adari was once a very messy pool where camels and donkeys were watered, but it has been developed by the government into a bathing place. The sides of the pool have been lined with cement and provided with steps, there is a mosque, a coffee shop, bathing huts and diving boards, and around the pool a flower garden where oleandar, bougainvillea and ponciana flourish. The road to Adari, which branches off Awal Road, is indicated by a sign-post about half a mile south of Suq al-Khamis. [491]

## UPPER AND LOWER SEHLAH

These are two villages on opposite sides of Awal Road. Upper Sehlah is a small village of stone and barasti houses built on a hill overlooking the surrounding gardens; in summer the village expands when the date pickers descend on the village and put up their barastis. 361 245 221

361 when the date pickers descend on the village and put up their barastis.
245 Lower Sehlah is reached by a bridge across the water channel that borders the Manama-Awali Road. This village is surrounded by date gardens and can also be reached by a footpath from Adari. The gardens in the neighbourhood of the two villages are among the best and most thriving in Bahrain, and the date groves are locally described as the hump of Bahrain, not because they rise above the surrounding lands but on account of their being the richest and most fertile in the islands.

### AALI

361 After leaving the palm belt and entering the plain north of Rifaa, thick smoke can usually be seen rising from among some date gardens to the west, this is the village of Aali, one of the largest in Bahrain. It lies on the western edge of the plain which extends from the end of the date gardens at the bridge of Radhm al-Qawari to the Rifaa hills, and is close to a group of the largest tumuli in Bahrain which are a conspicuous feature of the landscape of Bahrain island. The largest mounds in the Aali group are over 80 feet high and 100 feet in diameter.
[491] The best road to Aali is the one indicated by the sign-post on Awal
[542] Road, a short distance from Radhm al-Qawari. The houses of this village are better than in most of the Bahrain villages; they are large and airy and some of them have blocks of stone from the tombs in their walls. As in the case of so many Bahrain villages, Aali stands on a slight elevation surrounded by date gardens.

### RIFAA AL-GHARBI

644 Straddling Awal Road on the edge of the rim-rock is the town of
361 West Rifaa, the winter residence of H.H. The Ruler of Bahrain as well as of many of his family and retainers. This settlement is comparatively modern, having been built by the present Ruler before he succeeded in 1942. Constructed in the traditional Arab pattern, the Palace is in the centre of the town and the other houses are widely scattered about it. The Ruler's love of gardens has caused the road to be lined with trees, and it is a pleasant surprise on coming across the desert surrounding the town to pass through a shady green avenue. During the three months of the Summer the Ruler lives in Manama, but as soon as the cool weather returns a long procession of cars and lorries moves slowly out of Rifaa, the lights go on, and overnight the appearance of West Rifaa is changed from a deserted town to a scene of much activity.

### RIFAA ASH-SHARQI

361 This is the fourth largest town in Bahrain and has a population
712 of about 3,000. East Rifaa is without doubt the most picturesque of Bahrain's towns and villages. When approached from the west, from the plain near Awali, the fortress, which dominates the valley, presents a most romantic appearance and carries one's thoughts back

by Sunni Arabs who were prosperous when the pearling industry flourished but who depend today upon fishing, the oil company and transporting jus from Hawar for their living. In the summer the heat and the shortage of water (for although Jaw has a well it is brackish and more to the taste of the date palms that grow around it than to the people) drive most of the inhabitants to migrate to Sitra. Jaw was once spread some distance along the shore, as can be seen from the ruins that surround it, and in addition to having been a pearling centre it was inhabited by the people of Zubara when they wanted to escape the tyrannical rule of the Wahhabis in the 19th century. Jaw is the point on Bahrain nearest to Zubara and the Qatar coast, and for that reason it was always garrisoned when there was a threat to Bahrain from the mainland, but today the Police Camel Corps, which is stationed there, is to prevent the smuggling into Bahrain of Arabs from the Trucial Coast who come seeking work.

North of Jaw on the road to the Refinery is Asker and opposite it the island of Mushaikha, where an old tomb is the centre of pilgrimage for one of the Moslem sects, the Buharas. The interior of the tomb is filled with bottles of rose water, brought by pilgrims as offerings. Asker itself is a village much like Jaw and Dour.

### JIDHAFS

We must now return to Manama and follow the other road that leads out of the town, this time in the direction of Budaiya. After passing through some miles of gardens the road reaches Jidhafs, a large village, which is also said to have been at one time the capital of Bahrain. Its inhabitants have a reputation for being enterprising and go-ahead, they have recently demonstrated this by deciding to build a club, the first in any of the villages, although in the towns there are many. Jidhafs contains one of the Shiite Juma Mosques and Friday Prayer is said there. It may seem strange that this should be a claim to fame, but according to Moslem custom only certain mosques are used for the Friday Prayers which is intended to encourage large congregations and to prevent the dispersal of the faithful in all the other mosques.

Like all the villagers, those of Jidhafs enjoy a visit to the town every now and then, and in the evenings bus loads of men and many cyclists can be seen coming in to town to enjoy themselves by going to the cinema or sitting gossiping with their friends in the coffee-shops to the blare of wireless music.

South of Jidhafs in the direction of Suq al-Khamis is the village of Ain al-Dar; although today it presents a quiet and peaceful appearance it was once the headquarters of a notorious gang of robbers who used a ruined house, inhabited by a lunatic, as a cache for storing their loot.

### BUDAIYA

This strange town, on the north-western tip of Bahrain Island, is connected with Manama by a good motor road which runs through the village of Jidhafs. Budaiya used to be a large town, divided into Two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya.

there is a deep depression surrounded by large blocks of stone which was once a great spring said to have irrigated much of north-western Bahrain. This spring, known as Ain Sejour, is traditionally associated with the name of the Caliph Abd al-Malik (685-705) who is reputed to have come to Bahrain with an army to chastise the people who had given refuge to politico-religious refugees from Iraq. According to local histories the Bahrainis worsted the invaders in a war by a clever use of the underground water channels and a truce was signed. Later the Caliph is said to have murdered the Bahraini leaders and to have filled in this well "to reduce the pride of the people of Bahrain," since then it has been dry and the land around it has reverted to desert. It seems unlikely that the Caliph himself came to Bahrain, he probably sent one of his generals and later tradition ascribed the leadership to the Caliph himself. 172

Several well-to-do families own houses in Diraz, and when pearling flourished its people were important nakhudas (captains) and pearl merchants. Many of the villagers are still divers and keep their boats on the shore near the little mosque north of Budaiya Garden. For use in these boats the villagers weave their own sail-cloth on local looms. 228 288 554

JESRA

On the edge of the open plain about 4 miles south of Budaiya is Jesra, the point where the pipeline from Arabia crosses to Bahrain, here also is a village whose Arab inhabitants are mainly retainers of the Ruling Family. Several Shaikhs have also built substantial houses in the village, as well as gardens irrigated from artesian wells. Another road leads from Jesra to Rifaa al-Gharbi, following the route of the pipeline across the desert. 315 361 491

MALAKIYA

Four miles south of Jesra the road, after passing through the villages of Karzakan and Dumistan, enters the little village of Malakiya, set in the centre of thriving date gardens, some of which belong to merchants in Manama. The only claim to interest in this village is a large tomb which is held in great veneration by the Shia community of Bahrain and is visited by pilgrims from all parts of the Islands. The tomb is of a certain Amir Zaid, but there is some difference of opinion about his identity. Some contend that he was Zaid bin Sohan, one of the Companions of the Prophet, but according to other local authorities he was a certain Amir Zaid bin Umaira al-Abdi who witnessed a covenant of truce made between the people of the Islands and al-Mua'lla bin al-Hadrami, the Moslem conqueror of Bahrain. A third version is that the worthy Amir was the leader of the people of Bahrain in a war that took place between them and the Caliph Abd al-Malik (See paragraph on Diraz). It has not yet been decided which of these versions is in fact the true one, but this does not deter Shia pilgrims from visiting Malakiya. 361 778

### ZELLAQ

361 South again of Malakiya is Zellaq, the southernmost village on the
342 western Coast of Bahrain and approximately three miles west of Sakhir. A road runs from Zellaq to Awali and is much used by BAPCO employees coming to swim at the former place. The houses of Zellaq village, which are of stone, are built along the shore and many of them are large and spacious. As a result of the activities of BAPCO, Zellaq village has increased in size and prosperity and now contains a number of substantial white stone buildings which are conspicuous from a long distance across the flat and sandy plain that surrounds it.

162 The inhabitants of Zellaq are Sunni Arabs; some are from the Dawasir tribe, and many of them are dependents of the Ruling Family.
311 North of the village there are a number of large gardens, irrigated by innumerable artesian wells, which are owned by members of the Ruling Family and by their servants; these gardens form a green belt along the two miles of coast between Zellaq and Sedad.

312 The Bahrain Petroleum Company has a pump house at Zellaq which supplies Awali with much of its water and Zellaq was also once the discharging point for tankers bringing crude oil from Saudi
517 Arabia, before the submarine pipe-line was laid. Near the pumping station is the BAPCO Plage, the excellent bathing place which is much used by the employees of BAPCO, particularly in the Summer evenings.

### RAS AL-BARR

529 This, the southernmost point of the Bahrain islands, is a popular
484 place for summer picnics, but the approaches to it are difficult, and
● 491 although never dangerous they can easily cause trouble to visitors by the softness of the sand. It is best to travel in parties with not less than two cars, so that one can come to the help of the other if necessary, and care should be taken to keep to the tracks, however faintly indicated rather than to carve out new roads in the desert. The road to Ras al-Barr from Zellaq first passes through Mutalla, the Ruler's hunting lodge, while that from Awali past the Jebel passes another hunting lodge at Rumaitha before joining the Western road at Akala. From here the road goes south, past the swamps on the coast and along the narrow strip of sand which marks the end of the island.

136 In certain seasons of the year the shores along this part of Bahrain
262 are covered with the eggs of sea-birds, and many Arab dhows anchor off the coast while the crews remove the eggs for food. If one is lucky, while driving down the coast, hare and gazelle may be seen, as well as rose-tinted flamingoes on the shore.

## MUHARRAQ ISLAND

### MUHARRAQ

491 The visitor from Manama approaches Muharraq by crossing the
486 1¼ mile long causeway and Shaikh Hamed Bridge, completed in 1942,

which opens at 11 a.m. and at midnight, for an hour, to allow the passage of vessels through the deep channel between the two islands. There is a toll gate at the bridge and cars coming from Muharraq to Manama are charged 4 annas. Beyond the bridge, around a group of white buildings, the Customs House, Police Station and Municipal Office, there is always a scene of much activity. Here boats unload their cargoes and buses fill with passengers bound for all parts of the Islands. The sea road continues along the water front until it turns inland towards the airport. Much of the ground inside the sea road has not yet been reclaimed and at high tide the sea forms little squares of still water where children sail home-made boats. On Muharraq sea front there are several important buildings, a government dispensary, a large school and, at the northern corner, a block of flats.

Another road, opposite the causeway, runs up into the town passing through the bazaars, which branch off to the north and south. The Muharraq shops are of the old fashioned type, with neither plate glass nor fixed prices. There are antique dealers and carpet sellers and all the usual traders found in Arab towns. Ships chandlers are numerous as Muharraq has always been a sea faring centre. Arab chests, carved or brass bound, carpets, worked leather sandals, divers' equipment and goods of interest to tourists can be bought here at prices lower after judicious bargaining, than those in Manama.

Today Muharraq is still a typically Arab town, a fact of which its inhabitants are proud. Most of the shops are owned by Arabs and are not occupied by Indians or Persians as in Manama. The town, although it was once the capital of Bahrain, the centre of the pearl industry and the focus of trade (a fact that its inhabitants remember with pride) has developed more slowly than Manama. There are few modern buildings, only one cinema and no large European style shops, but its climate is said to be pleasanter than Manama and it is not so humid in the summer. Muharraq was once a walled town but no traces of the walls now remain. The high old houses which line the narrow streets have changed little during the last century, except where corners have been cut away to make passages for large American cars. Many of the larger houses belong to the Ruling Family. They are built around courtyards and in some cases a big house contains three or four such courtyards, surrounded by high walls with few outward-looking windows in them to screen the house from prying eyes.

Muharraq has a telephone service, electric light, a Post Office and a filling station, but no main water supply, apart from artesian wells. As in the case of Manama, the affairs of the town are controlled by an elected Municipal Council presided over by a member of the Ruling Family.

The sea surrounds the town on three sides but at the northern end a new residential area is developing on land which is being sold by the Municipality for building purposes. East of the town is the bay of Arad, the ancient name for Muharraq at the time of Alexander,

There is a bus service between Hedd and Muharraq and also a few taxi cabs in the town. 494

In addition to the towns of Muharraq and Hedd the island of Muharraq is fringed by many villages ; going north round the coast from Muharraq town they include Busatin, Dair, Raiya, Galali and Arad. The first three villages contain many homes of members of the Ruling Family and are especially popular in the summer when the Muharraq weather is considered superior to that of Manama. Galali is a sizeable village inhabited by fishermen and industrial workers, while Arad is the centre of the agriculture of the island and is built near a large pool in the centre of the date gardens on Arad peninsular. The inhabitants of the village work in the gardens, but on the shores of the Bay near the old Omani fort is a large village built entirely of barastis. In the summer this temporary village is entirely filled with people from Muharraq who spend the nights here, crossing by ferry every day to Muharraq town. 361

In general Muharraq island is very low-lying, so much so that it was thought at one time that there was a danger of the sea affecting the efficiency of the Airport, but this has been removed by pumping stations around the field which remove, when necessary, surplus water from the runways. It was, however, found necessary to build a raised road from Muharraq town to Hedd, for when there was any rain or an exceptionally high tide the road was often blocked. 133 491

UMM ASH-SHAGAR ISLANDS AND UMM ASH-SHIYAIRA

These are the two islands that lie to the south of Hedd town; the former, to the north, is covered with small stone and barasti houses; the second, whose name is a diminutive of the first, contains only barastis and is inhabited by fishermen. 361 101

THE ISLANDS

In addition to these two, there are several other small islands south of Muharraq, of which the three largest, although none of them is more than a few hundred square yards in area, are Halat-as-Suluta, Halat-al-Khulaifat and Abu Mahur.

The first two islands lie to the south of Arad peninsular and at low tide they are joined by a sand-bar which permits walking between them. They contain small villages, whose people derive their livlihood from fishing, and they are lucky enough to have on them fresh water springs. Abu Mahur, the third and largest island, is in fact named after one of the largest of these springs, which is in the sea a short distance from the shore. The fort of Abu Mahur is now in ruins but the island is now used as a quarantine station. 361 226

The fresh water submarine springs south of Muharraq and the manner in which the people obtain water from them has astounded 312

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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**Judicial Legislation.** From time to time the Bahrain Government has issued proclamations which have become regulations guiding the actions of the Bahrain courts. Some of these orders, such as the following, are of considerable importance.

**Diving Regulations.** Several different proclamations on this subject have been issued embodying the various changes and conditions which resulted from the diving reforms.

**Wakils.** A proclamation was issued laying down the conditions under which Wakils should be permitted to appear in courts and specifying their rate of fees. This became necessary after criminal charges had been proved against certain Wakils who had cheated their clients.

**Mortgages.** An important proclamation was issued to the effect that no property could be mortgaged unless it had previously been registered on a Government title deed.

**Appeals.** A regular system of filing appeals from the various Bahrain courts was issued by proclamation.

**Statute of Limitation.** The period was fixed at ten years, and the same period for acquisition of land by squatters' rights.

**Liability of Government Servants.** Liability of Government servants was defined in a proclamation forbidding the public to make loans to Government servants while employed by the Government except at their own risk.

## PUBLIC WORKS

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The Bahrain Government has never had an independent Public Works Department. All buildings, roads, causeways, etc., etc., have been constructed under the supervision of Khan Saheb Mohomed Khalil, the Superintendent of the Land and Survey Department, which has combined the functions of Land Department and Public Works Department. This, in the past, has been a satisfactory and economical arrangement, but in the future, owing to probable expansion, it is proposed to separate the two departments and to start a regular Public Works Department. The Bahrain Government has, during the last ten years, carried out some large and important public works, including the Manamah-Muharraq causeway and the Naval base at Jufair, and the plain, dignified style of the buildings constructed by the Government has greatly improved the appearance of the town of Manamah.

The first important public works were the Palace, the Government offices, and the Manamah sea road. These works were completed during 1925-26 and were undertaken by an Indian contractor. The construction of the sea road was satisfactory, but time has shown that the palace and the Government offices were badly built. Large sums of money have had to be spent on repairing and propping up the Palace, owing to its inadequate foundations, and various defects in the Government offices became apparent after a few years. After this experiment, all building, with the exception of some unimportant work in the villages, has been done by the Government directly. Local building contractors do not exist, and the experiment of employing a foreign contractor proved a failure.

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**Roads.** Since the Bahrain Petroleum Company commenced its operations in Bahrain the Government has been saved much money and labour as the Company maintains and builds roads in all parts of the concession area as well as keeping up the main road from Manamah to Rafaa, which is the most important road in Bahrain and which formerly cost the Government a considerable sum every year. The Government now confines its road work to areas in which the Company is not interested. The most important recent work is the new road from Jedhafs to Budeya which, instead of making a long detour round the coast, goes straight across country, so that Budeya can now be reached from Manamah in about twenty minutes. This will make it more easy to develop Budeya, where a school is being built. A police post was established last year, and the Government has recently purchased a large derelict garden, which is now irrigated from an artesian well, and is being put under cultivation.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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In the last ten years several new roads have been made by the Government, linking u existing roads, such as the road from Sehlah to a point on the Budeya road opposite the Portugue Fort and the road from the top of Rafaa hill to East Rafaa, which used to be inaccessible exce from down in the valley.

There is still need for several more roads, especially for one connecting Aali with Manama which will take the donkey traffic which comes into Manamah from the villages around Aali. Th main road to Radm al Koweri cannot be widened any more, except at great expense, as it bordered on both sides by valuable date gardens, and the mixture of motor traffic and lade donkeys, which disregard all traffic rules, is a constant source of accidents. The country peopl themselves, through the Shia Wakf committee, have asked that a donkey track should be mad so that they need not use the motor road.

653 491 346

**Buildings. Suk al Khamis Mosque.**

In 1346 (1927-28) the ancient mosque at Suk al Khamis, which was i a dangerously dilapidated condition, was restored by the Government which at the same time straightened out the main road which previousl made a wide detour. Earlier attempts to bring the road past the mosque had been opposed b the Shia villagers, but because they were pleased at the Government's action in repairing th mosque, no objections were made about the road.

This mosque was described by Von Ernst Diez, who visited it in 1914, as being a mosque o the year 740 H. (1339-40). The ornamentation of the wooden pillars and cross beams are o particular importance and interest. Over twenty years ago all the wood in the mosque disappeared. During the last few months I have found, and been able to recover from a neighbouring village, several of the beams and large pieces of wood containing the carvings which were described and illustrated by Diez and which he ascribed to the ninth or tenth century.

653 312

**Idari Water Channel and Mosque.**

During this and the following year the Government, at the request of the landowners whose property is irrigated from Idari spring, built a cement water channel from the main spring to the high road, a distance of about 1,200 yards. The cost of the work, Rs 21,000/-, was paid by the owners of the gardens. At the same time the Government built a small mosque, on the site of an older one, on the bank of the pool. During the last year, further improvements have been made at Idari, and a quantity of flowering trees and bushes have been planted there. The pool during the summer is visited by thousands of people, who bathe there.

653 346

**Manamah School and Workshop.**

The school was begun in 1347 (1928-29) and completed in the following year. The cost of the Manamah School, and a small school which was built at the same time at Suk al Khamis, was Rs 39,000/-. There are ten class-rooms in Manamah, capable of accommodating about three hundred boys, and a large hall which has on one occasion held six hundred people. The building is of stone and cement and is on one floor.

During the present year a workshop has been built close to the school on the opposite side of the road. This became necessary as the carpentry and engineering classes made so much noise when working in the main building that other classes were disturbed.

653

**Barracks, Police Station.**

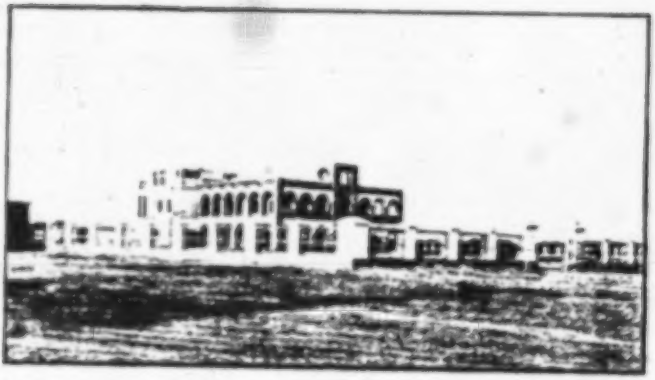
In 1353 (1934-35) a new barrack room was built in the Fort in place of some of the old rooms, which became uninhabitable. The original building was made of stones fastened together with mud, plaster, and covered with a thin coating of lime plaster. Every year for the last ten years portions of the main wall of the Fort have fallen down, and most of the old quarters inside the Fort are in a dangerous condition.

A second barrack room was built in 1936, and also a new armoury and three motor garages, and in 1937 the north-west tower, which had fallen in, was rebuilt and part of the walls were faced with cement and thoroughly repaired.

The larger of the two barrack rooms, which is 114 feet long and 22 feet wide, with three doors and fifteen windows, and also clere windows, accommodates forty men and cost Rs 7,300/-.

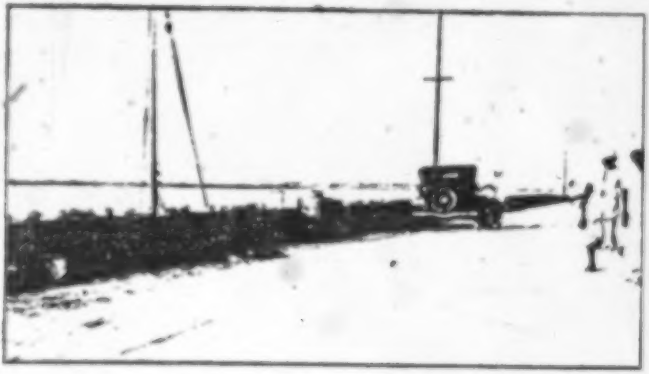
5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

344



The Palace
Manamah

●491



Manamah
Muharraq
Sea Road

The Road
(From the Sea)

[Facing p. 04B]

653 In addition to these major works, a number of smaller buildings have been made, such as garages, dispensaries, extensions to existing buildings, quarantine station, small country schools, bridges, and water channels.

[539] In all buildings, local material is almost entirely employed. All buildings are made of coral stone, which is cut from the bed of the sea and brought to the shore in boats. Gutch plaster is obtained locally, and also lime, and the wood, although imported, is purchased from local merchants. Steel beams are bought in Europe, and latterly metal fittings have been imported direct from England.

**Jufair Naval Base.** At the request of the naval authorities the Bahrain Government undertook the construction of the Naval base at Jufair. The work lasted from May 1935 till May 1936. The most important buildings were a pier on the southern side of the point, 600 yards long and 10 feet wide, a canteen building with two billiard rooms, an officers' building, clerk-in-charge's house, store, Indian staff quarters, etc., etc. The Bahrain Government, in addition to the building, installed a complete water supply and drainage system; this part of the work was done by the State Engineer. All the houses were built in the usual style, of stone and cement, but tiles, imported from Busra, were used for flooring.

The cost of the most important buildings was approximately as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Pier ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | Rs 12,800/- |
| Canteen ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 23,200/- |
| Clerk-in-Charge's house ... ... ... ... ... ... | 11,400/- |
| Officers' building ... ... ... ... ... ... | 18,800/- |

The above figures do not include the cost of electric and water supply installation.

653 491 **Manamah-Muharraq Road.** For many years it had been the wish of His Highness Shaikh Hamad to build a road across the sea, connecting the towns of Manamah and Muharraq, which are separated by a mile and 1,166 yards of sea, much of which is dry at low tide. In the past, connection between the two islands was only possible by boats, and on some occasions, during very low tides or in abnormally rough weather, it was almost impossible to cross the gap. Muharraq town is almost as large as Manamah, and the island contains a number of villages as well as the town of Hedd, which is the third largest town in Bahrain. When Muharraq was used as an aerodrome, the need for easier communication between the two islands became more necessary. When the project of building a road across the sea with some sort of bridge over the deep channel was first discussed, many people considered and said that it was an impossible proposition.

In 1348 the causeway was begun. It was estimated that the cost of completing it, not including the bridge, would be Rs 6,00,000/-. It was built of coral stone, with outside walls of murubas stone and a centre filling of fahti stone surfaced with mud, and provided with culverts at every 100 yards. The width of the road is 32 feet, and the maximum height from the sea bed at the deepest place is 13 feet.

The causeway, without the bridge, was completed and opened for motor traffic at the end of 1936. Work on the road has not been carried out continuously, but during the seven years of its construction when money has been available the work has been continued, and only at times other than the diving season, when much unemployment existed. The total cost of the road from Manamah to the edge of the deep channel and from Muharraq to the channel is Rs 1,99,800/-. Of this amount, Rs 4,000/- was subscribed by a merchant of Muharraq as a contribution from 'thilth.'

It is now possible to reach Muharraq in less than ten minutes, at all times of the day or night and in all weather conditions. There are motor bus services to and from the end of the causeway, and when arrangements have been made for crossing the channel, which are now under consideration, there will be a bus service to Muharraq, Hedd, and other villages on Muharraq island. Already the road has caused an improvement in property values in Muharraq, and people working in

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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Manamah in shops and offices who had to leave their houses in Muharraq and live in Manamah owing to the difficulty of crossing to and fro are now able to live in Muharraq and to cross the channel and come into Manamah by bus.

In addition to the convenience of the road, it has provided work for thousands of men, who cut stone from the sea and bring it ashore in boats during times of unemployment. Everything in the road, except the cement in the parapet and the wooden beams in the culverts, is produced locally. In my opinion, it can be reasonably supposed that not less than 75% of the money expended has been spent in the Bahrain bazaars by the labourers who earned the money and has stimulated local trade.

## LAND REGISTRATION

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**Survey.** This department began its work about twelve years ago, and for the first six years it was mainly occupied in making a survey of the villages and cultivated area in Bahrain. The work, with the exception of two small areas, was completed before the financial depression necessitated reduction of the staff of the Land Department, which put an end to the survey.

When the survey first began it met with considerable opposition from the Shia villagers, who were suspicious of the Government's intentions, but after a short time the object of the work was appreciated by the people and no further difficulties were made.

The results of the work are contained in a quantity of maps showing gardens with their boundaries with reference numbers to registers which contain particulars of owners, water rights, and details about the property. At the time of the survey, information about boundaries, water rights, etc., was obtained from the landlords and from their tenants. Usually in Bahrain the landlords know very little about their gardens and rely almost entirely on the tenants for information about boundaries and water rights. In cases where original documents existed these were examined and checked, but in a great many cases property owners have no title deeds. Before completing the records, the Land Registration Department published a proclamation calling on the public to notify the department if the particulars for registration were not correct.

In addition to the survey of villages and gardens, the department made a survey and a large scale map of Manamah town, and also Hedd and Muharraq; the work in the case of these towns did not include registration of rights. The map of Manamah was made when the electric scheme was first considered and the map was used for planning the layout.

**Reports on Land Cases.** In addition to general survey work, every year the department provides plans and reports to the courts on cases of land disputes. During some years several hundreds of reports have been made, and these reports are usually the decisive factor in settling cases. The Land Department deals with cases in the Bahrain courts and also in the Agency courts.

**Registration of Sales and Titles.** The registration of property in Bahrain is not compulsory, but every year there is an increase in the number of people who apply for the registration of their houses or gardens. The public now realise the value of a Government title deed, and they appreciate the fact that when the title deed has been issued nobody can contest it. The only people who during the last ten years have attempted to set aside a Government title deed are certain members of the Ruling Family. Their claims failed, but if they had succeeded the valuable work of the Land Registration Department over many years would have been seriously affected.

**Mortgages.** The registration of sales of property was made compulsory in 1929, and in 1931 a proclamation was issued to the effect that no claim for foreclosure of a mortgage on immovable property would be heard in the courts unless the property had been previously registered on a Government title deed. The result of this is that nobody can mortgage property unless he holds a Government title deed for it. The actual transaction of the mortgage

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

491

A road in Manamah

363

Street in Muharraq

[facing p. 42]

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

632 Until 1348 the Government paid Rs 48,000/- per annum to municipal funds, and the municipality paid Rs 24,000/- to the Government towards public protection.

632 491

**Municipal Achievement.**

**Manamah.** It is in Manamah that the work of the municipality is most conspicuous, partly because Manamah Municipality has had more money to spend and has existed for longer than the Muharraq Municipality.

**Roads.**

The most noticeable work in Manamah during the last ten years is the construction of roads and the widening of streets in the bazaar area. Ten years ago there were very few parts of the bazaar which could be reached in a car, and even the most important shops were situated in narrow lanes. Now most of the principal bazaars are accessible to cars. The wider streets, which are in some places permanently roofed, are more healthy and sanitary and are easier to keep clean. The style of building has changed: people are no longer contented with low, dark shops, but build high, airy showrooms with windows in which their goods can be displayed. Although the first people to set this fashion were foreign shop-keepers, their example was very soon followed by the local traders, especially as, during the last two years, rents of good shops and offices, as well as houses, have risen considerably.

632 744 312

**Conservancy, Sanitation, Water Supply, Malaria.**

For many years a municipal contractor was employed to clean the town; his work was satisfactory in the conspicuous parts of the bazaar and town, but not satisfactory in the back quarters of Manamah. The municipality now does the work itself, with more successful results. On the whole, the town is very clean and free from smells. One of the greatest problems which the municipality has to deal with is the reclamation of low ground behind the town, where water lies stagnant after the rainy season for many months. Originally the people of Manamah dug mud from this site for building houses, and now a large area of ground is only a few feet above sea level, so low that all attempts to drain the water into the sea have proved unsuccessful. During the last two years, special grants of Rs 10,000/- have been made by the Government to the municipality for filling this ground. The work is not yet complete.

Until a few years ago sanitation in Manamah consisted of cesspits in every house, which were emptied once or twice a year. The system was satisfactory; the municipal inspectors reported any leaking drains or insufficiently covered cesspits. Lately, however, many householders have installed a water supply, and an attempt at modern sanitation. In the case of houses on reclaimed land and near the sea, the drains flow into the sea, but the drainage conditions of houses distant from the sea is not satisfactory. A sewer which was built from the Municipal Garden to the sea, at the cost of over Rs 7,000/-, has not proved a success owing to the small difference in level between the garden and the sea, and drains which empty into this sewer have flowed backwards. At the time of writing, work is being done on the sewer, and it is hoped that it will eventually serve its intended purpose.

The water supply in Manamah now consists of a number of artesian wells, some of which are private property, others having been made by the Government. The Government and the municipality have issued regulations to prevent waste of water and the collection of stagnant water where mosquitoes will breed; these regulations are effective in the town. During certain months of the year, in the spring and autumn, there are a great many mosquitoes in Manamah and Muharraq. It has, I think, been proved that the main mosquito-breeding place is inside houses in the large earthenware water jars which are kept in every compound, usually in a dark corner under a shed. They are never emptied, but are refilled when the supply gets low. Until now the municipal council and the public have strongly opposed all suggestions that the water jars should be inspected. In Rafaa and Sakhir there are always quantities of mosquitoes, and these places are many miles from any gardens or water, which is an additional proof that the mosquitoes breed inside the houses. The municipalities spray oil on all standing water and take all possible steps to deal with breeding places which are not inside houses, but their officials have no authority to enter houses and inspect them.

At a future time it will be necessary to consider installing a regular town water supply, and possibly a drainage system as well. It is possible that a water system with a tap in every house would obviate the need of water jars and reduce the number of mosquitoes.

361 with palm groves containing more than sixteen thousand trees,
162 as well as numerous vegetable gardens and orchards.

Near by is the small village of 'AIN-AD-DAR.

'ALI is located about a mile north of Buri to the west of
[491] the paved main highway running south from Manama to the Jabal Dukhān region. A motor road joins the village to Buri and Karzakkan and the west coast of the island. Situated as it is in the midst of palm groves and vegetable gardens, 'Alī is an important market place. Many of the Persian residents of the island own lovely homes there and the town has a mosque in the Persian style.

SANĀBIS and FALA, on the north shore of the island about three miles west of Manama, are active commercial and fishing centers inhabited by the Baharinah.

RIFA'. The two villages of East Rifa' (Ash-Sharki) and West Rifa' (Al-Gharbi), situated a mile apart, are near the center of the island. Since their location is considered to be one of the most healthful in Bahrein they are not surprisingly inhabited by the Utūb, the tribe to which the Sheik belongs. His immediate
[312] family lives in West Rifa', which is more exclusive though the important water sources are at East Rifa'.

ASKAR. This is another village of interest on the east coast, four and a half miles east of Jabal Dukhān. The inhabitants are the bu 'Ainin, probably the descendants of the people who ruled Bahrein nearly a thousand years ago.

About three miles away is the town of JAU, also on the east coast. Near by are historic ruins, probably the remains of the important ancient town, also called Jau, which is believed to have been the capital of the island in pre-Islamic times.

KIRABAD, or "Oil City," is the initial Awali camp built by the Bahrein Petroleum Company for the use of its employees and popularly known as "Bapco" from the initials of the company. Three miles away is the refinery. The town is on an elevation eighteen miles south of Manama, to which it is connected
[491] by a modern highway also built by the company.
000 "Bapco" has some two hundred homes for married members

### *Muharraq Island*

This is the second largest island of the group and in all probability the "Aradus" of the classical writers. It is located northeast of Bahrein and is about five and a half square miles in area, horseshoe shaped and only a mile wide. It is separated from Bahrein by a channel spanned by a causeway a mile and a half long with a motor road and by a swinging bridge which was completed in 1941.

The chief city is MUHURRAQ, on the western side, the second largest city in the islands and the summer residence of the Sheik. Its population is about 26,000. Muhurraq and Manama, on Bahrein Island, are each administered by a Municipal Committee which in addition to civic duties are jointly responsible for the upkeep of thirty per cent of the roads in the archipelago.

Other towns among the sixteen or more on Muhurraq which should be mentioned are:

ARAD. This is an important date producing center with some sixteen thousand palm trees, on the southern shore of the Gulf of Arad. It is inhabited by the Baharinah.

HADD. Second in importance only to Muhurraq, Hadd is the leading pearl fishing center of the islands. It has a population of almost 10,000, consisting of Sādāt and Beni Yās. Since the English began to take a direct hand in the administration of the island it has become possibly the most modern of the cities, with many up-to-date homes and an agricultural experiment station as well as a modern penitentiary and the cottage of the British Financial Adviser.

The villages of Basatin, Qalali, Samahij and Dair, on the north and northeast coasts, are also important. Their population follows the Sunnite faith exclusively and those in Qalali belong to the Manani'a tribe.

Muhurraq Island has a military and civil airfield used by the British Overseas Air Service. The field has limited fueling and repair facilities for normal traffic as well as minimum lighting, runway lights, and lighted wind indicators. There are hard surface, all weather runways with an elevation of two feet; the

8: Qubain S-5 (1952-53) MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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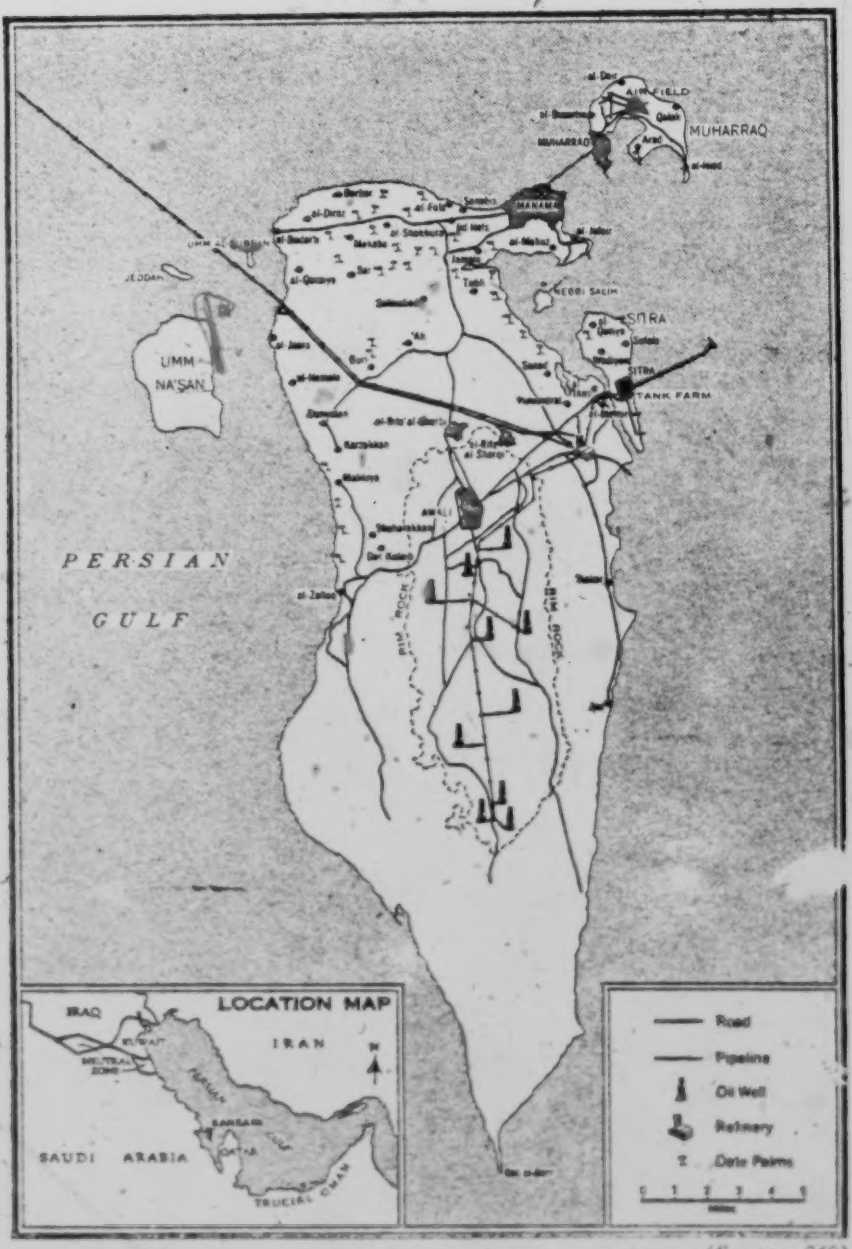


(See page 269)

*The Shaykhdom of Bahrain*

facing p. 239

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2
Kuwait M11
Saudi Arabia MJ1



companies may need to be defined now that one concessionaire seems likely to create revenue; problems may also arise if, as a result of oil developments, it is planted with a population that will need to be endowed with public services and, no doubt, with a system of taxation.

## BAHRAIN

The Bahrain Archipelago is a group of islands in the Gulf of Bahrain, which is bounded on the east by the Qatar Peninsula and on the west by the mainland coast of al-Hasa. Its total area is 213 square miles. The principal island—Bahrain itself—is about thirty miles long and ten miles wide. It is low-lying and its northern end is well watered by fresh water springs and produces good date crops. Citrus fruit and lucerne are also grown. The oilfields lie round the rocky cluster of hills known as Jebel Dukhan (Hill of Smoke), which is in the barren centre of the island.

To the north-east of Bahrain Island, and joined to it by a causeway and motor road, is the low, sandy island of Muharraq, and between the two islands is a good deep-water harbour (Khor Kaliya). It is used as a small British naval base; an American admiral also flies his flag there. Nearby there is a second, but shallow harbour (Bahrain harbour), which faces north and is usefully equipped. The natural aerodrome on Muharraq Island has been developed into the largest commercial airfield in the Persian Gulf and now serves the airliners of all nations. It is also used by the RAF, and the whine of jet aircraft is a commonplace. The south end of the island of Bahrain is low-lying and sandy. The climate, though oppressive in summer owing to the prevalent heat and damp of the western shores of the Persian Gulf, is more humid and less windy than that of Kuwait. The population of the Archipelago was 109,650 when a census was taken in 1950.[1]

The capital and the seat of government is the port of Manama.[2] It is generally referred to as Bahrain, and is situated between the two harbours. It has a population of 39,648, which includes many rich Arab, Persian, and Indian merchants, as well as some 300 Europeans and Americans. The second town, Muharraq, on Muharraq Island, has a population of 24,566 which is purely Arab.

The British Political Agency is in Manama town, which also boasts an electricity station, a wireless station, post offices, hospitals, clubs, public gardens, and up-to-date schools. The town is well supplied with good motor roads, and there are

[1] 1952 estimate, 115,000. [2] Population: 1950, 39,648; 1952 (estimate), 45,000.

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN MZ 2

# 11

# Bahrain

## GEOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

619 Bahrain is an independent sheikhdom, 131 comprising a small group of islands at the entrance to the Gulf of Bahrain, between the Hasa coast of Saudi Arabia and the peninsula of Qatar. Famous since ancient times as the center of the Persian Gulf pearling industry, the islands have attained new prominence within recent years as a link in the chain of oil fields stretching from Qatar to central Iraq. The Sheikhdom has 648 had protective treaty relations with Great Britain since 1880, and the headquarters of the British Political Resident for the Persian Gulf area are established on Bahrain Island.

131 The archipelago consists of 5 main islands, besides several small islets, which have an aggregate area of about 210 to 225 square miles. Bahrain, the principal island, is approximately 27 miles in length and 10 133 miles in width. A narrow belt of luxuriant date gardens, supported by abundant freshwater springs and wells, rims the northern end of the island, but the remainder is mostly barren desert. Rocky hills rise to an elevation of about 450 feet along the central ridge, Jabal ad Dukhan, while sandy wastes, broken by salt marshes, stretch toward the south.

131 Muharraq, a horseshoe-shaped sandy island, with an area of 5 to 6 square miles, is second in size and in importance. It lies northeast of Bahrain, and is separated from [491] the larger island by a narrow channel which is bridged by a 2-mile causeway, constructed in 1941. Chief among the other inhabited islands are Sitra and Nabbi Sālih, offshore to the east, and Umm Na'san, to the west.

p. 255(A)

000 and Pakistan. Regular air communications
509 are maintained to Iraq and Arabia, and the airport on Muharraq Island also serves international airlines with terminals in Europe, the Middle East and the Far East.
491 Motor roads connect the towns and the villages on the different islands, and extend across causeways from Bahrain to Muharraq and Sitra. The local transport facilities are well developed, and motor bus routes link most of the population centers.

### Food and Nutrition

262 The food habits of the diverse racial
146 groups are varied, but serious undernutri-
464 tion is seldom encountered, except among the migratory laborers from the mainland and the Baharna and Arabs in the agri-
439 cultural and the fishing villages. The islands
656 are dependent upon imports for a large proportion of their food supply. The government controls certain essential foodstuffs, as wheat, rice and sugar, and regulates prices through a system of rationing.

262 The diet of the average Bahraini consists
439 of dates, bread, rice and fish, supplemented by native vegetables in season and limited amounts of meat and milk. Goats are raised in many villages, though their milk is usually scanty and poor in quality. Most of the meat is imported from Iran, and is correspondingly expensive. An assortment of fruits and vegetables is generally obtainable in Manama markets by those who are able to purchase them.

### Housing

362 Manama is a cosmopolitan town, and the changes which have come about within the last two decades are reflected in the construction of increasing numbers of modern-type dwellings. Muharraq, in contrast, is a
342 distinctly Arab community. Coral blocks, coral slabs and plaster are the usual building materials in the older houses, while cement is used extensively in the newer buildings. The typical Arab-style homes are built around inner courts and have utilitarian

ment with launch or dhow owners, but it should be remembered that some of them are private property. Umm as-Sabaan is the private property of Mr. Max W. Thornberg, Jidda being a penal settlement, is forbidden ground, and Umm an-Nasaan may only be visited with permission of H.H. The Ruler. The others, the small islands south of Muharraq, Nebih Salih, Jezira and the Howar islands are free to all visitors and a visit to them makes a change from drives around the islands.

Transport in Bahrain includes both bus and taxi, the former are not the luxurious affairs seen in Europe and England but have wooden bodies built in Bahrain and attached to an imported chassis. Taxis, however, are not too expensive if care is taken to pay the correct fare which is recorded in a fare book that should be carried by every driver. It is rumoured that taxis will soon carry meters, which will certainly simplify matters, but till that happy day passengers who have complaints to make about being over-charged should make them to the Traffic Department of the State Police.

Petrol and oil are cheap in Bahrain, which is not surprising, and the import tax on cars and motor cycles is only 10%, so that to own and run a private car is cheaper than in England or the States, as many fortunate people have discovered. Most makes of cars are obtainable in Bahrain, garage facilities have increased and the improvement in the roads has enabled English cars to be used with comfort

The old-fashioned form of transport in Bahrain was the donkey. It was used for every task, for bringing the produce of the country for sale in the town, for pulling carts and for riding. The white Bahrain donkeys used to be well known all over the Middle East and they were exported from Bahrain to places as far distant as the East African coast. Today buses are replacing donkeys, there are bus services between most of the villages, though many of the young men prefer to use bicycles. Lorries too have successfully competed with donkeys and now carry most of the goods between the towns and villages, but in the gardens and in the narrow country lanes one still meets many donkeys though few of the fine white beasts for which the islands were famous long ago. However, the donkey will never entirely die out, for he has certain advantages over other methods of transport, he can reproduce young donkeys, he can find his own way along small and narrow tracks in the gardens and he produces manure, which is a valuable commodity in Bahrain.

## CHAPTER V

## BAHRAIN'S OIL INDUSTRY

THE man who was chiefly responsible for the discovery of Bahrain's oil resources was an Australian, Major Frank Holmes, who came to Bahrain on behalf of the Eastern and General Syndicate, a British prospecting company. Major Holmes, after drilling a number of artesian wells and thus discovering something about the composition

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## BAHRAIN'S OIL INDUSTRY

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The number of applications for driving licences increase each year. At present no less than fifty tests are taken each week.

**Non-Traffic Offences.** Sixteen persons were prosecuted in both Courts for non-traffic offences. These included four liquor offences, one of being in possession of hashish, and two cases of criminal Breach of Trust, etc.

Prison sentences and fines amounting to Rs. 2,525/- were imposed. The total fines in both Courts for all types of offences amounted to Rs. 22,421/-.

**Traffic Section Strength.** The Traffic Section Strength is one British Superintendent, three Arab Sub-Inspectors (the one temporarily attached), three N.C.O's and 41 men.

Superintendent Hyde was absent on U.K. leave from 10th June, 1953, till 2nd September, 1953.

Six traffic posts are maintained during daylight at Manama and Muharraq.

**Transport.** One Land Rover, seven motor cycles and two pedal cycles are allotted to the Traffic Department.

**Traffic Department Revenue.** Cash receipts for the year amounted to Rs. 125,928/1/-.

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**REGISTRATION RETURN—1372**

| | 1371 | 1372 |
|---|---|---|
| TOTAL NUMBER OF VEHICLES IN BAHRAIN .. | 2,124 .. | 2,822 |
| New vehicles registered during year .. .. .. | 421 .. | 778 |
| Private motor cars .. .. .. .. .. | 941 .. | 1231 |
| Taxi Cars .. .. .. .. | 143 .. | 212 |
| Private Buses .. .. .. .. | 77 .. | 78 |
| Taxi Buses .. .. .. .. | 82 .. | 100 |
| Private Lorries .. .. .. .. | 293 .. | 390 |
| Taxi Lorries .. .. .. .. | 120 .. | 205 |
| Pick-ups .. .. .. .. | 264 .. | 274 |
| Other Vehicles (Cranes, Tractors, Road Rollers, etc.) .. | 103 .. | 144 |
| Motor Cycles .. .. .. .. | 159 .. | 188 |
| Vehicles notified as "EXPORTED" .. .. | 106 .. | 63 |
| Vehicles notified as "IMPORTED" .. .. | 119 .. | 292 |
| Vehicles scrapped (by Police or by owners) .. .. | 112 .. | 17 |
| Pedal Cycles in Bahrain (Registered) .. .. .. | 4,890 .. | 5,278 |

**DRIVING LICENCES AND TESTS**

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of Driving Licences issued during year .. .. .. .. | 778 |
| Number of Driving Tests during year .. .. .. .. .. | 1,354 |
| Number of Successful Applicants .. .. .. .. .. | 523 |
| Number of Failures .. .. .. .. .. .. | 831 |
| Number of Driving Licences issued on Production of Foreign Licence .. | 215 |

There is a bus service between Hedd and Muharraq and also a few taxi cabs in the town. 494

In addition to the towns of Muharraq and Hedd the island of Muharraq is fringed by many villages ; going north round the coast from Muharraq town they include Busatin, Dair, Raiya, Galali and Arad. The first three villages contain many homes of members of the Ruling Family and are especially popular in the summer when the Muharraq weather is considered superior to that of Manama. Galali is a sizeable village inhabited by fishermen and industrial workers, while Arad is the centre of the agriculture of the island and is built near a large pool in the centre of the date gardens on Arad peninsular. The inhabitants of the village work in the gardens, but on the shores of the Bay near the old Omani fort is a large village built entirely of barastis. In the summer this temporary village is entirely filled with people from Muharraq who spend the nights here, crossing by ferry every day to Muharraq town. 361

In general Muharraq island is very low-lying, so much so that it was thought at one time that there was a danger of the sea affecting the efficiency of the Airport, but this has been removed by pumping stations around the field which remove, when necessary, surplus water from the runways. It was, however, found necessary to build a raised road from Muharraq town to Hedd, for when there was any rain or an exceptionally high tide the road was often blocked. 133 491

### UMM ASH-SHAGAR ISLANDS AND UMM ASH-SHIYAIRA

These are the two islands that lie to the south of Hedd town; the former, to the north, is covered with small stone and barasti houses; the second, whose name is a diminutive of the first, contains only barastis and is inhabited by fishermen. 361 101

### THE ISLANDS

In addition to these two, there are several other small islands south of Muharraq, of which the three largest, although none of them is more than a few hundred square yards in area, are Halat-as-Suluta, Halat-al-Khulaifat and Abu Mahur.

The first two islands lie to the south of Arad peninsular and at low tide they are joined by a sand-bar which permits walking between them. They contain small villages, whose people derive their livlihood from fishing, and they are lucky enough to have on them fresh water springs. Abu Mahur, the third and largest island, is in fact named after one of the largest of these springs, which is in the sea a short distance from the shore. The fort of Abu Mahur is now in ruins but the island is now used as a quarantine station. 361 226

The fresh water submarine springs south of Muharraq and the manner in which the people obtain water from them has astounded 312

## TRAFFIC

494 363 Traffic regulations in Bahrain are much the same as those in force in England and the United States; there is a left hand rule of the road and the speed limit in built up areas is 20 m.p.h. Special care should be taken when driving through towns and villages in Bahrain for in common with other parts of the Arab world pedestrians consider the roads as well as the pavements as their property and behave accordingly. Donkey and cycle riders should also be treated with caution for they are apt to be rather reckless. In case of accidents the Bahrain State Police must be notified immediately, failure to do so is likely to involve the drivers in unnecessary trouble.

To drive in Bahrain it is necessary to hold a valid Bahrain driving licence. These are obtainable at the Traffic Department, Bahrain Police Fort, Manama, at a cost of Rs. 5 p.a. Holders of valid licences of countries adhering to the International Traffic Convention, which include England, the U.S.A. and France and most other countries, will be granted a Bahrain licence on production of their own one. In other cases, drivers are required to take out provisional licences, and after a period of one month may apply at the Traffic Office for a driving test. The usual regulations concerning passengers apply to learner drivers.

494 All owners of cars and motor cycles in Bahrain are required to register them annually or semi-annually at the Traffic Office. The fee for a car is Rs. 50 per annum, for motor cycles Rs. 12—8 per annum, both fees can be paid in one or two instalments. Failure to register or re-register cars or motor cycles is liable to involve their owners in pecuniary loss.

For further information about Bahrain traffic laws, car owners are advised to contact the Traffic Office, Bahrain Police Fort, Manama, or phone Manama 334.

## BANKS

153 There are at present two banks in Bahrain :

The British Bank of the Middle East, Prior Road, Manama ;
The Eastern Bank, Government Road, Manama.

These banks provide the usual facilities and arrange for such matters as foreign currency and the transference of drafts. In addition, there are in Manama and Muharraq a number of money changers who deal in most of the commoner forms of currency and who are willing to change money. Most shops will also oblige in this matter, particularly if offered dollars, but care should be taken that a reasonable rate of exchange is given.

## LIQUOR

273 Bahrain is a Moslem country and is therefore "dry," but non-Moslem residents have been granted the privilege of being permitted

## TRAFFIC BRANCH

(Report by Superintendent J. Hyde, Officer-in-charge of the Traffic Section)

**Vehicles.** During the year 1372 there was a 32.8 per cent. increase over the previous year in the registration of motor vehicles, bringing the total to 2,822, at the end of the year.

**Accidents.** There was an increase in road accidents. The total for the year was 142, 27.9 per cent. more than in 1371. Unfortunately, there were ten fatalities as compared with four for the previous year, the highest since 1364. The number of persons seriously injured was 29, an increase of 20.

Thirty-nine pedestrians were involved, three more than in the previous year. Of these, 12 were children of 15 years or under. There were three fatalities with children, including a girl aged 3 years. The only other female casualty was a child aged 6 years, who was injured.

One hundred and fifteen of the total accidents occurred during the day, the remainder, 27, were during the hours of darkness.

Of the fatal accidents, three occurred on the Awal Road, one at night. One near Manama Bus Station, one behind the West Primary School, Manama, one near Ahmedi's Ice Factory, Manama, one near Muharraq Petrol Station (during darkness), one inside the R.A.F. Camp and one on the Sitra Causeway.

Eight cases were taken to Court. In three cases, the drivers were found not to blame.

One cases is still pending.

Five motor-cycles, 11 pedal cycles and six donkey carts were involved in accidents during the year.

Fifty-five cases were prosecuted in the Courts as a result of accidents. In ten cases the persons were acquitted.

**Traffic Offences.** One hundred and twenty-eight traffic offences were taken to the Courts. The total fines amounted to Rs. 19,896/-. In four cases the offenders were sentenced to terms of imprisonment.

Thirty-two driving licences were suspended for various traffic offences.

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## PUBLIC SERVICE VEHICLES

**Taxi Cabs and Buses.** There was a considerable increase in the number of these vehicles, especially taxi cabs.

It becomes more difficult each year to provide stands for taxi cabs, and it will soon be necessary to restrict their number.

Arrangements are in hand to fit all taxi cabs with fare meters.

**Driving Tests.** One thousand three hundred and fifty-four driving tests were carried out during the year. Five hundred and twenty-three passed the required standard.

The number of applications for driving licences increase each year. At present no less than fifty tests are taken each week. 494

**Non-Traffic Offences.** Sixteen persons were prosecuted in both Courts for non-traffic offences. These included four liquor offences, one of being in possession of hashish, and two cases of criminal Breach of Trust, etc. 674

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| Number of Successful Applicants .. .. .. .. .. | 523 |
| Number of Failures .. .. .. .. .. .. | 831 |
| Number of Driving Licences issued on Production of Foreign Licence .. | 215 |

CASH RECEIPTS RETURN—1372

| | | Rs. | As. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 414 | TRANSFER FEES .. .. .. .. .. | 686 | — |
| 651 | TAXATION FEES .. .. .. .. .. | 89,606 | 1 |
| | NUMBER PLATES .. .. .. .. .. | 2,397 | — |
| | LICENCE HOLDERS .. .. .. .. .. | 663 | 8 |
| | DRIVING LICENCES .. .. .. .. .. | 14,525 | — |
| | LICENCE BOOKS .. .. .. .. .. | 1,922 | — |
| | TAXI BADGES .. .. .. .. .. | 75 | — |
| | DRIVING TESTS—Fees .. .. .. .. .. | 6,650 | — |
| | LICENCE LATE FEES .. .. .. .. .. | 335 | 8 |
| | PEDAL CYCLE TAX .. .. .. .. .. | 1,697 | — |
| | HIRE OF "L" PLATES .. .. .. .. .. | 99 | — |
| | LEARNERS LICENCE PERMITS .. .. .. | 1,063 | 8 |
| | REGISTRATION LATE FEES .. .. .. .. | 2,312 | — |
| | REGISTRATION INFORMATI .. .. .. | 3 | — |
| | PUBLIC CONVEYANCE LICENCE .. .. .. | 865 | — |
| | TAXI DRIVERS LICENCES .. .. .. .. | 833 | 8 |
| | TRADERS LICENCES .. .. .. .. .. | 2,575 | — |
| | Total | Rs. 1,25,929 | 1 |

## OIL INSPECTION DEPARTMENT

(Report by Mr. G. B. Thompson, Government Oil Inspector)

382 439 505 The Refinery throughput of Bahrain Crude Oil remained about the same as the previous year, but the total Refinery throughput, including both Bahrain Crude Oil and Imported Foreign Crude Oil, increased from 9,254,140 Long Tons in 1952, to a figure of 9,654,390 Long Tons in 1953. The actual figures being :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bahrain Crude Oil | .. .. | 1,480,638 Long Tons |
| Imported Foreign Crude Oil | .. | 8,173,751 Long Tons |

There was a slight drop in the number of ship cargo inspections carried out :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1952 | .. | 178 Ships, 476 Parcels, 1,741,861 Long Tons |
| 1953 | .. | 170 Ships, 463 Parcels, 1,628,045 Long Tons |

The term "Imported Foreign Crude Oil" has been used in place of the term "Arabian Crude Oil," used in previous years, the change having been made to allow inclusion of two shipments of Sumatran Crude made late in 1953, which were successfully processed through the Refinery.

Graphs showing the Refinery throughput and the Ship Inspection figures for the last five years are included. ✓

377
655 Six Wiring Contractors' Licences were issued to local merchants bringing the total to 31. Licences were also issued to 12 additional wiremen who had been successful in passing the Department's tests.

**Future Prospects.** When the 750 k.w. Generating Set, now being installed, is put into commission the present Power Station will have reached its full capacity and no further machines will be installed there.

The new scheme, whereby natural gas will be used to generate electric power, is scheduled to commence operating from a new Power Station, situated near the R.N. Wireless Station, Jufair, during the summer of 1373. Initially this station will contain four 1,000 k.w. Gas Engine Generating Sets. The first two of these will operate as Diesel Generating Sets for some twelve months until the natural gas is available from the oil-field.

The Contracting Engineers for this scheme are Messrs. D. and C. and William Press who, at the end of the year had commenced preparing the site for the new Power Station. The project includes for the distribution of ample supplies of electricity to all parts of Bahrain and it is expected that the initial stages will be completed in some two and a half years time.

The distribution of domestic gas is also being considered as a long-term policy.

655
651 **Workshops Department.** This Department continued to carry out new work and repairs for all Departments of the Government and many private jobs were undertaken for local firms.

Work for the Government produced a revenue of Rs. 22,310, while private jobs produced Rs. 15,822, showing an overall loss of Rs. 2,218.

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489 **Transport Department.** There was an increase of 25 per cent. over the previous year of the total number of vehicles, mechanical plant, etc., operated by Government Departments and to cope with this increase the Transport Department continued to expand.

● 495 A Petrol Filling Station was constructed by Public Works Department and opened on the 8th Shawal, 1372, for the issue of Petrol, Oil, Air and Water. All Government vehicles now draw from this point.

Eight lock-up garages for the storage of spare vehicles were constructed and a heavy duty vehicle lift, capable of lifting vehicles weighing up to eight tons, was installed in the main shed.

The total number of vehicles on charge at the end of the year is:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (*a*) | Load-carrying vehicles (Trucks) | 31 |
| (*b*) | Buses, Station Wagons, etc. | 13 |
| (*c*) | Pick-ups | 15 |
| (*d*) | Saloon Cars | 25 |
| (*e*) | Land Rovers | 19 |
| (*f*) | Motor Cycles | 23 |
| | | 126 |

| | |
|---|---|
| The total number of Launches, Mechanical Plant, Machinery, etc., on charge at end of the year | 41 |
| Vehicles written off as being beyond economical repair | 10 |
| The total number of new vehicles ordered was | 33 |
| The total number of new vehicles received was | 38 |
| The total number of service operations carried out on vehicles during the year was | 3024 |
| The total number of repair jobs, both major and minor, carried out on vehicles, machinery, etc., was | 5887 |

1s Belgrave P-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

• 501

A small diving boat.

Photo : Sir Charles Belgrave.

228

A fully equipped diver. On the ground are the ropes and the weight, on his fingers are leather guards, a bag is round his neck and a clip on his nose.

Photo : Sir Charles Belgrave.

A diver's bag and the hauler.

Photo : Sir Charles Belgrave.

228 story that Bahrain pearls are superior in colour to all others because of the presence in the seas around Bahrain of numerous fresh-water springs. In fact the real origin of the pearl inspires no romance, it is the process by which the pearl shell rids itself of an unwelcome intruder. The oyster, when opening to obtain food, often admits small particles of sand or some other substance which irritate its soft flesh, the shell therefore covers the intruder with a secretion that forms a smooth coat of nacre. Once this process has started it continues, more and more layers are built up until the process is stopped by the pearl being removed from its shell or when some accident happens to it. If a pearl is cut in half and examined under the microscope the layers of the nacre can clearly be seen.

221 228 The "Gaus al-Kabir" or main diving season takes place from June to early in October, but before and after the season there is the "Gaus al-Bard" or cold diving season, the duration of which is determined by weather conditions, but which is not recognised as the diving season *par excellence*. In former days the departure of the Bahrain fleet for the pearl banks was the occasion of great excitement, and with drums playing and small boys cheering the boats would sail away from Muharraq. After being joined by boats from other coastal towns and villages the fleet would proceed to the pearl banks, where each boat would choose its own anchorage and prepare for diving.

501 228 Formerly the boat built especially for pearl diving was the sambuq (see Chapter VII), but today the most usual boat is the jalibut, while many very small boats with crews of a dozen men go out to the banks. All pearlers are equipped with special oars with square blades, and on arriving at the banks these are tied so that they project over the water.

228 At each oar two ropes are thrown overboard, one attached to a stone or metal weight and the other to a net bag, although the bag is sometimes hung round the diver's neck. The divers then strip to the buff, or content themselves with a narrow loin cloth, they put on nose clips of bone or tortoise-shell and protect their fingers with leather guards. Putting their feet in a loop in the weighted rope, the divers are swiftly let down, each by his Saib or puller, who remains on deck holding the ropes with the careful hand of a fisherman, but more is at stake than a trout or a salmon, for if the Saib fails to hoist the diver to the surface directly he feels his pull on the rope, the diver's life is in danger. When the diver reaches the sea-bed the weighted rope is pulled up while the diver keeps hold on the second rope. While on the sea-bed the diver hacks off with a small knife as many pearl shells as he can, usually collecting about ten shells in the minute and a half he spends below the surface. When exhausted he tugs sharply at the rope and is hauled to the surface. Twelve fathoms is about the maximum depth to which he dives, and it is easy to picture the frantic rush at this depth to collect the necessary shells. On coming to the surface the diver hangs, resting on the weighted rope, while the Saib tips the bag of shells on to the deck. The rest periods vary with the weather. When it is cold the divers spend two thirds of the time resting on the deck of the

The products of Aali are simple in the extreme, pots, bowls, water jars and dishes, utensils which have always been used by the people of Bahrain and which still find a ready market though the increased prosperity of the people enables them to buy cheap imported goods. It is not necessary to go to Aali itself to see the products of the potteries for at the Suq al-Araba in Manama on Wednesday mornings and at the Suq al-Khamis market on Thursday mornings the people of Aali bring their goods for sale.

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[443]

At Aali the photographer will find many subjects for his camera. The potters in their workshops with the sun shining on the damp yellow clay, the symmetrical stacks of jars drying in the sun, the small boys in bright clothes running up and down the steep sides of the tumuli with objects to be baked and finally the removal of the finished articles, all these scenes provide fascinating pictures.

## NURA (LIME)

Aali, as well as being the centre of the Bahrain pottery industry, is the principal place where lime is produced. Stone for the purpose is hewn from the ground in many parts of Bahrain, especially near Rifaa, and is taken in lorries or in donkey carts to Aali. Here the blocks of limestone are arranged on layers of wood, usually date palm trunks, and the wood is then fired. Men with large wooden flails stand round the piles of lime-stone and beat it into powder, chanting as they work and timing the singing to the down strokes of the threshers. When the lime becomes fine powder it is sieved and then placed in sacks. The produce of Aali commands a ready sale, for all the white-wash used in Bahrain is made there or in the neighbourhood and with the present building activities the people of the country have their work cut out to supply the local demand.

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438

[461]

[339]

There is also in Bahrain a lime factory, owned by a member of the Ruling Family, where lime is produced by modern methods.

## FISHING

Fish and fish oil are used for many purposes in Bahrain. The former is one of the staple items of food among the poorer classes, it is used for manure in gardens and for feeding cows and donkeys. Fish oil is used for oiling wooden boats to make them seaworthy. The fact that Bahrain cows are fed on fish, together with dates, date stones, lucerne and bran, leads people to expect that the local milk will taste unusual. This is not true despite the reports of journalists, who hear about the fishy diet without tasting the milk and describe its flavour as unpleasant. Milk from Bahrain cows, if they receive a balanced diet, is unusually good and has a higher average fat content than the milk of ordinary English cows. The use of fish oil on the boats along the shore has little to commend itself to visitors, the smell is extremely disagreeable and drives the people who live in houses near the sea to shut all their windows when the boats are being treated.

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237
501

Almost all the cultivators are Baharna or Hassawis, who are of the Shiite sect, descendants of Baharna who emigrated to Arabia. The Sunni Arabs do not work in the gardens. The people living in the villages which are scattered among the date gardens originally earned their livelihood entirely by working in the gardens; now many of them are employed by the oil company or in Manama. During the date picking season, which in many ways resembles the hop picking season in England, temporary villages of palm branch huts spring up among the date gardens when people from other parts of Bahrain come to pick the crop.

The village people are the aboriginal inhabitants of the country and in the past they suffered much during the many invasions of Bahrain when their homes, gardens and water channels were destroyed and even in times of peace they were regarded as milch cows, whose wealth was extracted by their rulers. But in recent times their position has changed, they are more prosperous than they used to be and are on terms of equality with their neighbours.

## BOAT BUILDING

It is claimed by some authorities on Middle Eastern history that the Phoenicians originated in Bahrain and sailed their craft up the Gulf, which then extended much farther northwards than it does today, and following the Euphrates to the point where the river is nearest to the Syrian coast, they landed and settled there. This may or may not be true but there is no doubt that the people of Bahrain have been sailors for at least as many centuries as the pearl industry has been in existence and their stitched boats not only sailed the Persian Gulf but entered the Indian Ocean.

Most of Bahrain's boats were in former days employed as pearlers, and although the Kuwait shipyards build the largest craft it was natural that Bahrain, nearer the Indian source of timber and itself the centre of the pearling industry, should have its own yards. It should also be remembered that Kuwait is a comparatively modern town, having been founded early in the 18th century, before which date it did not attain importance as a harbour for north-east Arabia.

Today most of the boat building is carried on in Muharraq, although there are some yards at the western end of Manama. In former days, before iron nails were obtainable, Arab boats were not nailed but stitched together, with a giant needle and cord as thread, yet these boats of such fragile construction were able to weather the heaviest gales that swept the Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

In recent years launches have been made in greater numbers than sailing boats, so builders have inclined to specialise in the construction of those boats to which engines can best be fitted. For this reason many "jalibuts" have been built, they can be identified by their vertical bow and the straightness of the keel. The origin of this name is doubtful and many suggestions have been made to explain it. Possibly

the most logical is that of H. R. P. Dickson, who says in his *The Arab of the Desert* that the name is derived from the Indian boat called "Gallevat" which is in turn derived from the Portuguese "Galeote" or Galley. 501 396

The type of craft most used for pearling in Bahrain is the Sambuq, which has a long finely curved bow and a square stern. It has two masts and is usually fully decked. Another boat of the same type is the Shu'ai, which only differs from the Sambuq in the shape of the stem piece. A second boat with Portuguese connections is the Baghala, a large craft with a comparatively short curved stem-piece. The Baghala has a distinctive square stern set with windows, which, although often false, give the stern the appearance of an old fashioned European man-of-war. The largest boat now being built is the Boom, which can be identified by its long straight stem-piece and its stern, set about 10° from the vertical.

Boats are not built on the scale of former days, for the decline of the pearling industry and the development of the fast launch have reduced the demand for the large old-fashioned sailing boats. Launches need a smaller crew, they are more useful for work between steamers and the shore and over short distances, and are now in many other ways a more satisfactory investment than sailing boats.

Many small types of boats are used around the shores of Bahrain for fishing and for carrying passengers between the islands. Some of these are built like miniature sambuq, while others have the vertical bow of the jalibut. There is also the huri, a primitive canoe hollowed out of the trunk of a tree and imported from Africa for use as a ship's dinghy. An entirely local product is the huwairiyah, a craft built of date stems tightly tied together with date fibre and soaked in fish oil. These little boats, which if well made are entirely water-proof, can carry a man or two boys and are used for fishing and ferrying.

A question that always confuses visitors to Bahrain is the word "dhow"; this name, originally unknown to the Arabs, is used by Europeans to include all Persian Gulf sailing boats, and has become so general that Arabs, finding the word useful, are now beginning to use it themselves.

The craftsmen who make the boats of Bahrain have an interesting sideline, they make perfect miniature models of the large sailing boats, not only of the ones at present in use but also of the obsolete types, and these can be purchased from them and make interesting ornaments in the house or souvenirs of Bahrain. [523]

## JUS

"Jus," the Arabic for gypsum, has always been used for building purposes in Bahrain; the pre-historic tombs are lined with it and it was used for the construction of the 10th century mosque at the Suq al-Khamis. It is found in slabs below the ground and is collected in many places in Bahrain, in Lozi, from the desert north of Awali and from the Howar Islands. The gypsum is often prepared on the spot where it 316 339

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M22



adequate motor-bus communications with most of the villages. 361

Manama is the shipping centre of the Gulf pearl industry,[1] 361
and steamers connect regularly with India, Persia, and Iraq. 228
Bahrain harbour is also the centre of a considerable coastal and pearling trade by dhows, as well as the local headquarters of its fishing industry. Other local industries are dhow-building and 396
the manufacture of sailcloth and reed matting. Much of the 501
import and export trade from al-Hasa and its hinterland passes 285
through Bahrain, and this created an important source of 439
revenue during the years in which Aramco was developing its
oilfields on the Saudi coast. Lately, however, the Saudis have 651
perceived the advantage of conducting this trade for themselves. By establishing a high-cost re-entry permit, they have discouraged the foreign staff of the oil company from doing its week-end shopping in Bahrain, and their policy is to increase the port and market facilities of the two Saudi coastal towns opposite the island—Damman and Al Khobar. In Bahrain there is a duty of 5 per cent ad valorem on essential imports such as food and clothing; non-essential imports are subject to higher duties, ranging between 15 per cent on tobacco and liquor, and 10 per cent on luxuries.

*History and Foreign Relations*

The presence in the northern part of Bahrain Island of 175
numerous burial tumuli indicates very early human inhabitants, but their identity, which was at one time thought to be Phoenician, remains unknown. Bahrain's situation and natural harbour facilities suggest that from the earliest days of sea navigation in the Gulf the port was important. Its recorded history, however, dates only from 1507, when the Portuguese occupied the island. They built a fort of which the ruins survive, but were driven out in 1602 by an Arab invasion from Persia. Bahrain was held by Persia intermittently until 1783, when it was conquered by Arabs from the mainland. Since 1816 it has been ruled by the Khalifa family of the Utubi tribe, which in 1820 first entered into treaty relations with the East India Company. But the Persian Government has never ceased to claim sovereignty over the island and at intervals has protested against British treaties with the Shaikh. The Persian claim is based on a British Note of 27 April 1869 in which (the Persians allege)[2] Lord Clarendon recognized their title to sovereignty over the

[1] This has long been important, and in the 1830's the fisheries were estimated to bring in some £300,000 to £400,000 a year.

[2] The Persian claim was disposed of by Sir Austen Chamberlain in a Note of 18 January 1928. See League of Nations, *Official Journal*, May 1928, pp. 606–7.

1: Belgrave F-3 no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

### HOWAR ISLANDS

101 This group of 16 island is about twelve miles south-east of Ras al-Barr. It consists of onelarge island, Howar itself, which is about eleven miles long and a mil in breadth, and fifteen other islands much smaller in size. In the centre of the main island there is a rocky [361] eminence known as al-Jeba. There are only two villages, the larger one at the northern end onthe shore of the bay consists of stone huts [625] with mat roofs (Kubbar); t also has a small mosque. The Bahrain State Police maintain a garrion on the island, in a fort which dominates [162] the bay and from the roo of which the Qatar peninsular is visible. The islands are inhabited b fishermen from Bahrain and also by men [312] who come to cut gypsum which they sell in Bahrain. The water supply of the island is very limitd and consists of old cisterns cut out of living rock which are filledby rain. Attempts to drill for water have failed, but in the years whn there is normal or plentiful rainfall the island provides good grazng for camels and sheep. Fishing in the 133 bay is excellent, the water is comparatively deep and a launch can 503 come alongside the short jtty. The southern tip of the island is so close to the Qatar coast tht when the tide is out boats cannot pass between the island and th shore, but at one place between Howar and Qatar, a long narrow channel has been hewn out of the coral sea bed to allow boats to pass through a shallow stretch of water. This submarine canal was sade by a certain Isa ibn Tarif, a notorious pirate, who played an impctant part in the history of Bahrain during the middle of the last centry; he used the channel as a passage to his fortress on the Qatar coas from where he sallied forth to attack the shipping around Bahrain.

132 The climate of Howaris noticeably better than in Bahrain, it is drier and cooler during thesummer nights, but has no other amenities to attract visitors fleeing frm the dampness of Bahrain, and at present its only visitors go there fr work and not for pleasure.

### ZUBARA

361 On the coast of the Qaar peninsular opposite the Bahraini village
172 of Jaw is the ruined townand the bay of Zubara, which has already been mentioned in detail n the history of Bahrain in Part II. The town of Zubara is on the ast of the bay and stretches about 1½ miles along the coast and 2 mils inland. The ruins of the town are still impressive. The high wallwhich surrounds the wide straight streets and the fine mosques, the obvious care with which the town was laid out, speaks well for those who governed it. Further east of the town, at a distance of about tw miles across the desert, is the great fort; some of the walls and themosque are still standing. At the corners of the walls are towers wit slits for rifles and the domed roof of the mosque presents an attractive picture. The whole building is made from local stone and little ypsum was used in its construction. Within the fort there are two wls one of which is dry, but the other still

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

geosyncline. The structure of Bahrein is that of a large, single, closed dome covering the entire faulting. 133

Rocks exposed at the surface consist of:

1. Recent sands and coquinas forming flat, raised beaches surrounding the island from which the surface rises gradually to an elevation 150 to 200 feet above sea level. At this point it breaks away into inward-facing cliffs eighty to one hundred feet high completely surrounding an oval central depression about twelve miles long and four wide.
2. Pleistocene sands, cross bedded and probably wind deposited, lying in the canyons.
3. Meiocene silicious clay covering a very limited area.
4. Eocene limestone covering most of the island, the central region of which, known as "Jabal Dukhān" or "Mountain of Smoke," rises to a point 439 feet above sea level. The limestone is very porous and is the source of most of the water in the northern half of the island. [312]

Because of the coral formations surrounding the islands, the sea approach is shallow, so that only vessels of very light draft can land. Ships drawing as much as twenty feet anchor from two to four miles out in the Gulf, and those of greater draft from fourteen to seventeen miles out. Shallow boats are used for all transfers of passengers or freight, and the Standard Oil Company was obliged to construct a submarine pipeline three miles long to convey oil from Bahrein Island to its tankers. 133 503

## CLIMATE

The Bahrein Islands possess one of the most trying climates in the world. It is intensely hot for about seven months of the year and the humidity stays near the saturation point. The annual average temperature is 78° F. with a corresponding relative humidity of 73%. The hottest month is August, when the mean temperature is 92° and between noon and 3 P.M. may 132

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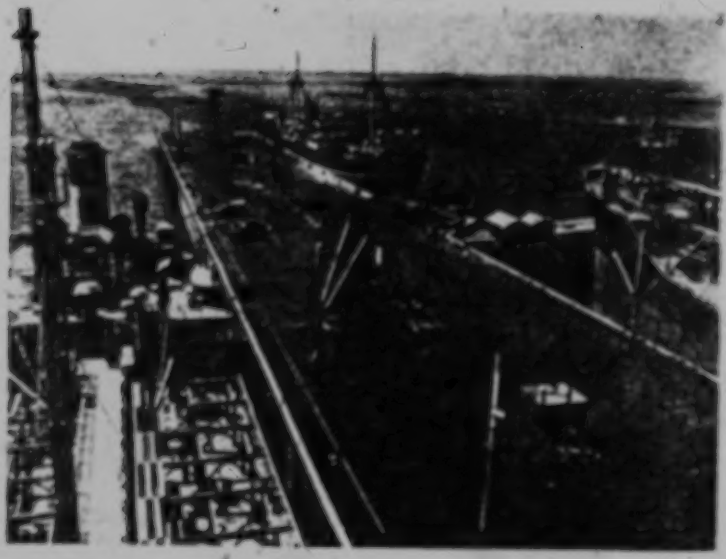

Sitra Wharf. Photo : Bahrain Petroleum Company.

361

A scene in Awali. Photo : Bahrain Petroleum Company.

Bahrain Government receives 50% of the profits of the oil industry. The Eastern Bank, since it was established in 1919, has served as the State's Treasury and a Budget is published every year showing the revenue and expenditure of the State.

The Customs Directorate is in the centre of the Manama sea front and there are subsidiary offices in Muharraq Town, at the Airport and at Sitra. All goods of any kind which are imported or exported must pass through the customs. The Customs Pier at Manama, which was originally built in 1917, has frequently been lengthened and enlarged and now extends for a quarter of a mile out to sea. Owing to shallow water, vessels in the Manama harbour have to anchor some three miles from the shore and passengers and cargo are conveyed to and from the steamers by launches, barges and sailing dhows. The port and storage facilities in Bahrain are better than elsewhere in the Gulf and importers are allowed to retain their goods in the customs premises for ninety days before re-exporting them. There are usually about 90-100 sailing vessels and launches alongside and anchored off the pier, these come from other Gulf ports, from the west coast of India and from the Red Sea. Walking down the customs pier one sees many interesting types of vessels and sea-faring Arabs from all parts of the Gulf and beyond it.

On the west of the entrance to the Pier is the Passport Office. Passport Officials go aboard all passenger vessels and are present at the Airport when aircraft arrive. Bahrain has had its own passports since 1929.

On the south side of the Square, which has a little garden in the centre of it, is the "Bab al-Bahrain," the Gateway of Bahrain, consisting of two large blocks of office buildings with an archway in the centre. On the south side of the western block there is a fine old Arab door and on the balconies of the buildings as well as around the garden in the Square there are cement panels containing Arabesque patterns copied from old buildings in Bahrain.

The Bab al-Bahrain contains the finance and accounts department where all payments to the Government for electricity, water, etc., etc., are made, the Land Department which deals with sales and registration of property and questions about boundaries and ownership of land, the registration of sales being compulsory, and several other government offices. His Highness has a reception room overlooking the square on the first floor of the building where he sits on Wednesday mornings. Here he receives any visitors who wish to call on him and sees people who present petitions. On Monday mornings he visits the Municipal Buildings at Muharraq where he holds a similar reception.

East of the Customs, on the sea front, is the Law Courts Building which contains a number of different courts including religious courts presided over by the Qadis of the Sunni and Shia sects. Certain foreigners, including British, Americans, Pakistanis and Indians are under the judicial authority of H.B.M.'s Political Agent. In mixed

At Awali are the offices and the homes of the European employees of BAPCO, while outside the fence is the Arab camp for the few Bahrainis who prefer to live there rather than in their own townsand villages. Near Awali's eastern gate is the Training School for Bahrainis, where something is done to equip them for higher posts in the company. This is a field of activity which the company is beginning to develop and it is very important that is should succeed. 361 874 466

South of Awali, in the desert around the Jebal ad-Dukhan, is the oil field, the *raison d'etre* of BAPCO, an unimpressive area with many little squares of cement decorated with taps and valves and surrounded by low fences, which are the oil wells, while here and there derricks mark the search for more oil which is always in progress. 315

After the Abadan Refinery the one on Bahrain is the largest in the Middle East and supplies large quantities of refined products to India, Pakistan, East Africa and other countries "East of Suez." During the day it would be difficult to describe the refinery as anything but a large and ugly mass of iron and steel, with the great Cat. Cracker rising above the squat silver tanks. The air is hot and dusty and in the summer the iron-work is so hot that to touch it raises bisters ; but in the evening the refinery takes on the appearance of a slightly shapeless but nevertheless well decorated Christmas Tree, covered in lights and set against a background of flares of burning gas which illuminate the sky like a lurid orange back-cloth. 382 439

The Sitra anchorage has at all times an appearance of feverish activity, it is being improved so that it will be possible to load ships and tankers round the clock. In order to do this the jetty is being floodlit with great arc lamps. [504]

On low-lying Sitra Island all that can be seen from the sea are the storage tanks, it is only on approaching nearer that the island itself becomes visible. The Tank Farm spreads across the middle of Sitra, and as it expands it threatens to cut the island in two. To the south of the Tank Farm is a large group of buildings from which a crashing sound is continually heard ; this is the Drum Plant. Further evidence of this is present in the thousands of newly painted drums that are piled in huge rows near the plant.

The oil industry is directed from the main office in Awali, where from air-conditioned coolness in the summer and air-conditioned warmth in the winter instructions go out to all parts of Bahrain where BAPCO has its installations. Bahrain is well situated for an oil industry. The oil wells are about eight miles from the Refinery, which itself is scarcely more than half that distance from the Pier and Tank Farm, while from Awali it is possible to see on a clear day both the Refinery and the Field. The radio-telephone and the aeroplane used in other Middle Eastern fields have no place in Bahrain where phones and cars are quite sufficent. 382 202

Of the 7,749 workers employed by BAPCO at the end of 1951, 4,937 were Bahrainis and 1,035 were British, American and other 464 382

000 556 361 167 two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya. It was the home of the Dawasir tribe who came to Bahrain shortly after it was conquered by the al-Khalifah and established themselves here. The tribe acquired great wealth and prestige, owning many pearling dhows, and by degrees they became so powerful that they were able to raid with impunity the neighbouring Bahrana villages. They even challenged the authority of the al-Khalifah, but Shaikh Hamed, on becoming Deputy Ruler in 1924, threatened to punish them if they did not behave. This they considered as an infringement of their liberties and they therefore announced to the Ruler that if he prevented them behaving as they were accustomed, they would leave Bahrain and settle in Saudi Arabia. Shaikh Hamed refused to give way and the Dawasir left Bahrain. This, however, was not the last of them, for during many years it was believed that they were preparing to invade Bahrain. To prevent this a force was maintained in the Islands. However, the scare eventually died down and Budaiya after lying deserted, was later partly re-occupied by other Bahrainis, while some of the Dawasir gradually returned, many of them settling in Manama and Muharraq.

361 The ruins of great houses and mosques still remain, while scattered between them are the houses of the new inhabitants, who do much fishing in the prolific waters near the town, and also work in Manama and Awali. Before reaching the Police Post that marks the entrance [654] to Budaiya the road passes through the Government Experimental Garden where new agricultural methods are tried and where cows and sheep, kept under scientific conditions, are studied for their productivity. 504 From the Budaiya Pier launches go to Jidda, the prison island, 697 many of whose inmates come over daily to work in the Budaiya Garden. The Pier is also used by the Ruler when he visits his island of Umm an-Nasaan.

874 The small Government school at Budaiya just south of the Government gardens, in addition to teaching the usual Primary School subjects 872 gives lessons in agriculture for many of the boys' fathers own or work in gardens in the neighbourhood.

DIRAZ

361 Diraz is a village about half a mile north of the Budaiya Road and about 1½ miles from Budaiya itself. It consists mainly of stone 342 houses, many of which are two-storied. The village stands on 245 high ground among the sand dunes and is very similar to Beni Jumra which faces it a little way off on the opposite side of the road. It is so surrounded by clumps of date palms that its size is not appreciated from the road. A feature noticeable here, as well as in many other parts of Bahrain, is that date palms grow in groups at the bottom of depressions in the sand and are not irrigated by water channels but obtain moisture from below the surface of the ground.

172 North-west of the village there are mounds which indicate the existence of a much larger settlement in the past and an extensive area of ground is covered with glass and pottery sherds. Among the ruins



1/4 [The town of Budaiya .. Analysis]

361 and on the shore there is an old deserted fort which was built by the Omanis during a short period when they occupied the Islands. A [504] ferry service of small sailing boats plies between Muharraq and Arad fort, but to drive round the bay to the fort by car takes less time than crossing by boat.

396 Boat building is one of the few local industries of Muharraq and is carried out along the shores of the town, especially on the eastern coast. Carpenters and shipwrights are apt to extend their work half across the road and when driving a car one often has to avoid sails which are pegged out for joining or for repairs, rope winders, men mending nets or carpenters working on big wooden water tanks for the pearling dhows.

361 178 Many visitors to Bahrain never enter Muharraq and by failing to do so they miss the sight of a comparatively untouched Arab town, a sight that is rapidly becoming rarer in the oil rich Persian Gulf.

HEDD

361 Bahrain's number three town is Hedd. Long and narrow, it is built on a strip of land which juts out into the sea at the south-east end of Muharraq Island. The houses are closely packed together and extend right to the edge of the sea, one road, only just wide enough for motor vehicles, runs through the centre of the town and on each side a labyrinth of narrow lanes leads down to the shore. There are few barastis in Hedd and most of the people live in stone houses; some of them are large, built by pearl merchants in the days when the pearl industry of which Hedd was an important centre, was flourishing. The bazaar is in the main street and it contains many shops which sell all manner of goods. Water is supplied to the town by several artesian wells.

[162] The population of Hedd is entirely Sunni and predominantly Arab, although a few of the shopkeepers are Persians. It includes Arabs of the Bin Ali, Saada, Mesedem and Musallam tribes who used to be very influential in Bahrain; the last were once the rulers of Qatar. Hedd was originally a diving town but although it still has much contact with the sea, many of its inhabitants work on shore. Its people have a reputation for intelligence and energy and this is shown by the fact that they have produced better results from their schools than any other community. The town is conspicuously clean, owing partly to the fact that it is surrounded by the sea on three sides.

368 633 Hedd has a handsome new police station, at the entrance to the town, which was completed in 1952, a Municipality and Boys' and Girls' Schools which were opened in 1937 and 1939 respectively. For some years the Muharraq Municipality included Hedd in its activities but in 1945 Hedd formed its own elected Municipal Council with four members. There is also in Hedd a dispensary and a small women's hospital with accommodation for a certain number of in-patients.

226 Hedd is famous for its prawns which are caught in special traps and sent to the fish markets of Manama and Muharraq.

of the Egg," a small village with many seafaring inhabitants. To the north of Sitra there is a very pleasant sandy beach looking towards Umm a-Hasan where there is excellent bathing; the view also includes Nabih Salih and Jaziyra. There is deep water to the north of Sitra, and it is here that the Bahrain Government is building the new Port of Manama with a pier running into deep water from the shore between Umm al-Hasan and Jufair. 361 [504]

JIDDA

This island is about 2½ miles from Budaiya. It is small and rocky and in appearance unlike any of the other Bahrain Islands. Its high cliffs rise abruptly from the water and a few fort-like buildings are silhouetted against the sky-line. On the south side of the island there is a level strip of land which is extensively cultivated. Jidda is Bahrain's penal settlement; here all long term prisoners are detained, spending their time cutting stone, weaving and working in the gardens. There is a small house on the top of the cliffs above the jetty which catches all the wind in the summer and which is used by the Adviser to the Bahrain Government. Being a prison island, Jidda is forbidden to general visitors. 101 133 617 [486]

The stone quarries at Jidda are of great age and it is likely that the large stones which line the graves in the burial mounds were cut here. There is an Arabic inscription roughly cut on one of the cliffs which reads as follows : 316

"During the month of Shaban in the year 968 (April/May, 1561) there was completed the cutting of the 100,000th rock for the mending of the tower of the Bahrain fort in the wazirate of the Great Wazir Jilal ad-Din Murad Mahmud by the hand of the slave . . . " (a few words after this are unreadable).

UMM AN-NASAAN

This, the second largest of the Bahrain islands, lies a few miles across the shallow water to the south of Jidda. It is sandy and flat, with the exception of two small limestone hills towards its centre which break the monotony of its shape. At the north end of the island there are several natural springs and artesian wells from which extensive date gardens are irrigated; they were planted by the late Ruler of Bahrain, H.H. Shaikh Hamed, who also established on the island a herd of black buck and gazelle, the former being imported from India and the latter from the mainland of Bahrain. 101 133 312 [136]

There is evidence of ancient habitations on Umm an-Nasan, foundations of many old houses are visible and sherds of pottery can be picked up. Local legend has it that Nasaan, after whom the island is named, was one of the early rulers of Bahrain, but this legend has not been substantiated by historical research. 172

651 439 was imposed on luxury articles, liquor, and tobacco at the end of the previous year. From 1352 onwards the revenue increased steadily, and at the end of the present year, 1356, it will probably reach the high level which it attained in 1346.

The decrease in revenue resulting from general trade depression in Europe, and particularly the slump in the pearl trade, was caused not so much by a reduced amount of imports but by a decrease in the price of commodities which continued for several years. The cost of rice, flour, and coffee became lower each year during the depression, and importation of comparatively expensive European cotton goods diminished as cheap Japanese goods increased. The shortage of ready money for several years, and the inability of the local Arabs to spend much money on clothes was the greatest stimulus to Japanese trade in the Gulf, and especially in Bahrain. If the spending power of the people had not been so restricted it would have been very much more difficult for the Japanese to monopolise the trade in piece goods and fancy goods. Though the customs collections declined owing to the low value of imports, the cheapness of goods enabled many people to live who could otherwise have found it difficult to exist. I give a table showing the prices of various commodities in different years. The amount of imports, etc., are published yearly in the Bahrain trade report.

653 **Customs Improvements.** The customs pier and the import shed were built about twenty years ago; the pier shed was built in 1924. In 1925 a trolley line system was laid down to facilitate removal of cargo from the pier head to the sheds and to the bazaar. The trolley line resulted in doubling the quantity of daily cargo removals.

In 1927 a small mole and three small docks were constructed on the east of the pier. The mole was too narrow to be of much use, and the docks, which were dry at low tide, were also too small for general use. In 1937 the mole was widened and the new customs house was built on the site of the docks and a large piece of land in front of and on each side of the customs house was reclaimed. The additional area has partially relieved the congestion on the pier, where the area for storing cargo was insufficient.

The lighting of the port was improved in 1931 by the erection of a powerful light on the customs pier, which can be seen from the outer (white) buoy. When electricity was introduced, standard lamps were erected on the pier, enabling work to be carried out at night which was previously done under considerable difficulties. In 1933 the Gray Paul Beacon was lighted with a red flash light which affords great assistance at night to lighterage of cargo. A five-ton crane was purchased in 1930.

505 **Steamship Lines.** In 1924 the port was served only by the British India Steam Navigation Company Limited, with a very occasional Strick Line steamer. In 1925 the first Hansa Line steamer made its appearance. These two lines, and the Strick-Ellerman lines, now call regularly at Bahrain with direct cargo from Europe. In 1934 the Yamashita line, and in 1936 the Mitsui line, commenced regular callings at Bahrain.

In 1931 the British India Steam Navigation Company Limited began the weekly calling here of their subsidiary down-mail which had previously called every fortnight. In October 1932 the first Imperial Airways liner called at Bahrain, and there is now a bi-weekly air service east and west, a service which is expected to become more frequent.

With the development of the Bahrain Petroleum Company, Sitra became the port of oil tankers, and on occasions special permission has been granted for cargo boats to discharge Bahrain Petroleum Company's cargo at Sitra. On these occasions any ordinary cargo not intended for the Company is conveyed by sea to the customs pier in Manamah. Although the Sitra anchorage is more sheltered than the Manamah anchorage, it is not proposed to develop Sitra in any way as a regular port. Customs officials are stationed at Sitra and attend on the aerodrome when ships or aeroplanes are in port.

● 504 **Future Improvements.** An improvement to the port which has been under consideration on and off for many years is the extension of the existing pier to the edge of the deep water, which is about 400 yards distant from the pier head. Even if the extension were only a narrow one, it would be of great convenience both for passengers

and for cargo, as at present only very small boats can come alongside when the tide is at its lowest. While work was being done on the Manamah-Muharraq road it was inadvisable to start more stone work at the pier, but when the road is complete the pier extension will probably be begun.

It is also proposed that a small office for customs and passport officials should be built on the Muharraq aerodrome.

| Year. | Customs Receipts. | No. of Steamers. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1344 | 8,82,000 | — | A poor pearling season. |
| 1345 | 9,62,000 | — | Increase in all imports, especially rice, wheat, flour, and sugar. Persia increased taxes on tea and sugar. |
| 1346 | 10,58,000 | — | Increase of Rs 95,000/- from sugar and piece goods. Good pearling season. |
| 1347 | 10,59,000 | 118 | Bazaars becoming overstocked. |
| 1348 | 8,95,000 | — | Budget expectations not fulfilled. Decrease in wholesale costs of all imports; silk and cotton goods depreciate 25% in value, carpets and abbas 40%. |
| 1349 | 6,36,000 | 96 | Slump in pearl trade; prices of rice and wheat decrease 50%; export of sugar almost ceased. Chief exporter became bankrupt. |
| 1350 | 6,19,000 | 97 | Decrease in prices of all goods. Pearl market very dull. Very large export of gold from Bahrain to India through Indian and Jewish firms. Japanese monopolise piece-goods trade. |
| 1351 | 5,46,000 | 104 | Continued decline in price of staple commodities; one quarter less packages imported. Increase in Japanese goods and import of cheap Japanese silk. Customs dues on luxury articles raised from 5% to 7½%, and then to 10%, and on tobacco to 15%, and liquor, previously free, to 15%. Iraq wheat takes place of Persian wheat in Bahrain market. |
| 1352 | 5,58,000 | 149 | Continued fall in value of commodities. In five years Japanese imports rose from Rs 5,000/- to Rs 13,42,000/-. |
| 1353 | 6,01,000 | 174 (20 oil tankers) | Prices still decreasing, but quantity of imports increased. |
| 1354 | 6,50,000 | 195 (19 oil tankers) | Steady improvement in imports and increased activity in trading. |
| 1355 | 8,28,000 | 251 | Steady improvement in imports and increased activity in trading. |

## PRICES OF COMMODITIES

| Commodity | Year 1929. | Year 1934. | Year 1935. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ballam rice | 16/- | 9/8 | 10/8 |
| Karach rice | 13/- | 7/8 | 8/- |
| Rangoon rice | 13/- | 7/8 | 8/- |
| Sugar, Java | 19/- | 12/- | 10/8 |
| Sugar, crystal | 16/- | 11/- | 9/8 |
| Sugar, loaf | 14/- | 9/- | 8/8 |
| Wheat flour, Indian | 17/- | 11/- | 11/- |
| Wheat flour, Iraqi | — | 7/8 | 6/8 |
| Tea, black | 65/- | 40/- | 75/- |

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M22
Kuwait M11
Saudi Arabia M31



companies may need to be defined now that one concessionaire seems likely to create revenue; problems may also arise if, as a result of oil developments, it is planted with a population that will need to be endowed with public services and, no doubt, with a system of taxation.

## BAHRAIN

The Bahrain Archipelago is a group of islands in the Gulf of Bahrain, which is bounded on the east by the Qatar Peninsula and on the west by the mainland coast of al-Hasa. Its total area is 213 square miles. The principal island—Bahrain itself—is about thirty miles long and ten miles wide. It is low-lying and its northern end is well watered by fresh water springs and produces good date crops. Citrus fruit and lucerne are also grown. The oilfields lie round the rocky cluster of hills known as Jebel Dukhan (Hill of Smoke), which is in the barren centre of the island.

To the north-east of Bahrain Island, and joined to it by a causeway and motor road, is the low, sandy island of Muharraq, and between the two islands is a good deep-water harbour (Khor Kaliya). It is used as a small British naval base; an American admiral also flies his flag there. Nearby there is a second, but shallow harbour (Bahrain harbour), which faces north and is usefully equipped. The natural aerodrome on Muharraq Island has been developed into the largest commercial airfield in the Persian Gulf and now serves the airliners of all nations. It is also used by the RAF, and the whine of jet aircraft is a commonplace. The south end of the island of Bahrain is low-lying and sandy. The climate, though oppressive in summer owing to the prevalent heat and damp of the western shores of the Persian Gulf, is more humid and less windy than that of Kuwait. The population of the Archipelago was 109,650 when a census was taken in 1950.[1]

The capital and the seat of government is the port of Manama.[2] It is generally referred to as Bahrain, and is situated between the two harbours. It has a population of 39,648, which includes many rich Arab, Persian, and Indian merchants, as well as some 300 Europeans and Americans. The second town, Muharraq, on Muharraq Island, has a population of 24,566 which is purely Arab.

The British Political Agency is in Manama town, which also boasts an electricity station, a wireless station, post offices, hospitals, clubs, public gardens, and up-to-date schools. The town is well supplied with good motor roads, and there are

[1] 1952 estimate, 115,000. [2] Population: 1950, 39,648; 1952 (estimate), 45,000.

THE COMPANY ALSO

refinery on the eastern side of the island, opposite Sitra. It was expanded in 1945, and 80 to 85 per cent of the crude oil processed is now obtained by pipeline from Saudi Arabia. The refined petroleum products are pumped to storage tanks on Sitra Island, and subsequently to a deep-water loading terminal 3 miles offshore. Over 6,000 Bahrainis, as well as some 1,600 British and Americans, are employed in different branches of the industry. Two thirds of the royalties accrue to the Bahrain government, half of which are utilized for capital expenditures designed to raise the standards of living of the people. Reports for 1951 indicate that 68 per cent of the government income was derived from oil revenues, as against 26 per cent from customs receipts.

The renewed prosperity of the islands and the concurrent growth in population have stimulated private enterprise and the growth of small factories to supply current needs, particularly as regards building materials. Fishing is an important seasonal occupation of many villagers, and preserved fish, fish oils and other fish products are items of export. Agriculture plays a minor role. Barely 5 to 10 per cent of the total land area is under cultivation, and further expansion is restricted by the nature of the terrain, the concentration of water supply in limited areas and a feudalistic system of land tenure. Date gardens flourish in oases on Bahrain, Muharraq and Sitra Islands, but the supply equals less than one quarter of the local requirements. The government is endeavoring to promote the introduction of other crops, and maintains an experiment station at Budaiya.

The sea approaches to the archipelago are shallow, making it necessary for ocean vessels and oil tankers to anchor 2 to 4 miles from the shore. Bahrain and Muharraq, however, have good harbors which accommodate dhows and other shallow-draft vessels. Manama is an active trading center: coastal traffic is more or less continuous, while frequent steamer services are available to the northern Gulf ports and to India AND PAKISTAN.

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p. 257 (B)

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



pearl-trade during the war. Sea fisheries are also extensive, the fish being taken in nets and in tidal weirs or enclosures (*hadhrahs*) made of reeds, some of which surround large areas in the shallow waters round the coasts; 500 lb. of fish a day were supplied without difficulty to the Indian Expeditionary Force in 1914. Agriculture is carried on by irrigation, the chief products being fruit (dates, citrons, limes, melons, figs, &c., but few of the first quality), lucerne, and a few vegetables; a great belt of date-groves on Bahrein Island runs S. from Manāmah to the village of Būri, a distance of about 7 miles. Domestic animals include about 2,000 donkeys, less than 100 horses owned by the Sheikh and his family, about 100 camels, chiefly used in carrying water to Manāmah for sale, and a small but fine local breed of cattle, in high repute for their milking qualities. Of the donkeys, some 200 are of the famous breed imported from Hasa, from 12 to 13 hands, and white in colour.

The chief handicrafts are sail-making, weaving of abbas, lungis, and checked sheeting, and the manufacture of mats from Hasa reeds. Palgrave described the *Bahārinah* as excelling in the crafts of the weaver, the tailor, the dyer, and the worker in metal, wood, or leather. Boat-building, with timber imported from India, employs about 200 carpenters; Bahrein builders can turn out an excellent forty-ton boat in less than a month. Many boats are sōld to purchasers in El-Qatar and Oman.

Trade at the port of Manāmah was for years hindered by the unsatisfactory arrangements for handling cargo, distribution being delayed, and goods left to deteriorate without any proper protection. In 1910 the control was given to a European, but in the following year native sentiment demanded native control, and two Arabs were appointed, with lamentable results. Since then matters have improved; a Hindu has been placed in charge, and the construction of a jetty and storage-shed has modified the worst of the former defects. The Sheikh is entitled by treaty to an *ad valorem* duty of 5 per cent. on merchandise. Bahrein is the principal market for the pearl-industry, the export of pearls in a good year attaining about £2,000,000. But it is also an important emporium for the east coast of Arabia, distributing merchandise from India and from countries bordering on the Persian Gulf, to El-Qatar, Qatīf, and 'Oqair, from which last two ports goods are carried into the oases of Hasa and Qatīf, and beyond into southern Nejd. This local trade is carried in native boats without manifests, so that exact statistics cannot be obtained.

The total average imports of Manāmah for the three years 1911–14 amounted to £2,061,038, and exports £2,106,766. During the

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



361 438 the depression below (17 fathoms or more); another good well, *'Ain Khālid*, is in the centre of the village. The people own 85 donkeys and 16 horses. This village, like the next following, serves as a sanitorium for the island.

*Rifā' el-Gharbi*, in a similar position to the above, from which it is distant 1¼ miles WNW. One large masonry house is occupied by a member of the ruling family, though the village is under the jurisdiction of Sheikh Khālid; there are 40 reed huts, the inhabitants of which are Maliki Sunnis, chiefly of the 'Utūb tribe. The people gain a livelihood by selling Manāmah drinking-water from the well *Umm Ghuweifah* on the plateau near the village, carrying it thither on camels. No cultivation; some live stock. The village, like the preceding, is a sanitorium for the island. *Sanābis*, on the N. coast; a long village with a mosque, inhabited by 1,500 *Bahārinah*, engaged in boat-building, fishing, and the pearl trade; 30 pearl boats; 900 date-palms; some live stock. *Zallāq*, on the W. coast, 11 miles below Budayya'; 3 stone and 200 mud houses, inhabited by Dawāsir engaged in the pearl fisheries. There is a ruined fort. The people own 30 boats; live stock includes 30 donkeys and cattle.

The following are the principal towns:—

504 1. **Manāmah,** the commercial capital, is an open town situated on the coast at the NE. corner of the island; the anchorage is good, but steamers of 19 feet draught cannot come nearer than the outer anchorage 4 miles to the NW. of the town; smaller vessels can run up to an inner anchorage 2 miles off shore in the same direction. The bottom shelves so gradually that at low water even boats cannot get within ¼ mile of the beach, but must discharge passengers and cargo by means of donkeys; the harbour has many nets and fish-weirs always set. Manāmah with its suburbs extends 1½ miles along the sea-front, and has a depth inland of about ½ mile. The general appearance of the town is dingy and unprepossessing; the beach quarter is occupied by fishermen's huts, and the shore is formed of a dirty shingle. The larger buildings are of small stones cemented by mud or inferior mortar, which is apt to fall out, suggesting neglect and decay; while the ground floors are used as go-downs and business offices. The bazaar (450 shops), in the centre of which is the market-place, has been described as 'a filthy labyrinth of narrow lanes lined by shops and generally covered over with mats to keep out the sun'. In the outskirts dwellings are usually matting huts standing in courtyards enclosed by hurdles of upright date-fronds. The best buildings are the British Political Agency towards the NE. end; the American Mission and Hospital; Qal'at ed-Dīwān

months up to June 1952 an average of 427 civil aircraft and 122 military planes passed through Bahrain each month while in the year 1951 some 11,897 passengers entered Bahrain by air. As well as being connected with all parts of the world by the major airlines, smaller local services form a network in the Persian Gulf by which it is possible and usual for local merchants to go to Qatar or Saudi Arabia in the morning and to return to Bahrain the same evening. Many people from Bahrain also spend the weekend with friends in the oil camps of other companies.

The sea has played an important part in Bahrain's history and with the coming of oil and the increased prosperity of the islanders both steamer and dhow traffic has increased. In the year 1951, 847 steamers and tankers and 1,416 local craft carried over 47,000 visitors to Bahrain, a figure equal to about 45% of the total population. The launches and sailing boats came to Manama, Muharraq and other coastal towns, while the steamers and tankers anchored at the Sitra Jetty or in the anchorage north of Manama. At present the only deep water wharves are those of the oil company.

## INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS

Despite its small size, Bahrain and the islands of Muharraq and Sitra are provided with a large number of roads, but this can be accounted for by the presence among the date gardens of many villages as well as by the need for some form of communication with the scattered coastal settlements. Within the towns of Manama and Muharraq the main roads have excellent surfaces and are wide enough for the traffic they carry and the extensive paving that has recently been laid down has made them safer both for drivers and pedestrians.

From the town of Manama four main roads lead into the country ; to the south-east is Belgrave Road ; to the east, the Causeway; to the south, Awal Road and to the west, Budaiya Road.

Belgrave Road becomes Jufair Road after passing through the new residential centre of Qudabiya, and the latter leads past the Race Course to the suburbs of Jufair and Umm al-Hasan.

A second road, Shaikh Isa Road, starts from the Sea Road near the Adviserate and follows a rather erratic course till it leaves the town near the Water Garden and Mental Hospital. From here it passes through four miles of date gardens, broken only by the open ground around the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, then across the bridge at Radhm al-Qawari and into the desert. The road then travels south through the pre-historic tumuli and rises till it passes through an avenue of trees that marks the village of Rifaa al-Gharbi, the winter residence of H.H. The Ruler. From here the road drops abruptly into the central depression and then reaches Awali, 11 miles from Manama. At Awali the road branches in three directions, a road to the east leads to the Refinery and Sitra Island, a second road to the west goes to Zellaq and the west coast of Bahrain and a third skirts Awali and continues

491 south past the Jebal ad-Dukhan and the oil field. This last road, which deteriorates after leaving Awali, after passing Jebal Amr crosses the plain and ascending the rim-rock reaches the Ruler's Hunting Lodge at Rumaitha. From here the road goes due west to another Hunting Lodge at Matalla and joins the road from Zellaq to Ras al-Barr, the southern end of Bahrain Island.

The third main road leading from Manama runs parallel to and about 1-2 miles from the north coast of Bahrain. Passing through some of the most flourishing gardens in the islands, with thick green hedges by the road's edge, the driver is shaded by rows of tall date palms that cast a shadow over the road during most of the day and form an umbrella against the sun. After leaving the village of Jidhafs the road crosses patches of desert, clumps of tumuli alternate with gardens, and for the last few miles before reaching Budaiya, on the north-west corner of Bahrain, there is a shrubby desert where camels, sheep and goats graze. Beyond the Government Experimental Garden the road reaches the sea, and swinging south by the Police Post it enters the village of Budaiya. From here it bears south, through a number of villages and across the pipe-line road from Rifaa to Jesra, and finally to Zellaq.

The fourth road out of Manama, in fact a continuation of the sea road, leads across the Muharraq causeway to the town and island of that name, and after following the Muharraq sea road swings inland and crosses a short stretch of sand before reaching the edge of the Airport. Here the road branches; one branch leads to the north in the direction of the Airport and the other follows the curve of Arad Bay and then goes straight across the desert to the town of Hedd. Other roads branch off from this to the villages which fringe the coasts of Muharraq and to the gardens of Arad.

To return to the main island of Bahrain. Along the length of the Awal Road and particularly where it passes through the gardens, there are various roads and lanes leading to Zinj and Bilad al-Qadim to Saar and Salmabad, while a little distance to the south of Suq al-Khamis is the turning to the south towards the Adari Pool. Further south again a well-surfaced but somewhat winding road connects the Awal and Budaiya Roads, coming out on to the latter about half a mile west of Jidhafs. Shortly after passing Radhm al-Qawari, second class roads to the east and west lead respectively to the villages of the north-east coast, Tubli, Sanad and Ikur, and to Aali and beyond. Further on along Awal Road there is a road junction with a main road branching off to the south-east in the direction of the Refinery and Sitra. This road, after crossing the Awali-Sitra Road skirts the Refinery and then follows the east coast to the villages of Asker, Jaw and Dour.

It is impossible to describe in detail the many roads in Bahrain, but these are shown on the map of Bahrain and most of them branch off from the main roads which have been mentioned.

505 423 486 Communication with the other islands of Bahrain are mentioned in Part III and visits can usually be arranged to them by private agree-

ment with launch or dhow owners, but it should be remembered that some of them are private property. Umm as-Sabaan is the private property of Mr. Max W. Thornberg, Jidda being a penal settlement, is forbidden ground, and Umm an-Nasaan may only be visited with permission of H.H. The Ruler. The others, the small islands south of Muharraq, Nebih Salih, Jezira and the Howar islands are free to all visitors and a visit to them makes a change from drives around the islands.

Transport in Bahrain includes both bus and taxi, the former are not the luxurious affairs seen in Europe and England but have wooden bodies built in Bahrain and attached to an imported chassis. Taxis, however, are not too expensive if care is taken to pay the correct fare which is recorded in a fare book that should be carried by every driver. It is rumoured that taxis will soon carry meters, which will certainly simplify matters, but till that happy day passengers who have complaints to make about being over-charged should make them to the Traffic Department of the State Police.

Petrol and oil are cheap in Bahrain, which is not surprising, and the import tax on cars and motor cycles is only 10%, so that to own and run a private car is cheaper than in England or the States, as many fortunate people have discovered. Most makes of cars are obtainable in Bahrain, garage facilities have increased and the improvement in the roads has enabled English cars to be used with comfort.

The old-fashioned form of transport in Bahrain was the donkey. It was used for every task, for bringing the produce of the country for sale in the town, for pulling carts and for riding. The white Bahrain donkeys used to be well known all over the Middle East and they were exported from Bahrain to places as far distant as the East African coast. Today buses are replacing donkeys, there are bus services between most of the villages, though many of the young men prefer to use bicycles. Lorries too have successfully competed with donkeys and now carry most of the goods between the towns and villages, but in the gardens and in the narrow country lanes one still meets many donkeys though few of the fine white beasts for which the islands were famous long ago. However, the donkey will never entirely die out, for he has certain advantages over other methods of transport, he can reproduce young donkeys, he can find his own way along small and narrow tracks in the gardens and he produces manure, which is a valuable commodity in Bahrain.

## CHAPTER V

## BAHRAIN'S OIL INDUSTRY

The man who was chiefly responsible for the discovery of Bahrain's oil resources was an Australian, Major Frank Holmes, who came to Bahrain on behalf of the Eastern and General Syndicate, a British prospecting company. Major Holmes, after drilling a number of artesian wells and thus discovering something about the composition

many of the travellers who have visited the islands. Men with deflated sheepskins dive down to the spring and place the mouth of the skin over the place where the fresh water emerges ; the skin then fills with fresh water and when full the diver comes to the surface. Before artesian wells were drilled in Bahrain both Muharraq and Manama obtained much of their water in this way, but today, owing to artesian piped wells and water systems, the undersea springs are little used except those to the north of Bahrain near the pearling banks. A Turkish traveller who visited Bahrain in 1554, Sidi Ali, says of the submarine springs, "The sailors provided with a leather sack, dive down into the sea and bring the fresh water from the bottom for Rais Murad's (the Governor of Bahrain) use. This water is particularly pleasant and cold in spring time. God's Power is boundless !" There is a legend concerning the spring of Abu Mahur which says that in the time of the Caliph Merwan (684-685) a certain Ibn Hakim, a chief in Qatif, wished to marry the lovely daughter of a Bahrain shaikh. His suit was refused and so he attacked the islands and captured all the wells which supplied the towns on Bahrain Island, but the guardian diety of the Bahrainis caused the well Abu Mahur to appear in the sea near Muharraq to succour his people.

### NABIH SALIH

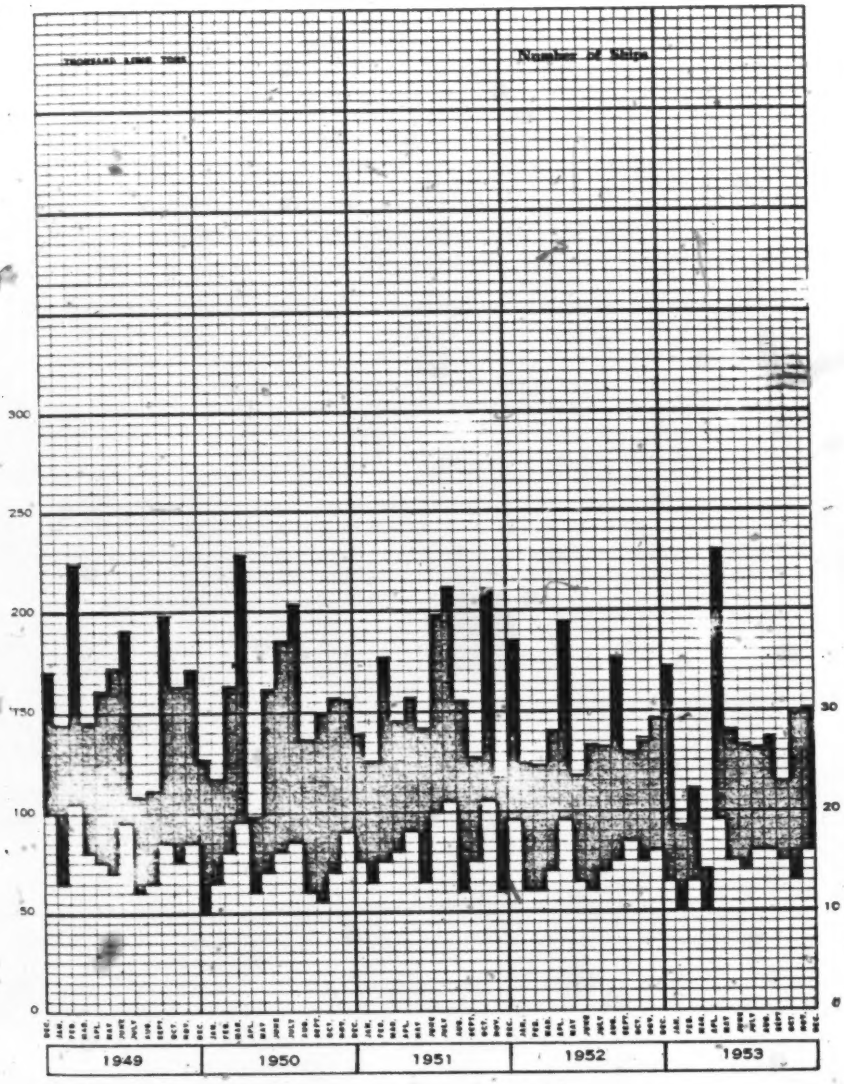
A most attractive island is Nabih Salih, set in the Khor-al-Kab between Umm al-Hassan and the mainland of Bahrain. With its thick cultivation, for the date palms run right down to the sea shore, and its many springs, including a large pool much frequented by bathers, Nabih Salih is a very popular place for visitors. In addition to its pool it is a place of pilgrimage for the Shia of Bahrain who go to pay their respects to the tomb of Salih after whom the island is named. The date palms of the island are particularly fine, they compare very favourably with those elsewhere in Bahrain, which is mainly due to the pool already mentioned, Safahiya, which irrigates much of the island. Nabih Salih can be visited by launch or sailing boat, the nearest point to it on Bahrain is Ain al-Hakim ; boats can also be obtained from Umm al-Hasan or from Sitra. People have been known to swim to the island, but this is not the only way of getting there and in the summer this method is inclined to be rather exhausting.

### SITRA

South of Nabih Salih and close to the coast of Bahrain is Sitra Island, which in addition to its many villages and gardens contains the Tank Farm and Drum Plant of BAPCO and the land end of the jetty. The site of these installations is a strip of bare and often sea-swept sands, but to the north of the island there are many gardens and a sizeable pool, Ain Raha, which is much visited by the people of Muharraq and Manama. Among the villages of North Sitra are Wadiyan, Sufala, Kharijya and Kuriya. Near the third village is a school and police station. To the south of the island is Umm al-Baidh, literally "Mother

# GOVERNMENT GAUGED CARGOES, 1949-53

505




[facing page 50.b]

## CASH RECEIPTS RETURN—1372 1/

| | | Rs. | As. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 494 | TRANSFER FEES .. .. .. .. .. | 686 | — |
| 651 | TAXATION FEES .. .. .. .. .. | 89,606 | 1 |
| | NUMBER PLATES .. .. .. .. .. | 2,397 | — |
| | LICENCE HOLDERS .. .. .. .. .. | 663 | 8 |
| | DRIVING LICENCES .. .. .. .. .. | 14,525 | — |
| | LICENCE BOOKS .. .. .. .. .. | 1,922 | — |
| | TAXI BADGES .. .. .. .. .. | 75 | — |
| | DRIVING TESTS—Fees .. .. .. .. .. | 6,650 | — |
| | LICENCE LATE FEES .. .. .. .. .. | 335 | 8 |
| | PEDAL CYCLE TAX .. .. .. .. .. | 1,697 | — |
| | HIRE OF "L" PLATES .. .. .. .. .. | 99 | — |
| | LEARNERS LICENCE PERMITS .. .. .. | 1,063 | 8 |
| | REGISTRATION LATE FEES .. .. .. .. | 2,312 | — |
| | REGISTRATION INFORMATION .. .. .. | 3 | — |
| | PUBLIC CONVEYANCE LICENCE .. .. .. | 865 | — |
| | TAXI DRIVERS LICENCES .. .. .. .. | 853 | 8 |
| | TRADERS LICENCES .. .. .. .. .. | 2,175 | — |
| | Total | Rs. 1,25,929 | 1 |

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## OIL INSPECTION DEPARTMENT

(Report by Mr. G. B. Thompson, Government Oil Inspector)

382 439 505 The Refinery throughput of Bahrain Crude Oil remained about the same as the previous year, but the total Refinery throughput, including both Bahrain Crude Oil and Imported Foreign Crude Oil, increased from 9,254,140 Long Tons in 1952, to a figure of 9,654,390 Long Tons in 1953. The actual figures being :

| | |
|---|---|
| Bahrain Crude Oil .. .. | 1,480,638 Long Tons |
| Imported Foreign Crude Oil .. | 8,173,751 Long Tons |

There was a slight drop in the number of ship cargo inspections carried out :

| | |
|---|---|
| 1952 .. | 178 Ships, 476 Parcels, 1,741,861 Long Tons |
| 1953 .. | 170 Ships, 463 Parcels, 1,628,045 Long Tons |

The term "Imported Foreign Crude Oil" has been used in place of the term "Arabian Crude Oil," used in previous years, the change having been made to allow inclusion of two shipments of Sumatran Crude made late in 1953, which were successfully processed through the Refinery.

Graphs showing the Refinery throughput and the Ship Inspection figures for the last five years are included. 2/

1/ [A.D. 1752-53 -- Analyst] 2/ [Graphs facing page 50a + b -- Analyst]

H/Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 M... Bahrain MZ2



## BAHRAIN CRAFT REGISTRATIONS

| | Wooden Barges. | Steel Barges. | Motor Launches and Barges. | Sailing Craft. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEAR 1370 : | | | | | |
| Registered Craft .. .. .. | 12 | | 25[illegible] | 838 | 1185 |
| YEAR 1372 : | | | | | |
| New Built in Bahrain for hire .. | — | — | 1 | — | 1 |
| Brought from Holland .. .. | — | 8 | 1 | — | 9 |
| Brought from U.S. .. .. | — | — | 1 | — | 1 |
| New Built in Bahrain for private use .. | — | — | 1 | — | 1 |
| Old, purchased from R.A.F. by Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Co., Ltd. .. | — | — | 4 | — | 4 |
| Old, brought from foreign ports .. | — | — | 7 | 6 | 13 |
| | 12 | 90 | 268 | 845 | 1215 |
| Old craft fitted with engines .. .. | — | — | 3 | 3 | — |
| Total .. | 12 | 90 | 271 | 842 | 1215 |
| LESS IN 1372 : | | | | | |
| Sold and removed .. .. | — | — | — | 1 | 1 |
| Lost at Sea .. .. .. | — | — | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Useless—broken-up .. .. | 1 | — | 2 | 21 | 24 |
| | 1 | — | 3 | 25 | 29 |
| Actual number of craft registered up to the end of 1372 .. .. .. | 11 | 90 | 268 | 817 | 1186 |
| Total .. | 12 | 90 | 271 | 842 | 1215 |

## EXPORT OF BAHRAIN OIL PRODUCTS WERE :

| | Year 1371 | | Year 1372 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Drums. | Tons. | Drums. | Tons. |
| Gasoline and Aviation Gasoline .. .. | 34,472 | 16,57,925 | 13,990 | 14,39,471 |
| Fuel Oil .. .. .. .. | — | 33,72,963 | — | 41,09,845 |
| Diesel Oil .. .. .. .. | 1,600 | 2,26,033 | 1,41,000 | 2,48,435 |
| Diesel Fuel .. .. .. .. | — | — | — | 95,197 |
| Kerosene .. .. .. .. | 8,249 | 7,46,084 | 14,550 | 5,74,433 |
| Gas Oil .. .. .. .. | 7,582 | 62,566 | — | 1,03,952 |
| Gas Oil (Diesel) .. .. .. | 11,123 | 3,91,171 | 2,397 | 2,79,201 |
| Crude and Synthetic Crude .. .. | 1,09,200 | 99,795 | — | 72,346 |
| Motor Spirit .. .. .. .. | 27,607 | 1,42,538 | — | 61,115 |
| Petroleum Products .. .. .. | 1,18,700 | — | 44,308 | — |
| Vaporizing Oil .. .. .. .. | 396 | — | — | 1,793 |
| Total .. .. | 3,18,329 | 66,96,072 | 2,16,245 | 69,85,788 |

405

## VISITS OF FOREIGN STEAMERS

| Nationality | Year 1371 | Year 1372 |
|---|---|---|
| British: B.I.S.N. Company's Steamers | 95 | 98 |
| Strick Line and other British Steamers | 149 | 142 |
| U.S.A.: Ishemian and other U.S.A. Steamers | 34 | 25 |
| Norwegian | 11 | [illegible] |
| Panamanian | 6 | 16 |
| Dutch | 49 | [illegible] |
| Greek | 6 | 7 |
| Italian | 6 | 13 |
| Danish | 15 | 12 |
| Swedish | 13 | 13 |
| Japanese | 2 | 18 |
| German | 12 | 18 |
| Pakistani | 1 | — |
| Turkish | 1 | 2 |
| Belgian | — | 1 |
| Liberian | — | 1 |
| Honduras | — | 1 |
| Ethiopian | — | 1 |
| Finnish | — | 1 |
| Indian | — | 4 |
| | 400 | [illegible] |
| Tankers | 593 | 640 |
| Totals | 993 | 1133 |

## NATIONALITY OF TANKERS

| | Year 1371 | Year 1372 |
|---|---|---|
| British | 177 | 226 |
| U.S.A. | 103 | 130 |
| Dutch | 15 | 13 |
| Swedish | 12 | 22 |
| Danish | 4 | 6 |
| Italian | 3 | 8 |
| Norwegian | 71 | 66 |
| Panama | 157 | 136 |
| Spanish | 18 | — |
| Portuguese | 4 | 6 |
| Japanese | 2 | [illegible] |
| Turkish | 4 | [illegible] |
| Brazilian | — | 3 |
| Liberian | 14 | 7 |
| Chinese | 1 | — |
| Pakistani | 2 | — |
| French | 1 | 4 |
| Greek | 1 | 1 |
| Indian | 4 | — |
| Polish | — | 1 |
| Total | 593 | 640 |

4: Bahrain GEO (no date),1953 - M22 Bahrain (M22



5059

**Staff :**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Number of Clerks (Customs) .. .. .. .. | 106 | |
| Number of Clerks (Food Control) .. .. .. | 10 | |
| | | 116 |

**Menials :**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Customs, including Guards and Crane Crew .. .. | 83 | |
| Food Control .. .. .. .. .. | 4 | |
| | | 87 |

**Salaries Paid :**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Customs Department .. .. | Rs. 3,49,193/- | |
| Food Control .. .. .. .. | 28,998/- | |
| | | Rs. 3,78,191/- |

**Menials Wages Paid :**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Customs Department .. .. .. | Rs. 1,25,899/- | |
| Food Control .. .. .. .. | 7,897/- | |
| | | Rs. 1,33,796/- |

**Bills of Entry.** The total number of Bills of Entry dealt with was 34,728, an increase of 6,080 over 1371.

Particulars are :

| | |
|---|---|
| Steamers .. .. .. | 24,013 |
| Craft .. .. .. | 3,157 |
| Baggage and Aircraft .. .. | 7,558 |
| Total .. | 34,728 |

**Shipping Bills.** The total number of Shipping Bills dealt with during the year amounted to 54,441, an increase of 6,218 over 1371.

## FOOD CONTROL DEPARTMENT

Holding ample stocks of rice at the beginning of the year under review, and having in mind the possibility of being able to discontinue rationing, the Government made no large scale purchases of rice and sugar in 1372. In all, only Rs. 6 lakhs were spent in the purchase of a small quantity of Persian rice.

262
439
656

During the year it became more and more obvious that there was plenty of rice available for export from Burma and Siam, so the Government called a meeting of leading importers, and informed them that if they were prepared to import sufficient rice for internal needs (about 85,000 bags, each of 160 lbs. per annum), the Government would cease to purchase and ration this important commodity. The Government would, however, continue to exercise a price control for at least a year. The importers agreed to do this and it was possible to cease rationing by the end of Ramadhan 1372. Since that date supplies have continued to arrive regularly to importers, who have retailed same to the public at prices below the controlled rate.

The Government issued to the public 8 lbs. of rice per adult for the first nine months of the year at prices ranging from Rs. 1.12.0 to Rs. 2.4.0 per ruba, since rationing ceased the price has not exceeded Rs. 2.6.0 per ruba, and is presently being retailed at Rs. 2.4.0 per ruba of 4 lbs.

Sugar was also de-rationed at the beginning of the year, plentiful supplies being available in the local market, and retailed to the public at prices ranging from Rs. 1.10.0 to Rs. 2/- per ruba of 4 lbs. The Government stock of sugar was reserved for *barter* for livestock from Iran and dates from Busrah.

651 439 was imposed on luxury articles, liquor, and tobacco at the end of the previous year. From 1352 onwards the revenue increased steadily, and at the end of the present year, 1356, it will probably reach the high level which it attained in 1346.

The decrease in revenue resulting from general trade depression in Europe, and particularly the slump in the pearl trade, was caused not so much by a reduced amount of imports but by a decrease in the price of commodities which continued for several years. The cost of rice, flour, and coffee became lower each year during the depression, and importation of comparatively expensive European cotton goods diminished as cheap Japanese goods increased. The shortage of ready money for several years, and the inability of the local Arabs to spend much money on clothes was the greatest stimulus to Japanese trade in the Gulf, and especially in Bahrain. If the spending power of the people had not been so restricted it would have been very much more difficult for the Japanese to monopolise the trade in piece goods and fancy goods. Though the customs collections declined owing to the low value of imports, the cheapness of goods enabled many people to live who would otherwise have found it difficult to exist. I give a table showing the prices of various commodities in different years. The amount of imports, etc., are published yearly in the Bahrain trade report.

653 **Customs Improvements.** The customs pier and the import shed were built about twenty years ago; the pier shed was built in 1924. In 1925 a trolley line system was laid down to facilitate removal of cargo from the pier head to the sheds and to the bazaar. The trolley line resulted in doubling the quantity of daily cargo removals.

In 1927 a small mole and three small docks were constructed on the east of the pier. The mole was too narrow to be of much use, and the docks, which were dry at low tide, were also too small for general use. In 1937 the mole was widened and the new customs house was built on the site of the docks and a large piece of land in front of and on each side of the customs house was reclaimed. The additional area has partially relieved the congestion on the pier, where the area for storing cargo was insufficient.

The lighting of the port was improved in 1931 by the erection of a powerful light on the customs pier, which can be seen from the outer (white) buoy. When electricity was introduced, standard lamps were erected on the pier, enabling work to be carried out at night which was previously done under considerable difficulties. In 1933 the Gray Paul Beacon was lighted with a red flash light which affords great assistance at night to lighterage of cargo. A five-ton crane was purchased in 1930.

● 505 **Steamship Lines.** In 1924 the port was served only by the British India Steam Navigation Company Limited, with a very occasional Strick Line steamer. In 1925 the first Hansa Line steamer made its appearance. These two lines, and the Strick-Ellerman lines, now call regularly at Bahrain with direct cargo from Europe. In 1934 the Yamashita line, and in 1936 the Mitsui line, commenced regular callings at Bahrain.

In 1931 the British India Steam Navigation Company Limited began the weekly calling here of their subsidiary down-mail which had previously called every fortnight. In October 1932 the first Imperial Airways liner called at Bahrain, and there is now a bi-weekly air service east and west, a service which is expected to become more frequent.

With the development of the Bahrain Petroleum Company, Sitra became the port of oil tankers, and on occasions special permission has been granted for cargo boats to discharge Bahrain Petroleum Company's cargo at Sitra. On these occasions any ordinary cargo not intended for the Company is conveyed by sea to the customs pier in Manamah. Although the Sitra anchorage is more sheltered than the Manamah anchorage, it is not proposed to develop Sitra in any way as a regular port. Customs officials are stationed at Sitra and attend on the aerodrome when ships or aeroplanes are in port.

504 **Future Improvements.** An improvement to the port which has been under consideration on and off for many years is the extension of the existing pier to the edge of the deep water, which is about 400 yards distant from the pier head. Even if the extension were only a narrow one, it would be of great convenience both for passengers

THE COMPANY ALSO OPERATES A refinery on the eastern side of the island, opposite Sitra. It was expanded in 1945, and 80 to 85 per cent of the crude oil processed is now obtained by pipeline from Saudi Arabia. The refined petroleum products are pumped to storage tanks on Sitra Island, and subsequently to a deep-water loading terminal 3 miles offshore. Over 6,000 Bahrainis, as well as some 1,600 British and Americans, are employed in different branches of the industry. Two thirds of the royalties accrue to the Bahrain government, half of which are utilized for capital expenditures designed to raise the standards of living of the people. Reports for 1951 indicate that 68 per cent of the government income was derived from oil revenues, as against 26 per cent from customs receipts.

The renewed prosperity of the islands and the concurrent growth in population have stimulated private enterprise and the growth of small factories to supply current needs, particularly as regards building materials. Fishing is an important seasonal occupation of many villagers, and preserved fish, fish oils and other fish products are items of export. Agriculture plays a minor role. Barely 5 to 10 per cent of the total land area is under cultivation, and further expansion is restricted by the nature of the terrain, the concentration of water supply in limited areas and a feudalistic system of land tenure. Date gardens flourish in oases on Bahrain, Muharraq and Sitra Islands, but the supply equals less than one quarter of the local requirements. The government is endeavoring to promote the introduction of other crops, and maintains an experiment station at Budaiya.

The sea approaches to the archipelago are shallow, making it necessary for ocean vessels and oil tankers to anchor 2 to 4 miles from the shore. Bahrain and Muharraq, however, have good harbors which accommodate dhows and other shallow-draft vessels. Manama is an active trading center: coastal traffic is more or less continuous, while frequent steamer services are available to the northern Gulf ports and to India AND PAKISTAN.

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p. 257 (B)

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



same period the figures under the three main heads averaged as follows :—

| | Imports. | Exports. |
|---|---|---|
| Pearls | £810,000 | £1,826,430 |
| Specie | 461,280 | 60,970 |
| General merchandise | 789,740 | 219,350 |

The principal commodities imported are rice, piece-goods, *ghi*, coffee, dates, sugar, tea, tobacco, spices, fuel, and animals for slaughter. Real exports other than pearls are of small value and importance, Bahrein being a distributing and not a producing centre ; a few textiles and a little sail-cloth almost complete the tale of local manufacture. The principal share of the Bahrein trade falls to the lot of India, which is responsible for more than half of the total, though many goods arriving from that country are really of European origin, sent there for reshipment owing to the lack of direct facilities, and to the fact that Bahrein has grown accustomed to placing orders in Bombay. Next to India come Persia and 'Irāq, less than 10 per cent. falling to all other countries. The natural result of this preponderance is that trade is largely in the hands of Indian and Persian merchants. Besides legitimate commerce, there is a contraband traffic with the South Persian coast. In 1914 there was but a single British firm in Bahrein, Gray, Paul and Co., who are agents for the British India Steam Navigation Co. ; the only other European commercial house was that of R. Wonckhaus & Co., of Hamburg, which had been established for some years. On the outbreak of war there were two resident members of the latter, the manager, who was arrested and interned at Karachi, and his assistant, who belonged to the active reserve of the German Army, and escaped to Basra. The branch was then closed. There are no banks, and transactions are largely carried out by means of Indian currency notes.

Steam communication is chiefly in British hands, the British India Steam Navigation Co. maintaining a weekly service up from Bombay and Karachi, and a fortnightly down to Karachi and Bombay. The Arab Steamers, Ltd., a line started in 1911 in opposition to the British company, call from Bombay about once every three weeks, and again on the return voyage from Basra. The boats of the Persian Gulf Steam Navigation Co. from Bombay call on the outward voyage once a month, and again on their return. Before the war, the steamers of the Hamburg-Amerika line called about once a month on the outward voyage, thus providing the only regular direct access to Bahrein from Europe.

644

*Sons of Shaikh Muhammad bin Isa* :

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SHAIKH ALI BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.
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SHAIKH ABD AL-AZIZ BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.
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# CHAPTER IV

# COMMUNICATIONS

508

BAHRAIN, owing to its central position in the Persian Gulf, is the natural stopping place for air services between the Middle East and the Far East and for this reason it is a port of call for many air companies. Bahrain's Airport is on Muharraq Island, a short drive from the town, and is sufficiently large to take the newest types of aircraft including the B.O.A.C. Comet which started services through Bahrain in August, 1952. There is in addition a Persian Gulf air service, Gulf Aviation Company Ltd., in which the Bahrain Government has an important interest and whose headquarters is at Muharraq.

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Air travel is very popular in the Persian Gulf and there has been a great increase in the air traffic to and from Bahrain. In the twelve

### *Muharraq Island*

101 This is the second largest island of the group and in all probability the "Aradus" of the classical writers. It is located northeast of Bahrein and is about five and a half square miles in area, horseshoe shaped and only a mile wide. It is separated [491] from Bahrein by a channel spanned by a causeway a mile and a half long with a motor road and by a swinging bridge which was completed in 1941.

361 The chief city is MUHURRAQ, on the western side, the sec-
162 ond largest city in the islands and the summer residence of the
633 Sheik. Its population is about 26,000. Muhurraq and Manama, on Bahrein Island, are each administered by a Municipal Committee which in addition to civic duties are jointly responsible for the upkeep of thirty per cent of the roads in the archipelago.

361 Other towns among the sixteen or more on Muhurraq which
162 should be mentioned are:

ARAD. This is an important date producing center with some sixteen thousand palm trees, on the southern shore of the Gulf of Arad. It is inhabited by the Baharinah.

HADD. Second in importance only to Muhurraq, Hadd is the leading pearl fishing center of the islands. It has a population of almost 10,000, consisting of Sādāt and Beni Yās. Since the English began to take a direct hand in the administration of the island it has become possibly the most modern of the cities, [242] with many up-to-date homes and an agricultural experiment [697] station as well as a modern penitentiary and the cottage of the British Financial Adviser.

The villages of Basatin, Qalali, Samahij and Dair, on the north and northeast coasts, are also important. Their population follows the Sunnite faith exclusively and those in Qalali belong to the Manani'a tribe.

508 Muhurraq Island has a military and civil airfield used by
712 the British Overseas Air Service. The field has limited fueling and repair facilities for normal traffic as well as minimum lighting, runway lights, and lighted wind indicators. There are hard surface, all weather runways with an elevation of two feet; the

longest runway, to the nearest hundred feet, is 7400 feet long. There are radio communication and direction finder with voice, and the Radio Bahrein tower operates on 6440 kilocycles, 117.9 mc.

The other principal islands of the Bahrein group are:

SITRA, which is separated from Bahrein by the Sitra Canal, which is about a quarter of a mile wide. The southern part of the island is completely barren but in the north there are small villages, mostly inhabited by Baharinah farmers and fishermen. The most important are Wadiyan, Kharijia, Muhazza and Sufala, all of which are important date growing centers.

NABBI SĀLIH, the smallest of the five islands, situated about three quarters of a mile off the coast of Bahrein. There are palm groves and two small fishing centers, Kaflan and Karya. The island has many gardens and orchards as well as palm groves with some fifteen thousand trees. It is entirely inhabited by the Baharinah.

UMM NA'SAN, two miles west of Bahrein, a low and sandy island four miles long and triangular in shape. The island is dominated by two rocky peaks, one rising to an elevation of sixty-six feet at about half a mile from the western point of the island, and the other twenty-five feet high situated about half a mile farther to the east. Near the west coast there is a water source used by the people of the west coast of Bahrein, mostly the towns of Badaiya'a and Zallāq, whose custom it is to send their cattle to graze there during the summer.

Besides these principal islands there are a number of smaller ones, mostly inhabited. From north to south and west to east these are:

KHASAIFA.

JARDI.

SAYA, with its fresh water spring, located about half a mile off the west coast of Muharraq Island.

ABU MAHIR, a small island south of Muharraq and connected to it at low tide. There is a small fort on the island erected for the defense of the water source which formerly supplied the people of Muharraq.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2
Kuwait M11
Saudi Arabia MJ1



companies may need to be defined now that one concessionaire seems likely to create revenue; problems may also arise if, as a result of oil developments, it is planted with a population that will need to be endowed with public services and, no doubt, with a system of taxation.

## BAHRAIN

The Bahrain Archipelago is a group of islands in the Gulf of Bahrain, which is bounded on the east by the Qatar Peninsula and on the west by the mainland coast of al-Hasa. Its total area is 213 square miles. The principal island—Bahrain itself—is about thirty miles long and ten miles wide. It is low-lying and its northern end is well watered by fresh water springs and produces good date crops. Citrus fruit and lucerne are also grown. The oilfields lie round the rocky cluster of hills known as Jebel Dukhan (Hill of Smoke), which is in the barren centre of the island.

To the north-east of Bahrain Island, and joined to it by a causeway and motor road, is the low, sandy island of Muharraq, and between the two islands is a good deep-water harbour (Khor Kaliya). It is used as a small British naval base; an American admiral also flies his flag there. Nearby there is a second, but shallow harbour (Bahrain harbour), which faces north and is usefully equipped. The natural aerodrome on Muharraq Island has been developed into the largest commercial airfield in the Persian Gulf and now serves the airliners of all nations. It is also used by the RAF, and the whine of jet aircraft is a commonplace. The south end of the island of Bahrain is low-lying and sandy. The climate, though oppressive in summer owing to the prevalent heat and damp of the western shores of the Persian Gulf, is more humid and less windy than that of Kuwait. The population of the Archipelago was 109,650 when a census was taken in 1950.[1]

The capital and the seat of government is the port of Manama.[2] It is generally referred to as Bahrain, and is situated between the two harbours. It has a population of 39,648, which includes many rich Arab, Persian, and Indian merchants, as well as some 300 Europeans and Americans. The second town, Muharraq, on Muharraq Island, has a population of 24,566 which is purely Arab.

The British Political Agency is in Manama town, which also boasts an electricity station, a wireless station, post offices, hospitals, clubs, public gardens, and up-to-date schools. The town is well supplied with good motor roads, and there are

[1] 1952 estimate, 115,000. [2] Population: 1950, 39,648; 1952 (estimate), 45,000.

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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509 Air travel is very popular in the Persian Gulf and there has been a great increase in the air traffic to and from Bahrain. In the twelve

months up to June 1952 an average of 427 civil aircraft and 122 military planes passed through Bahrain each month while in the year 1951 some 11,897 passengers entered Bahrain by air. As well as being connected with all parts of the world by the major airlines, smaller local services form a network in the Persian Gulf by which it is possible and usual for local merchants to go to Qatar or Saudi Arabia in the morning and to return to Bahrain the same evening. Many people from Bahrain also spend the weekend with friends in the oil camps of other companies.

The sea has played an important part in Bahrain's history and with the coming of oil and the increased prosperity of the islanders both steamer and dhow traffic has increased. In the year 1951, 847 steamers and tankers and 1,416 local craft carried over 47,000 visitors to Bahrain, a figure equal to about 45% of the total population. The launches and sailing boats came to Manama, Muharraq and other coastal towns, while the steamers and tankers anchored at the Sitra Jetty or in the anchorage north of Manama. At present the only deep water wharves are those of the oil company.

INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS

Despite its small size, Bahrain and the islands of Muharraq and Sitra are provided with a large number of roads, but this can be accounted for by the presence among the date gardens of many villages as well as by the need for some form of communication with the scattered coastal settlements. Within the towns of Manama and Muharraq the main roads have excellent surfaces and are wide enough for the traffic they carry and the extensive paving that has recently been laid down has made them safer both for drivers and pedestrians.

From the town of Manama four main roads lead into the country ; to the south-east is Belgrave Road ; to the east, the Causeway ; to the south, Awal Road and to the west, Budaiya Road.

Belgrave Road becomes Jufair Road after passing through the new residential centre of Qudabiya, and the latter leads past the Race Course to the suburbs of Jufair and Umm al-Hasan.

A second road, Shaikh Isa Road, starts from the Sea Road near the Adviserate and follows a rather erratic course till it leaves the town near the Water Garden and Mental Hospital. From here it passes through four miles of date gardens, broken only by the open ground around the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, then across the bridge at Radhm al-Qawari and into the desert. The road then travels south through the pre-historic tumuli and rises till it passes through an avenue of trees that marks the village of Rifáa al-Gharbi, the winter residence of H.H. The Ruler. From here the road drops abruptly into the central depression and then reaches Awali, 11 miles from Manama. At Awali the road branches in three directions, a road to the east leads to the Refinery and Sitra Island, a second road to the west goes to Zellaq and the west coast of Bahrain, a third skirts Awali and continues

H. Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

351 Several types of local grass, if cultivated, can be used for lawns. The best method of planting a lawn is by "dubbing in" small clumps of grass about six inches apart from each other. In two or three months the grass will cover the ground. It requires liberal watering especially during the summer, in the winter time it lies dormant. After three or four years lawns are apt to become thin and patchy, the grass should then be dug up and a new lawn laid down. The best kind of grass for lawns is "Nejma" which means a star, so called owing to the star shaped seed pod which it produces and "Murani," both can be obtained easily from any cultivated ground.

244 137 Most European vegetables can be grown in Bahrain and if planted in October quite a small garden should provide vegetables for a household from December until the beginning of June. Gardeners, if left to their own devices, are apt to use old seed which they have collected from previous crops; this almost always results in failure. The following are the most easily grown vegetables, Beetroot, Cabbage, family Carrot, Celery, Leek, Lettuce, Onion, Parsley, Radish, Spinach, Turnip. Peas and Beans do not seem to thrive in Bahrain. Tomatoes are grown extensively in the country and can be bought cheaply in the bazaar, so unless one has plenty of space it is hardly worth cultivating them. They ripen in Bahrain before they ripen in Iraq and at the beginning of the season they are exported from Bahrain to Basra.

Asparagus, Artichoke (Jerusalem) and Brussel sprouts have been grown from seed with rather uncertain results. Sweet Basil (Mashmoom) and Dill are herbs which are found in almost every garden, Mint grows well and retains its perennial habit but most of the other English herbs are not successful.

In the summer only local and somewhat uninspiring vegetables are obtainable, the best of these are Aubergine, Cucumber, Ladies Fingers, Pumpkin, Marrow and Sweet Potatoes.

One of the problems in Bahrain is how to obtain sufficient fertiliser. Before so many people took an interest in gardening cow manure could be obtained by anyone who sent a cart to remove it from the owner's shed. Today it is a marketable commodity and has to be paid for.

247 In spite of all difficulties gardening in Bahrain is a popular hobby, not only among the Europeans but also among the Arabs.

## CHAPTER III

## MISCELLANEOUS

### AIR FARES

509 THE following air lines make scheduled stops at Bahrain :—

British Overseas Airways Ltd.
Gulf Aviation Ltd.,
Djibouti Airways,
Cyprus Airways,
Iraki Airways,
Middle East Airways,
T.A.I.

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Bookings can be made in Bahrain on these air lines either through their Bahrain offices or through any of the various travel bureaux that function in Manama. It is also possible to charter aircraft from Gulf Aviation Ltd. at rates which can be ascertained from the Company or its agents. D.H. Doves, carrying 7 passengers, are used.

Below are given some of the current air fares to various world cities and to the other Persian Gulf towns :—

| *Bahrain to :* | *Fare single* Rs. | *return* Rs. | *Bahrain to :* | *Fare single* Rs. | *return* Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Amsterdam | 1547 | 2475 | Doha | 65 | 130 |
| Bombay | 680 | 1224 | Karachi | 547 | 985 |
| Brussels | 1494 | 2475 | Kuwait | 147 | 265 |
| Cairo | 627 | 1129 | London | 1547 | 2475 |
| Colombo | 907 | 1633 | New York* | 3428 | 5861 |
| Damascus | 534 | 962 | Paris | 1547 | 2475 |
| Delhi | 707 | 1273 | Rome | 1240 | 2232 |
| Dhahran | 30 | 60 | Sharjah | 150 | 280 |

**Off season return fare New York Rs.5380.*

## TELECOMMUNICATIONS

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The telecommunication system of the islands is owned and operated by Cable and Wireless Ltd., who maintain an automatic telephone system within Bahrain itself and also a radio-telephone system with other countries.

The following are representative cable rates :—

*Telegraph Rates (per word).*

| *Country.* | Ordinary (*Full Rate*) | Letter telegram (*Min. charge for 22 words*) | *Each additional word.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. As. | Rs. As. | Rs. As. |
| Australia | 2 13 | 30 15 | 1 6½ |
| Canada | 1 10 | 17 14 | 0 13 |
| Egypt (1 and 3 regions) | 1 13 | 19 15 | 0 14½ |
| Egypt (region 2) | 1 14 | 20 10 | 0 15 |
| France | 1 1 | 11 11 | 0 8½ |
| Great Britain | 1 1 | 11 11 | 0 8½ |
| Holland | 1 1 | 11 11 | 0 8½ |
| India | 0 13 | 8 15 | 0 6½ |
| Irak | 0 10 | 6 14 | 0 5 |
| Italy | 1 1 | 11 11 | 0 8½ |
| Pakistan | 0 12 | 8 4 | 0 6 |
| U.S.A. : | | | |
| New York City | 1 6 | 15 2 | 0 11 |
| Alaska | 1 14 | 20 10 | 0 15 |
| All other places | 1 8 | 16 8 | 0 12 |

The following are radio-telephone charges, for three minute calls :—

| | | Rs. As. |
|---|---|---|
| (*a*) | Great Britain, Northern Ireland and Eire | 40 0 |
| (*b*) | France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg | 43 15 |
| (*c*) | Denmark, Germany and Switzerland | 48 1 |
| (*d*) | Norway and Sweden | 49 15 |
| (*e*) | United States of America and Canada | 50 0 |

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2
Kuwait M11
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491 Motor roads connect the towns and the villages on the different islands, and extend across causeways from Bahrain to Muharraq and Sitra. The local transport facilities are well developed, and motor bus routes link most of the population centers.

## Food and Nutrition

262 The food habits of the diverse racial
146 groups are varied, but serious undernutri-
464 tion is seldom encountered, except among the migratory laborers from the mainland and the Baharna and Arabs in the agri-
439 cultural and the fishing villages. The islands
656 are dependent upon imports for a large proportion of their food supply. The government controls certain essential foodstuffs, as wheat, rice and sugar, and regulates prices through a system of rationing.

262 The diet of the average Bahraini consists
439 of dates, bread, rice and fish, supplemented by native vegetables in season and limited amounts of meat and milk. Goats are raised in many villages, though their milk is usually scanty and poor in quality. Most of the meat is imported from Iran, and is correspondingly expensive. An assortment of fruits and vegetables is generally obtainable in Manama markets by those who are able to purchase them.

## Housing

362 Manama is a cosmopolitan town, and the changes which have come about within the last two decades are reflected in the construction of increasing numbers of modern-type dwellings. Muharraq, in contrast, is a
342 distinctly Arab community. Coral blocks, coral slabs and plaster are the usual building materials in the older houses, while cement is used extensively in the newer buildings. The typical Arab-style homes are built around inner courts and have utilitarian

Europeans. For the latter the company provides many amenities. In the town of Awali there is a cinema, a club and other recreational facilities. There is a Commissary for the supply of foods and goods unobtainable elsewhere in Bahrain; a school for American and European children with qualified teachers and hospitals for the various nationalities employed by BAPCO. A cinema, swimming bath and mosque are also being constructed in the Arab Camp, and a swimming bath and cinema in the Indian and Pakistani camp at Rifaa. The company also maintains dispensaries in some of the villages and has built three schools for the Bahrain Government. There is cordial co-operation between the Bahrain Government and BAPCO in all fields of social service and although it may seem strange that an oil company should be encouraged to occupy itself with so many activities not directly connected with the production of oil, yet it is now recognised in the Middle East that it is an obligation of oil companies not only to work for their shareholders but also for the benefit of the people of the country from which they derive their profits.

In 1940 a Supplementary Agreement was signed between the Ruler and the Bahrain Petroleum Company in which the latter received an extension to its concession including all lands, shoals, reefs, waters and submerged lands of "the present and future domains" of the Ruler of Bahrain.

It is a comparatively rare thing for people visiting Bahrain to see the actual oil which has made the Islands famous, gone are the days when to "strike oil" meant that a huge gusher of oil would leap skywards covering everything about it with what is termed, in the hackneyed phrase of the journalist, "black gold." Today the drilling of a well is normally a tidy process ; when oil is struck the drillers have complete control over its flow and quickly cap the well with a "Christmas Tree," the nickname for the mass of taps and valves which are placed over the well head. From the well the oil is piped to the Refinery and then to the storage tanks at Sitra. But in every part of its processing little is seen of the oil except by the workers in the laboratories.

The oil industry today is the most important factor in Bahrain's economy and is recognised as such by the Government and the people of the country.

## CHAPTER VI

## JEWELS OF THE DEEP

Pearl diving is probably the oldest industry in Bahrain and has been the reason why an otherwise small and comparatively unproductive group of islands has been the scene of so many bitter wars and has been over-run by so many invading armies. From earliest times Bahrain has been famous for its pearls ; in an Assyrian inscription of some 2000 B.C. a parcel of "fish eyes" from Dilmun is believed to be

## REVIEW OF 1372

The two most important events during the year were the conclusion of a new oil agreement between the Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company and His Highness Shaikh Sulman's first visit to Europe to attend the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth.

The new oil agreement was on a 50—50 basis on the same lines as other agreements which have recently been made between governments and oil companies in the Middle East, it also provided for a payment to the State on oil imported into Bahrain for refining. As a result of this agreement the total revenue for the year under review was 373¾ lakhs of rupees, approximately £2,800,000, though the new scale of payments was not in operation throughout the whole of 1372.

Expenditure was higher than in 1371. Excluding the one third of the oil revenue, which is paid to the Privy Purse, 48 per cent. of the State's expenditure was on social and public services; Education, Public Health, Public Protection and grants to Municipalities absorbed 18¼ per cent., 15-3/8 per cent., 10-4/5 per cent., and 3 per cent. respectively, including capital expenditure on new schools, dispensaries and police quarters. The demand for more schools and hospitals is continuous and insistent but few Bahrain people realise the heavy recurrent cost of medical and education services which can be maintained on the present scale only as long as the present revenue continues.

Trade flourished and the revenue from customs was higher than in the previous year; during recent years customs collections have risen annually. Local prosperity was apparent from what might be described as a building boom. Many new houses and shops were built in the towns and suburbs by private enterprise. The type of house varied from European style bungalows and blocks of flats, built by merchants and shaikhs for letting, to small stone houses which are gradually replacing barastis, palm branch huts. Several serious fires in barasti areas, which destroyed many dwellings, gave an impetus to building. Working men who owned pieces of ground built small houses and the Government received hundreds of applications from people who wished to buy building plots. Unfortunately the Government owns very little land in and around the towns, much of it having been given away or sold cheaply many years ago.

The standard of living in Bahrain is very much higher than it was a few years ago and the health of the people is noticeably better than it used to be. For these reasons and owing to a steady influx of foreigners, mostly from Oman and the Trucial Coast, who come to Bahrain to work, it is believed that there has been a substantial increase in the population which at the time of the last census, in 1950, was found to be 110,000.

The state of public security was good in spite of the presence of large a number of foreigners who are not as naturally law abiding as the people of Bahrain. There were no political or labour disturbances.

Relations with Quatar deteriorated owing to incidents connected with the visit of a party of Bahrain schoolboys and school teachers to Zubara during the Spring holiday. The commercial development of Qatar tended to reduce Bahrain's transit trade and deprived some of the Bahrain merchants of agencies which used to include both Bahrain and Qatar. Relations with Saudi Arabia and Iraq were friendly, a deputation headed by Shaikh Isa bin Sulman, His Highness's eldest son, represented Bahrain at the coronation of King Faisal in Baghdad.

**Sales and Land Values.** The aggregate value of the property which was sold was approximately 40 lakhs, £300,000. In the previous year prices reached a somewhat higher figure but they included several sales of large areas of land on the edge of Manama. There has been no fall in land prices and there are no indications of a change in the situation. High prices are still being paid for building sites in Manama on which European style houses, flats and bungalows, are being built, which are let at excessively high rents. When the demand for houses of this type begins to lessen then rents will decrease and there are some signs that this event is not far off, several recently built houses have "To Let" notices on their doors. At present as much as Rs. 1,000/- per month is being charged for a three-bedroom, dining-sitting-room bungalow on the Jufair Road.

A recent satisfactory development has been the demand by working class men to buy small building plots in Manama, Muharraq, Hidd and Rafaa. The building loan schemes of the Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company have stimulated this development. At one time people were satisfied to live in hired houses or barastis for which they paid rent but now, partly owing to the rapaciousness of landlords and partly because it has become everyone's ambition to own the house in which he lives, there is an active demand for plots of ground on which small houses can be built. Unfortunately the Government owns very little land in and around Manama and nobody wishes to live even at a short distance from the bazaar, the schools and the cinemas.

The most important sales were an Arab style house in the southern district of Manama, on Shaikh Isa Road, which was sold for Rs. 200,000 and a plot of land in the Qudhabia district which was bought by the Government as a site for workmen's dwellings for Rs. 2,57,000, at Rs. 2/5 per square foot. The Government sold 87 plots of land, in various places, for Rs. 3.50,000. Land on the edge of the towns of Manama and Muharraq was sold at prices ranging from Rs. 1/4 to Rs. 3/- per square foot. Thirty building plots were sold at East Rafaa, on the plain below the town, to residents of Rafaa, at 2 Annas per square foot. Land on this site was marked out as a residential area with rows of plots of uniform depth along future roads. At the end of the year a few purchasers had begun to build stone houses on the ground which they bought.

**Legislation.** In Safar (October 1952) an important Ordinance was issued which prohibited all persons subject to Bahrain jurisdiction from disposing of any property except to Bahrain subjects. An extension of this order was issued later providing for the contingency of heirs in an estate of a Bahrain subject being themselves foreign subjects. The result of these Ordinances was that not only were Bahrain subjects restricted from selling their property to foreigners but all persons subject to Bahrain jurisdiction, Persians, subjects of Saudi Arabia and of other Gulf States, were restricted from selling their property to each other or to nationals of other countries. Only foreigners not under the jurisdiction of the Bahrain Courts were free to sell their property to other foreigners. The object of the Government is to prevent land in Bahrain from being alienated and it is hoped that in future this legislation will be further extended to preclude all foreigners in Bahrain from disposing of their property to any persons who are not Bahrain subjects.

The imposition of this ordinance caused some resentment among foreigners especially among Saudi Arabians and Persians who in the past have acquired extensive property in Bahrain. This ordinance was probably the cause of some reduction in the number of large land sales during 1372.

One of the reasons why the Government now has so little land at its disposal in Manama and on the outskirts of the town is because in the past large pieces of land were either sold or given to Persians and Saudi Arabians. In the former category is one of the principal landowners in the town. The only area of any size, suitable for development as a housing area, is the land on the south-west of Manama which is now occupied by the installations of Cable and Wireless Ltd. Arrangements are being made for the Company to move out into the country to a site on the Aali plain, but this move will take some time to be carried out.

**Rents of Government Shops.** The Department collected rents amounting to Rs. 51,000/- from the shops in Barrett Road and from the flat above the Post Office and Rs. 20,000/- from rents of 26 plots of land which were let on leases. Temporary leases of land produced Rs. 3,800.

5: Bahrain G-5 (192-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

## SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

**Arabs and Baharna.** There is a sharply defined difference in Bahrain between the urban and the rural population. The people of the towns, Manamah, Muharraq, and Hedd, are mostly Arabs and foreigners, traders, shop-keepers, pearl merchants, and landowners. The villagers, who are said to form about two-thirds of the total population, although there has never been a census in Bahrain, are the aboriginal Shia inhabitants of the islands, cultivators and fishermen, many of whom dive during the pearling season. There is a racial and religious difference between the two which is outwardly apparent in the appearance, the dress, and the speech of the people, especially in the case of the women. The Baharna, who used to own Bahrain, are now the tenants and servants of the Arab landowners and the Ruling Family, and there is no sympathy between them.

**The Baharna.** During the last ten years the life of the country people has altered very little, but their outlook has changed considerably. Though still suffering acutely from an inferiority complex, they have become more independent. They have learnt to resort to the Government when they consider themselves aggrieved, and they have shaken off the remnants of feudal obligation to individual members of the Ruling Family which they unwillingly bore in the past. They recognise and appreciate the advantages of a central government which has made it impossible for individual landlords to take the law into their own hands or to unduly oppress their tenants.

Another important political change is the marked decrease in the influence of the Shia religious leaders. The Shia Qadis used to be regarded, especially in the villages, as almost divine, but to-day their power has dwindled. This is mainly owing to the undignified dissentions among the religious leaders and the public exposure, after criminal proceedings, for misappropriation of trust money, of two Shia Qadis during recent years. The transfer of the wakf administration from the control of the Qadis to a council elected by the Shia community has also contributed towards the lessening of the influence of the Qadis. Instead of depending on the advice of the Qadis in all important and political matters, the country people now follow the lead or two or three politically minded merchants of Manamah whose ideas, though progressive, are not free from self-interest.

Living conditions among the Baharna have changed very little. They are still the poorest element in the community. Their villages are dirty, unhealthy, and insanitary, and physically they are below the standard of the Arabs. Although no statistics are available, it seems evident that there is a very high death rate among young children in the villages owing to unhealthy conditions and lack of medical attention. The diet of the people is mainly vegetables, fish, and a little rice and dates, but they spend more money on their clothes, because they need no longer fear that, if they are decently dressed, they will attract the cupidity of the local overlord. Although the average amount which they spend on marriage-money has decreased by over 50% in ten years, yet they still spend large sums on making the pilgrimage to the sacred cities of Iraq, which they regard as being as important as the pilgrimage to Mecca. In spite of the obvious poverty of the Baharna, the Ruling Family still believe that their tenants, when they fail to pay their rent, have large sums of money hoarded in their houses. This belief, in the past, was one of the reasons for the frequent attacks on Baharna houses and villages by armed followers of Khalifah landlords. For some years, however, crimes of this type have ceased to take place.

The Baharna take more interest in the doings of the outer world. Although most of them are illiterate when they come into Manamah or to the weekly markets, they listen to people discussing the news in the papers or what they have heard on the 'radios,' and they carry distorted and very inaccurate stories back to their houses and villages. In their general outlook the baharna are many years behind the town dwellers.

**The Townsfolk.** Among the townspeople, particularly in the capital, there have been startling changes during the last ten years, both in the style of living and the outlook of the people. These changes have come from the people themselves and have not been forced upon them by the Government. This is especially noticeable

369 in the case of the younger generation, who have passed through the schools. This generation has grown up under a regime of settled government and accepts as a matter of course the existence
178 of regular law courts, regulations, schools, municipalities, and other governmental institutions, though many of the comparatively recent innovations are still resented and occasionally opposed by the old conservative element, which looks back regretfully to the days of the past when, by a little influence with important people and a little judicious expenditure, they would usually get their own way and do as they liked. Education, facilities for easier travel, contact with foreigners, both at home and abroad, and the effect of newspapers, books, and broadcasting, which stimulate an interest in foreign affairs, are some of the chief causes of the changes among the people of Bahrain. Most of the changes are for the better, but the sudden influx of large numbers of Europeans belonging to the Oil Company, many of whom are unaccustomed to Eastern countries, has had minor but unfortunate results. Beggars, who in the past were comparatively unobtrusive, now throng the bazaars and thrive on the misplaced generosity of white people; and the Arab children in the streets of Manamah, who used to be well-behaved, now follow Europeans about the bazaars and make impudent remarks to them in English.

291 To-day, most of the young men in Manamah wear at least one article of European dress,
177 usually a coat, and European shoes are rapidly taking the place of sandals; socks are universally worn, and the more advanced young Arabs wear complete suits of European style, but retain their Arab headdress. Importers of second-hand clothes, ranging from tail-coats to Central European military uniforms, do a good trade. To-day, a young man wearing entirely Arab dress is usually a foreigner or one of the Shaikhs' retainers. Labourers in the oil field who work near machinery are compelled to wear shirts and trousers, and this has contributed to a large extent to the change in dress. Even among the women, there is a tendency to wear articles of European clothing, especially stockings and shoes.

● 511 Although there is still much poverty and unemployment in Bahrain, the general standard of living has improved, and the older men often complain that their sons are no longer content with the frugal diet of fish, rice, dates and, occasionally, meat, which was good enough for them when they were young. Bread is eaten much more than it used to be, and cheap tinned fruits and biscuits have become almost part of the regular diet in the houses of the middle and wealthy classes. The decrease in food prices has made it possible for poorer people to buy more food and to enjoy more variety. Ten years ago a bag of rice cost Rs 15/-; to-day it can be bought for Rs 11/-. The price of dates has fallen almost 50%, and the public can now buy cheap vegetable ghee instead of expensive clarified butter, which used only to be used by the wealthy classes. Before artesian wells were sunk, all water had to be bought, but to-day there is an artesian well in each district of the big towns, and women of the lower classes fetch their own water from the taps and cisterns. The water supply has encouraged cleanliness, as in the past, when all water had to be bought, there was little washing or bathing except by men in the sea during the summer.

The municipalities have done much to improve conditions, both by cleaning the streets, passing regulations affecting public health, and by building markets where meat, fish, and vegetables are sold under the supervision of municipal inspectors, who are also responsible for inspecting the abattoir. These officials visit the coffee shops and 'hotels' and report cases of the sale of bad meat or stale food to the public.

342 **Houses.** In Manamah there has been a great improvement in the style of buildings. A number of small, sanitary, and well-ventilated houses have been built by private persons for letting purposes. Though the rooms are smaller than those in the old-fashioned houses, the construction is better, the importance of proper foundations is appreciated, and cement and steel beams are universally used. A few years ago the use of steel beams was considered, locally, extremely dangerous. Most of the new houses are equipped with electric light and have adequate sanitary arrangements. By degrees the 'barasti' type of house, built of palm branches, is decreasing, and its place is being taken by stone houses which are more permanent, more healthy, and less liable to catch fire or to collapse during storms.

352 Houses are more elaborately equipped. Formerly a few mats and one or two carpets were sufficient furnishing for the Meglis of a merchant, but now, in most middle-class houses, there

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# INTRODUCTION

101 131 About midway of the Persian Gulf and some fifteen miles off the coast of Arabia, lie the Bahrein Islands at the mouth of the Gulf of Bahrein, of which the Qatar Peninsula forms the western side. There are five principal islands, only two of which are of real consequence. The largest and by far the most important is variously called Awal, Al Manāmah after the principal city, or more commonly just Bahrein. The last is the modern designation.

103 In ancient times, the name "Bahrein" was applied to a larger area which included the Arabian mainland of Qatar and Hajar and the land situated between Mesopotamia and the Gulf of Oman (the Indian Ocean); this area took in the entire southern coast of the Persian Gulf. This has caused widespread misinterpretation of much of the writings of pre-Islamic and Medieval historians. Throughout this book we shall use the term "Bahrein" in its modern sense to refer to the archipelago of Bahrein proper or to the central island, except where the mainland province is clearly indicated.

132 511 Bahrein today has few attractions. There is not much to recommend it as a place of residence, as it is intensely hot for about seven months of the year, and for many of the native inhabitants lacking in comfortable living conditions. For tourists it is rather off the beaten track. Nevertheless, through the centuries these bits of land have been considered well worth fighting for by both European and Asiatic empires.

228 648 312 The reason for Bahrein's unusual and enduring importance can be summed up in two words—pearls and strategy. The pearl fisheries of Bahrein have been known all over the world since the dawn of history and, thanks to an abundance of fresh water springs, the island was a frequent stopping place for ships on the trade routes to India and the Far East.

648 175 The Portuguese, the first European power to have an Asiatic colonial empire, fought hard for possession of the islands.

Bahrein produces dates of very good quality, though inferior to the Iraqi and especially to the Persian variety known in the United States as the Bassorah date. The entire date production of Bahrein is consumed locally, either fresh or dried, or in a powder which is used like wheat flour for the making of bread, the common food of the rich.

The economic value of the date palm does not stop with the fruit. All other parts of the palm yield products of practical value to Bahreinis; their life would be impossible without it. The trunk furnishes timber for houses and boats; the midribs of the leaves go into crates and furniture; the leaf bases are used for fuel; the small leaves are used in basketry, the fiber for cordage and packing, and the fruit stalks for rope and fuel.

Under the shade of their palm trees and around their springs, the Bahreinis live their relatively simple life, producing some vegetables, weaving a few shawls, making sailcloth or reed mats, and breeding their donkeys. The Bahrein donkeys, or "Bandari," were bought by donkey lovers for their endurance, their height, and other celebrated qualities.

The main occupations of the townspeople are commercial and maritime, mostly fishing and handling the transit shipments which are one of Bahrein's largest sources of revenue. The greatest economic asset of the islands, however, despite the value of the recently discovered oil, is still the pearl fisheries.

## PEARL FISHING

The chief source of income of the islands before the discovery and exploitation of oil reserves in the nineteen thirties was pearl fishing. Before the rise of competition from the Japanese pearl fisheries and worldwide economic crisis of 1930, the industry employed more than 20,000 persons annually, and revenue from the pearls, which were exported principally to Paris and London, amounted to about £2,000,000[1] annually. Single pearls often bring enormous prices; for example, the most beautiful

1. Except where otherwise specified, pounds referred to throughout are English pounds sterling.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

511 The economic status of the divers is as desperate as their [342] physical hardships. Their houses are huts which they build for 228 themselves of woven palm leaves. Wages are paid in advance through the ship owners and financed by merchants who take profits in advance of ten or twenty per cent, according to the season. In the best diving season—from June to September—the divers have little more than enough for the barest necessities; but in the winter months when cold weather and high winds seriously impede and eventually halt their work; in order to keep alive the men have to resort to borrowing at high rates [525] of interest, and so never get out of debt. As a consequence, condemned to a difficult, unhealthy and probably short life, the pearl diver is an inveterate gambler.

511 Since the abolition of the ancient Tribunal of Salifah in 228 1926, the captain of the boats has been required by law to keep 465 an account of expenses and of the advances made to the divers, [651] the taxes on which are fixed. The divers do not receive set wages, but after expenses have been deducted and the captain has taken his share of twenty per cent, the remainder is divided among the crew. The diver (*gawās*) receives twice as much as the hauler (*sib*) since his work is more dangerous. The second in command of the boat receives three parts of the profits (i.e. an amount equal to that of one diver and one hauler). He is called the Thursday, from a Persian word, probably because he is in charge of the boat on Thursdays, the captain's day off.

A comparatively recent traveler in the Near East has stated that there are occasional strikes for higher pay, though not the kind to which we are accustomed. It is the Sheik who declares the strike—and pockets the proceeds.

228 The diving season starts the middle of April and ends the middle of October. It is divided into five periods, the first of which, the *Ghaws al Bard*, begins the middle of April and lasts about a month. Deep sea fishing is not attempted and the divers relieve each other every half hour or so on account of the cold. The workers' share of the profits for this period is divided equally among the divers and the haulers because the latter have to

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



as the 19th century even the British recognized that Iran had some rights in Bahrain. The Iranian government has never relinquished its claims to the islands, a fact which has had a direct bearing on the position of the Persian community.

Under these favorable circumstances, Persians have been able until recently to move in and out of Bahrain without hindrance or restriction. Over the centuries a prosperous community developed, made up mostly of merchants, so that today some of the wealthiest inhabitants of Manamah are Persians. Generally speaking, this community is more enterprising, better educated, and has a higher standard of living than the local inhabitants of the land. But although the Persians grew prosperous and acquired property in houses and some land, their hearts were never in Bahrain — they were across the Gulf in the mother country. Bahrain is regarded by the Persians as an outpost for commercial activity but not for permanent settlement.

The Persians are resented by both the Arab inhabitants and the British. They are resented by the Arabs because they constitute a foreign community which is somewhat aloof from the rest of the population; in part, also, because of envy of their general prosperity and because they are regarded as interlopers who are taking the wealth of the country away. Two other serious objections to them are that they are Shi'is by religion and tend to look toward Iran rather than the Arab world for political association.

As for the British, they resent them for numerous reasons. In almost every way they constitute a threat, minor and insignificant though it may be, to the consolidation of their position in the shaykhdom. This is especially true since Bahrain has become the chief base for British naval, air, and political activity in the Persian Gulf. Specifically, the British resent the Persian community because it has always opposed what it regards as the "Indianization" policies of the British in Bahrain. It has played the double role of an opposition party and a fifth column. The recent difficulties of the British government and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Iran brought the problem of Anglo-Iranian relations to a sharp focus. The situation has constituted a threat to British prestige in the Gulf. In Bahrain Mosaddaq was regarded as a liberator — in the early part of 1953 pictures of him could be seen in many shops in Manamah.

The policies of the government of Bahrain have been detrimental to the position of the Persian community. In 1927 visas for entry to Bahrain became required of Persian subjects. In December of the same year a land registry office was established and a decree passed requiring that all land be registered; it also stipulated that only Bahrain subjects could own real property. With the passage of the decree a good many Persians had only two alternatives: either to acquire Bahrain citizenship, which many of them

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



641 471 563 did, or sell out and return to the mother country. Those who remained are engaged either in trade or employed by the oil company or some other business establishment. In the last few years the government has been refusing to grant citizenship to Persian residents even though they may legally qualify.[12]

162 563 648 The Indians, the second largest foreign community, are in a certain sense in a position similar to that of the Persians. Bahrain, like other principalities in the Persian Gulf, has had a long association with the subcontinent through trade. In 1913, when the Bahrain Order-in-Council was passed, the country became administratively subject to the jurisdiction of the Governor-General of India.

563 511 463 The Indians constitute a prosperous and fairly well educated community. Some are engaged in trade on a big scale or as petty merchants. The rest — and they are the majority — are employed either by the government, the oil company, the British military and civil establishment, or other foreign business concerns in the country. They work mostly as clerks, foremen, cooks, waiters, and domestic servants.

464 563 Various explanations have been made as to why Indians are employed in such large numbers in preference to local Bahrainis or persons from other nationalities. In the first place, Bahrain does not have enough young men with a minimum of education and clerical or industrial training to fill these positions. Secondly, in view of British policy to tie Bahrain to India, it was only natural to look to it for the necessary labor supply. Furthermore, India could supply labor well trained by the British and used to their ways. Finally, Indian labor could be obtained at a lower rate than equally skilled labor from other countries.

563 578 The status of Indians is a rather peculiar one, for they live in a social zone all by themselves. They are resented by the native population and accepted only as subordinates by Westerners, with whom they would like to associate and with whom they would like to be classified. This is true especially of the clerical and professional group among them.

The causes of Bahraini resentment against them are psychological and economic in nature. In the first place, they constitute a community which is definitely foreign and makes a point of it, and in some respects looks down on the local population. This is especially the case among the white-collar workers.

Secondly, on the whole, the Indian community wields power far beyond its number. The people in Bahrain see Indians in government and business establishments and develop the feeling that they are being governed by them along with the British.

In the third place, clerical positions occupied by Indians and other for-

[12] *Census 1950*, p. 6.

342 flat roofs, surrounded by parapets. Those with two or more stories sometimes have broad balconies.

342 511 In the towns, the poorer people often occupy multifamily houses in the older, congested districts or live in hut settlements on the outskirts. The huts, known locally as *barastis*, are made of bamboo or date-stick poles interwoven with palm leaves, and roofed with palm-leaf matting. They are frequently grouped within pole and matting stockades, the individual huts being separated by narrow alleys. Of the 5,703 houses 342 counted in the town of Manama at the time 511 of the 1950 census, 2,608 were of palm-leaf 361 construction. Although the standards of living have improved among the laboring classes within recent years, most of the rural inhabitants dwell under primitive conditions, as did their forefathers. Palm-leaf huts predominate in the date garden and the fishing villages. They are admirably adapted to the heat of summer, but afford poor protection against the occasional cold winds.

186 361 653 342 The rural Baharna and Arabs live apart in segregated villages, and even in the towns there is a tendency for the different racial and religious groups to form distinct communities. The Bahrain Petroleum Company has created a self-sufficient modern settlement for its British and American employees at Awali, on the edge of the oil field area. The development of modern housing projects is also being promoted by the government, and plans are under consideration for the demolition of certain slum areas and the erection of low-rental dwellings.

## ENVIRONMENT AND SANITATION

### Water Supplies

312 The fame of the sweet-water springs of Bahrain stems from ancient times, and undoubtedly contributed to the early development of Manama as a trading center. Not only do abundant sources of water exist in the oases along the northern end of Bahrain

164 occurred intermittently in the past, chiefly in Manama and Muharraq. The islands are [744] exposed to the introduction of the disease from neighboring territories, but the enforcement of quarantine regulations has prevented its establishment for several decades.

**Other Infections.** Although a mild degree of louse infestation occurs among the inhabitants in some congested areas, louse-borne typhus is rarely, if ever, reported. Imported cases of cutaneous leishmaniasis, or Oriental sore, and filariasis are occasionally treated in the local medical institutions, but the insect vectors are not known to be present, and indigenous infections have not been recorded. Guinea worm infection is sometimes seen among persons from Iran, but it is not found in the resident population.

### Nutritional Diseases

146 361 511 The standards of nutrition have improved materially in the last few years. Undernutrition is common, but serious defects are seen primarily among the inhabitants of outlying villages and the families of workers from the mainland. Poverty, traditional dietary customs and intestinal parasitism are contributory factors. Subclinical deficiencies in vitamin C are widespread, and scurvy is observed from time to time. Rickets is frequent among the children in the towns. Anemia is prevalent, and hemoglobin levels of 25 to 30 per cent are not unusual among the women.

## SUMMARY

619 Bahrain is an independent sheikhdom 131 which consists of an archipelago of 5 main 282 islands situated in the Persian Gulf near the 315 coast of Arabia. It has long been famous as a pearl fishing center, and, since 1932, has enjoyed prosperity as an oil-producing area. 161 It has a heterogeneous population which 162 numbered 109,650 in 1950, including 18,471 795 foreigners. The people are predominantly of 144 mixed Arab and Persian origin, and about 96 per cent are Moslems.

P. 264(B)

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



comes the north wind, and in violence the south-wester (*Qaus*), which is fiercely hot in August and blows irregularly between December and April. See further, vol. ii, p. 346 f.

## Population

Though no census has been taken, the population of the 4 towns and 104 villages in the principality has been estimated as over 100,000, of whom 60,000, chiefly townsmen, are Sunni, and 40,000, chiefly villagers, Shiah. The latter are for the most part *Baḥārinah* (see p. 299), but this class, which is mainly agricultural, is here hardly above the servile state. The most numerous Sunni community is that of the *Hūwalah*, who are townsmen of Manāmah, Muharraq, Budeyya', Hadd, and Hālah Bin Anās, living by trade and without solidarity among themselves or influence on others. The 'Utūb, Sādah, and Dawāsir are the most influential tribesmen, the first on account of their connexion with the ruling family, the second by virtue of their supposed sacred origin, the Dawāsir because they are well disciplined by their chief and comparatively wealthy; there are also a few Beni Khālid (see below, p. 608). The remainder of the Sunni population live mostly on the coast, and depend for their subsistence rather on the sea than on cultivation. There are at least 5,000 free negroes and 6,000 negro slaves; a few Persians, Hindus, Basra Arabs and Jews complete the population. Life in Bahrein is more various and many-coloured than on the mainland of Arabia; the exclusiveness of a people cut off from intercourse with other races is absent, and the opportunity to indulge a taste for luxury has not been disdained. Direct relations with Persia and India have influenced costume, domestic appliances, and the architecture of the larger houses, in which the pointed arch is a conspicuous feature.

## Industries and Trade

The most important occupation in Bahrein is pearl-fishing, and the fisheries are the most valuable in the Gulf next to those of Trucial Oman. Were the fisheries to cease, most of the urban population would have to leave the country. They employ more than 900 boats, each with a crew of about 20, the total crews amounting to nearly 20,000 men. The pearling season opens in May, and some boats continue operations until about October. Special measures had to be taken in 1915 by the Sheikh, in conjunction with the British Resident, to enable the pearl-fishing population to tide over the crisis caused by the stoppage of the

majority are believed to have been acquired elsewhere. Cases of ancylostomiasis and schistosomiasis are occasionally observed, primarily among non-Bahrainis, yet no indigenous foci of infection are known to exist.

### Diseases Spread Chiefly Through the Respiratory Tract

**Tuberculosis.** Tuberculosis is widespread, but little precise information is available regarding its prevalence in the local population. The disease is believed to be extensive in Arabia, particularly among the Bedouin. In Bahrain, the migration of workers to and from the mainland, overcrowding and the generally low standards of personal hygiene are regarded as factors influencing the spread of the infection. The facilities for diagnosis and treatment are inadequate, The government operates a 13-bed tuberculosis sanatorium and provides treatment for tuberculous cases in its regular hospitals and dispensaries. It also subsidizes the transportation of certain cases to India for treatment, since many individuals do not respond favorably under the climatic conditions prevailing in Bahrain. About 220 to 350 cases were under observation in government institutions annually from November, 1948, to November, 1950. Pulmonary tuberculosis predominates, but a high rate of nonpulmonary infections also is encountered.

**Smallpox.** Bahrain is especially vulnerable to the introduction of smallpox from the neighboring Persian Gulf territories, Pakistan and India, and outbreaks are recorded at frequent intervals. Large-scale epidemics were reported in 1941-42 and in 1948-50, with sporadic cases in the intervening years. The most recent epidemic started in December, 1948, in the Hora section of Manama, and spread in a series of localized outbreaks, persisting into 1950. Eighty-six cases were transferred to the quarantine hospital in 1949, and about one third of that number the following year. The percentage of unrecognized infections

was also believed to be high in many districts. The fatality rates among the hospitalized cases averaged 6 to 22 per cent. The disease subsided in the summer of 1950, and no cases were observed in 1951.

Vaccination against smallpox is not compulsory, but the health authorities endeavor to promote it in the school population. In 1948-49, a house-to-house campaign was carried on in the infected sections of Manama, and vaccination centers were established in the outlying districts. Vaccination is required of travelers to Bahrain, and persons who arrive without valid certificates of immunization are vaccinated by the medical officers upon landing.

**Other Infections.** Pneumonia is prevalent: a large proportion of the cases are probably bronchopneumonias. Measles, mumps and whooping cough are endemic, and often epidemic. Chickenpox and poliomyelitis are also endemic, but the reported cases are usually few in number. Meningococcus meningitis is sporadic, and occasional small outbreaks are recorded.

### Diseases Spread or Contracted Chiefly Through Contact

**Venereal Diseases.** Venereal diseases constitute a major problem, due to the transitory nature of a large section of the population. Local medical authorities believe that the syphilitic infection rate approximates 60 to 70 per cent. Numerous mild nonvenereal infections are observed among children, although the familiar manifestations of congenital syphilis are relatively rare. Gonorrhea is widespread, but chancroid and lymphogranuloma venereum are of minor significance. Cases of venereal disease are treated at the isolation hospital and the various dispensaries.

**Diseases of the Eyes.** Eye infections are prominent throughout this region. Ignorance of the basic principles of hygiene and the prevalence of flies, as well as the irritating effects of sand and wind during the *shamal* seasons, are underlying factors in the spread of trachoma, conjunctivitis and

other eye diseases. Trachoma is widely distributed, and estimates of prevalence range from 35 to 90 per cent, depending upon the locality. Trichiasis is frequent. The most serious effects are often observed among immigrants from Saudi Arabia, the Trucial Coast and Iran. In an average of over 1,200 men patients receiving medical or surgical ophthalmic treatment in the government hospital in each of the two years 1949-50, about 30 per cent were suffering from trichiasis. Special attention is given to the treatment of eye diseases in all the hospitals and dispensaries, and clinics are conducted in some of the boys' schools.

**Diseases of the Skin.** Mycotic infections of the skin are common, but the children appear to be relatively free from favus. In spite of the low standards of hygiene among the poorer inhabitants, scabies is seldom seen.

**Leprosy.** Although leprosy is present among the Baharna, it is rare in the Arab community. Cases are found on all the islands, probably with greatest frequency on Sitra. The severity of the infection seems to be decreasing, and the percentage of childhood cases in recent years has been low. The actual number of lepers in the indigenous population is uncertain: it was believed to be about 100 in 1951. No segregation is practiced, but lepers are forbidden to congregate and beg in the towns.

**Other Infections.** Sporadic cases of tetanus and of tetanus neonatorum occur occasionally. Rabies is not recorded at present.

### Diseases Spread by Arthropods

**Malaria.** Malaria was formerly one of the foremost disease hazards in Bahrain, but in recent years its importance has declined progressively with the expansion of the anopheline control program. The present morbidity is believed to be insignificant in comparison with that encountered before the inauguration of the government's antimalaria campaign in 1939. Treatment statistics are of doubtful value, yet they are

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796 788 to various points in the neighbourhood of Mecca connected with the life of the Prophet Muhammad and drinking the water of Zamzam Well. On the last day of the ceremony the pilgrims stand before Ararat, a small mountain near Mecca, and throw stones at various places to symbolise the stoning of the devil. On the 10th Day of Dhul Hajj a great feast takes place. The pilgrims remove their pilgrim's garb and throughout the Moslem world there is feasting and visiting.

796 535 In Bahrain, Eid al-Adhar is celebrated for three days, the 10th, 11th and 12th of Dhul Hajj. In former days there were very colourful scenes and ceremonies at this feast, the retainers of the Ruler used to perform war dances in front of the palace, discharging their ancient rifles into the air, and occasionally at an unlucky member of the audience. The divers, who returned home during the Eid, danced in huge groups for the entertainment of the people and were feasted in the houses which they visited, but today the Ruler has few casual retainers and the Bedouin, who were the mainstay of the dances, have settled down and become ordinary citizens. Arab dances are therefore a [517] thing of the past and the men who used to perform in them now find their amusements in attending football matches and cinemas.

## MUHARRAM

796 The circumstances that brought about the division of the majority of Moslems into the Sunni and Shiite sects have been mentioned in Chapter II. The battle of Kerbela is still recognised by the Shia of Bahrain as a day of mourning for the martyrs who were killed.

During the first nine days of the month of Muharram, the first month in the Islamic year, there is a general mourning among the [346] Shia for their loss. In the Bahrain martams, which are religious meeting houses not to be confused with the mosques, preachers tell the story 796 of the growth of Islam and the way in which Ali and his family were 537 set aside by those who became the early Caliphs. These mullas, many [781] of whom come from the Holy Cities of Iraq for the purpose, are often so eloquent that they reduce their audience to tears and wailing for the mortifications inflicted on those whom they regard as the highest of mankind after the Prophet himself. Night and day the tale is unfolded as the mullas take it in turn to preach to the assembled crowds. During the day the martams are not so full but at sunset the congregation increases as men return from their daily work. In the villages and in the towns, in the yellow light of kerosene lamps and in the glare of electricity, the story is told of those events which happened over 12 centuries ago. Many people are introduced into the story, the Old Testament prophets, the Prophet Muhammad, his family and his enemies, angels and archangels and other religious figures.

796 As the days pass the orators and their audience get more carried away so that by the 10th of the month all are ready for the next act of what has been called the "Miracle Play of Hassan and Hussein." This is the public procession of the Shia which takes place every evening

of colour and Arab life, and large modern stores stocked with every type of goods from America, Europe and the East. The spice bazaar, the second-hand bazaar behind the Municipality and the shops of the metal workers are typically oriental ; the stores in the larger streets with plate glass windows and fixed prices stock a wide range of modern goods which are generally cheaper than elsewhere in the Gulf owing to the low customs duty. Apart from pearls, mother-of-pearl, gold and silver thread embroidery and model dhows there are few purely local products for visitors to buy. The best way to see the bazaar is on foot, it provides innumerable subjects for photos and neither here nor anywhere else in Bahrain is there any objection to the taking of photos.

To the south-west of the town is the Qalat ad-Diwan, beyond it, along Awal Road, is the Isolation Hospital, the Public Health Department and a number of blocks of flats. Opposite them is a large garden with two miniature lakes, known as the Water Garden ; this is a popular place during summer evenings. Beyond the flats is the Mental Hospital. It is probable that within the next few years this area will undergo extensive development.

To the south-east is the district of Manama known as Quadabiya, up to a few years ago an area of barren sand and swamp land where mosquitos bred but which today is rapidly developing into a residential and entertainment centre. Going along Belgrave Road one passes the Secondary School and Hostel, the Palace and, where the road joins Jufair Road, many houses and bungalows occupied by employees of European commercial firms. Jufair Road then passes the Race Course and Gymkhana Club and terminates in the suburbs of Umm a-Hasan and Jufair ; at the latter are the headquarters of the Senior British Naval Officer, Persian Gulf and H.B.M.'s Political Residency.

In the modern districts of Manama there are many wide and well surfaced roads, lined with tree-shaded pavements, while here and there in the town waste plots of land have been made into little gardens with benches, lawns and fountains. Along the water-front runs Sea Road, joining the Muharraq Causeway with the State Hospital at its western end. The Muharraq Causeway took ten years to build, for it served as a relief project when there was unemployment in Bahrain. The Shaikh Hamed Swing Bridge was completed in 1942 by Messrs. Holloways Bros. Many of the principal buildings and offices in Bahrain are on the Sea Road and Prior Road, which is an inland road running parallel to it. In former times the sea extended far into the town, south even of Prior Road, but during the past twenty-five years much of the sea-shore has been reclaimed. In Muharraq similar work can be seen in progress, but in an earlier stage of development.

In the evenings, the busiest part of Manama is Belgrave Road and the part of Quadabiya to its east where there are four cinemas and many coffee-shops, as well as football fields. At sunset the people of the town can be seen strolling along the road to Jufair, or sitting on the benches that line the pavements, later returning to the cinemas

517 and coffee-shops. This activity continues until about eleven o'clock especially in the summer when it is pleasanter to be out in the open air than indoors.

377 Manama is supplied with electric light from the Government Power
655 House, situated on the point at the north-east end of Manama. The
365 town water supply, also a Government concern, comes from artesian
312 wells in what used to be the Municipal Garden from where it is pumped into large tanks high above Manama and from there distributed by mains to all parts of the town and to numerous drinking fountains and public baths. This water system, which was installed by Holloway Bros., was completed in 1949, before this the water came from private and public artesian wells and was distributed by water carriers.

### QASARI

491 It is logical in describing Bahrain to leave Manama by the main road, Awal Road, but a more interesting drive can be taken by following the 2nd class road which branches off from Awal Road beyond the
361 Mental Hospital. After passing through a number of villages of
312 comparatively little interest the road comes to a shaded lane bordered on one side by a lake. This is Ain al-Qasari, whose pool, although
529 more extensive than that at Adari, is shallow and therefore unsuitable for swimming. Here there is a garden and a pleasant little house overlooking the pool, admittance to which is free, which is much frequented by picnicers. In the pool there are fish, some of which are as much as eighteen inches in length, as well as turtles. These are so accustomed to visitors that when people walk along the edge of the water or sit in the house, they swim lazily to the surface, waiting to be thrown pieces of bread or food. In a country consisting mostly of desert, and where a small and dirty pool usually constitutes the local water supply, the attractive appearance of Ain al-Qasari, particularly at sunset, is very agreeable.

296 There are in fact two springs called Qasari, the second, situated on Awal Road, is better known by the name of the "Dhobis Pool" on account of the large numbers of Indian washermen who mercilessly beat the dirty clothes on slabs of rock, and when they have finished hang them out to dry in long lines by the side of the road. It is a not unusual sight to round a corner of the road and to see before one lines of clothes, billowing in the breeze like wind-socks, and the frantic activity of the dhobis standing in the water in an odd array of clothing attempting to finish their task and dry the laundry before the sun sets.

### BILAD AL-QADIM

361 A short way beyond Ain al-Qasari is Bilad al-Qadim, literally "The Old Town," formerly the capital of Bahrain, which lies between the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, whose twin minarets are a landmark for navigators, and the Khor Mukhtar inlet on the east coast. Bilad al-Qadim can also be approached from Awal Road opposite the Suq

by Sunni Arabs who were prosperous when the pearling industry flourished but who depend today upon fishing, the oil company and transporting jus from Hawar for their living. In the summer the heat and the shortage of water (for although Jaw has a well it is brackish and more to the taste of the date palms that grow around it than to the people) drive most of the inhabitants to migrate to Sitra. Jaw was once spread some distance along the shore, as can be seen from the ruins that surround it, and in addition to having been a pearling centre it was inhabited by the people of Zubara when they wanted to escape the tyrannical rule of the Wahhabis in the 19th century. Jaw is the point on Bahrain nearest to Zubara and the Qatar coast, and for that reason it was always garrisoned when there was a threat to Bahrain from the mainland, but today the Police Camel Corps, which is stationed there, is to prevent the smuggling into Bahrain of Arabs from the Trucial Coast who come seeking work.

North of Jaw on the road to the Refinery is Asker and opposite it the island of Mushaikha, where an old tomb is the centre of pilgrimage for one of the Moslem sects, the Buharas. The interior of the tomb is filled with bottles of rose water, brought by pilgrims as offerings. Asker itself is a village much like Jaw and Dour.

### JIDHAFS

We must now return to Manama and follow the other road that leads out of the town, this time in the direction of Budaiya. After passing through some miles of gardens the road reaches Jidhafs, a large village, which is also said to have been at one time the capital of Bahrain. Its inhabitants have a reputation for being enterprising and go-ahead, they have recently demonstrated this by deciding to build a club, the first in any of the villages, although in the towns there are many. Jidhafs contains one of the Shiite Juma Mosques and Friday Prayer is said there. It may seem strange that this should be a claim to fame, but according to Moslem custom only certain mosques are used for the Friday Prayers which is intended to encourage large congregations and to prevent the dispersal of the faithful in all the other mosques.

Like all the villagers, those of Jidhafs enjoy a visit to the town every now and then, and in the evenings bus loads of men and many cyclists can be seen coming in to town to enjoy themselves by going to the cinema or sitting gossiping with their friends in the coffee-shops to the blare of wireless music.

South of Jidhafs in the direction of Suq al-Khamis is the village of Ain al-Dar; although today it presents a quiet and peaceful appearance it was once the headquarters of a notorious gang of robbers who used a ruined house, inhabited by a lunatic, as a cache for storing their loot.

### BUDAIYA

This strange town, on the north-western tip of Bahrain Island, is connected with Manama by a good motor road which runs through the village of Jidhafs. Budaiya used to be a large town, divided into Two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya.

### ZELLAQ

361 South again of Malakiya is Zellaq, the southernmost village on the
342 western Coast of Bahrain and approximately three miles west of Sakhir. A road runs from Zellaq to Awali and is much used by BAPCO employees coming to swim at the former place. The houses of Zellaq village, which are of stone, are built along the shore and many of them are large and spacious. As a result of the activities of BAPCO, Zellaq village has increased in size and prosperity and now contains a number of substantial white stone buildings which are conspicuous from a long distance across the flat and sandy plain that surrounds it.

162 The inhabitants of Zellaq are Sunni Arabs; some are from the Dawasir tribe, and many of them are dependents of the Ruling Family.
311 North of the village there are a number of large gardens, irrigated by innumerable artesian wells, which are owned by members of the Ruling Family and by their servants; these gardens form a green belt along the two miles of coast between Zellaq and Sedad.

312 The Bahrain Petroleum Company has a pump house at Zellaq which supplies Awali with much of its water and Zellaq was also once the discharging point for tankers bringing crude oil from Saudi
517 Arabia, before the submarine pipe-line was laid. Near the pumping station is the BAPCO Plage, the excellent bathing place which is much used by the employees of BAPCO, particularly in the Summer evenings.

### RAS AL-BARR

527 This, the southernmost point of the Bahrain islands, is a popular
484 place for summer picnics, but the approaches to it are difficult, and
491 although never dangerous they can easily cause trouble to visitors by the softness of the sand. It is best to travel in parties with not less than two cars, so that one can come to the help of the other if necessary, and care should be taken to keep to the tracks, however faintly indicated rather than to carve out new roads in the desert. The road to Ras al-Barr from Zellaq first passes through Mutalla, the Ruler's hunting lodge, while that from Awali past the Jebel passes another hunting lodge at Rumaitha before joining the Western road at Akala. From here the road goes south, past the swamps on the coast and along the narrow strip of sand which marks the end of the island.

136 In certain seasons of the year the shores along this part of Bahrain
262 are covered with the eggs of sea-birds, and many Arab dhows anchor off the coast while the crews remove the eggs for food. If one is lucky, while driving down the coast, hare and gazelle may be seen, as well as rose-tinted flamingoes on the shore.

## MUHARRAQ ISLAND

### MUHARRAQ

491 The visitor from Manama approaches Muharraq by crossing the
486 1½ mile long causeway and Shaikh Hamed Bridge, completed in 1942,

organize the secondary school system. The teachers received from £25 to £30 a month and "bed and board" paid by the Bahrein government. Interestingly enough, the first director of the first school opened at Muharraq was the present Saudi Arabian Minister to London, Sheik Hafiz Wahba.

At present, there is no newspaper in Bahrein. A weekly newspaper, Al Bahrein, was founded in 1939, but ceased its publication after the death of its publisher, Abdallah Za-id. In 1940 a broadcasting station was built, and the Al-Bahrein Radio started short-wave broadcasts on a 23-m, 50 band on November 4. During the war, Radio Bahrein was most useful to the Allied cause, since its four daily news broadcasts in Arabic and Persian were heard more easily throughout the Near East than those of Egypt.

Besides the schools, two "circles" for the discussion of political and literary matters were established in 1935 under the patronage of the brother of the Sheik. There was already a Cercle Israelite in the island.

## ECONOMY

The geographical features and the geological formation of the islands greatly reduce the economic value of Bahrein. The scarcity of water and the sandy nature of the soil exclude agricultural development. The application of modern methods of agriculture and the utilization of artesian wells and gasoline operated pumps are too recent and too inadequate to make Bahrein even partially independent of imported food. For many years to come, and probably forever, the islands will be dependent on food, meat, vegetables, and fruits brought chiefly from the Persian or Arabian mainland.

Fortunately, in most of the islands of the Persian Gulf and the surrounding regions, wherever water is found naturally or captured artificially, date palms grow with astonishing ease. The northern part of Bahrein Island, thanks to natural springs and more recently to artesian wells, is practically a string of oases with palm groves numbering several hundred thousands.

the most logical is that of H. R. P. Dickson, who says in his *The Arab of the Desert* that the name is derived from the Indian boat called "Gallevat" which is in turn derived from the Portuguese "Galeote" or Galley. 501 396

The type of craft most used for pearling in Bahrain is the Sambuq, which has a long finely curved bow and a square stern. It has two masts and is usually fully decked. Another boat of the same type is the Shu'ai, which only differs from the Sambuq in the shape of the stem piece. A second boat with Portuguese connections is the Baghala, a large craft with a comparatively short curved stem-piece. The Baghala has a distinctive square stern set with windows, which, although often false, give the stern the appearance of an old fashioned European man-of-war. The largest boat now being built is the Boom, which can be identified by its long straight stem-piece and its stern, set about 10° from the vertical.

Boats are not built on the scale of former days, for the decline of the pearling industry and the development of the fast launch have reduced the demand for the large old-fashioned sailing boats. Launches need a smaller crew, they are more useful for work between steamers and the shore and over short distances, and are now in many other ways a more satisfactory investment than sailing boats.

Many small types of boats are used around the shores of Bahrain for fishing and for carrying passengers between the islands. Some of these are built like miniature sambuq, while others have the vertical bow of the jalibut. There is also the huri, a primitive canoe hollowed out of the trunk of a tree and imported from Africa for use as a ship's dinghy. An entirely local product is the huwairiyah, a craft built of date stems tightly tied together with date fibre and soaked in fish oil. These little boats, which if well made are entirely water-proof, can carry a man or two boys and are used for fishing and ferrying.

A question that always confuses visitors to Bahrain is the word "dhow" ; this name, originally unknown to the Arabs, is used by Europeans to include all Persian Gulf sailing boats, and has become so general that Arabs, finding the word useful, are now beginning to use it themselves.

The craftsmen who make the boats of Bahrain have an interesting sideline, they make perfect miniature models of the large sailing boats, not only of the ones at present in use but also of the obsolete types, and these can be purchased from them and make interesting ornaments in the house or souvenirs of Bahrain. [523]●

JUS

"Jus," the Arabic for gypsum, has always been used for building purposes in Bahrain ; the pre-historic tombs are lined with it and it was used for the construction of the 10th century mosque at the Suq al-Khamis. It is found in slabs below the ground and is collected in many places in Bahrain, in Lozi, from the desert north of Awali and from the Howar Islands. The gypsum is often prepared on the spot where it 316. 339

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

511 The economic status of the divers is as desperate as their [342] physical hardships. Their houses are huts which they build for 228 themselves of woven palm leaves. Wages are paid in advance through the ship owners and financed by merchants who take profits in advance of ten or twenty per cent, according to the season. In the best diving season—from June to September—the divers have little more than enough for the barest necessities; but in the winter months when cold weather and high winds seriously impede and eventually halt their work; in order to keep alive the men have to resort to borrowing at high rates [525] of interest, and so never get out of debt. As a consequence, condemned to a difficult, unhealthy and probably short life, the pearl diver is an inveterate gambler.

511 Since the abolition of the ancient Tribunal of Salifah in 228 1926, the captain of the boats has been required by law to keep 465 an account of expenses and of the advances made to the divers, [651] the taxes on which are fixed. The divers do not receive set wages, but after expenses have been deducted and the captain has taken his share of twenty per cent, the remainder is divided among the crew. The diver (*gawās*) receives twice as much as the hauler (*sib*) since his work is more dangerous. The second in command of the boat receives three parts of the profits (i.e. an amount equal to that of one diver and one hauler). He is called the Thursday, from a Persian word, probably because he is in charge of the boat on Thursdays, the captain's day off.

A comparatively recent traveler in the Near East has stated that there are occasional strikes for higher pay, though not the kind to which we are accustomed. It is the Sheik who declares the strike—and pockets the proceeds.

228 The diving season starts the middle of April and ends the middle of October. It is divided into five periods, the first of which, the *Ghaws al Bard*, begins the middle of April and lasts about a month. Deep sea fishing is not attempted and the divers relieve each other every half hour or so on account of the cold. The workers' share of the profits for this period is divided equally among the divers and the haulers because the latter have to

575 nationalities. The Club does valuable service in providing entertainment for some of the Pakistanis in Bahrain, it organises various sports, including volley-ball, cricket, football and physical exercises as well as indoor games. Once or twice a month the Club holds Housey sessions which are well attended by members and visitors. Also very useful in Bahrain, where there is a shortage of public libraries, is this Club's library, which as well as being supplied with books is provided with the latest newspapers and magazines.

*Bahrain Sports Club.* This Club was founded in 1918 under the patronage of H.H. the Ruler of Bahrain and other local notables. Its aim is to provide recreational and social amenities, which include a library, for its 250 members, most of whom are Indian nationals.

The Club premises are situated in Quadibiya, on Belgrave Road, and include the main club buildings, two tennis courts and an indoor badminton court. There are also two table-tennis tables and facilities for chess, bridge, etc. The Club's major activity is cricket, in which it excels, having won the Championship Shield of the Bahrain Cricket Association for the three years 1950-52. Tennis and badminton tournaments are also held every year for cups donated by the Bahrain Petroleum Company and by other Bahrain firms. Once a month there is a tombola evening to which the general public is admitted.

The Club is managed by a committee of seven members who are elected every January.

The membership fee to the Club is *Rs.*3 per month, members also pay *Rs.*7 per month for the use of the tennis courts, *Rs.*3 per month for the use of the badminton court and a library deposit of *Rs.*5.

*Gymkhana Club.* This Club, which has been in existence for some years, is for the benefit of the British and American inhabitants of Manama, although there are also some members in Awali and Muharraq. The Club premises, attractively surrounded by gardens, are to the south of the Racecourse and include, in addition to the Club building itself, a swimming bath, tennis courts and a patio where dances are frequently held.

Applications for membership to the Club should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, the Gymkhana Club.

There are other clubs in Bahrain, The Ferdousi and Gulistan Clubs, the Aruba in Manama, the Nahada in Hedd and clubs in some of the villages, but these are not likely to be of interest to visitors to Bahrain as their activities are more specialised.

## SPORTS

526 575 *Sailing.* Sailing is a pleasant relaxation which, in Bahrain, can be enjoyed all the year round. The recently formed Royal Air Force Sailing Club is actively promoting interest in sailing and dinghy racing

among residents of Bahrain and is filling a long-felt want for an organised centre for the small boat enthusiast. The R.A.F. Club was started in July 1951 mainly to provide a form of recreation for members of the R.A.F. stationed in Bahrain, but later it was found that many of the Britishers and Americans resident in Bahrain were interested in sailing so it was decided to admit fifty civilian members. In August 1952 the membership of the club numbered eighty. 526 575

The Club premises are open daily from noon to 8 p.m. except Fridays and Sundays when they open at 10 a.m. Races are held every week-end and there is a Club Day on the first Friday of each month. At the time of writing there are twelve sailing boats and numerous other craft at the Club, of the sailing boats, four are the property of the club, three loaned to it and the remainder are privately owned. There are also half-a-dozen dinghies, including four 14-foot "G.P. Dinghies" designed by Jack Holt—a class which it is planned to develop and also to encourage among private owner members. Helmsmanship is taught and tests must be passed before members are permitted to take out club boats. Sailing matches are arranged from time to time with the sailing club at Qatar.

The Club buildings are ideally situated in what used to be the B.O.A.C. Marine Airport. The premises are at the end of a short jetty which extends into the sea from a point of the shore of Manama in Quadabiya, and the areas protected from the full strength of the north-west and north winds by the mainland of Bahrain. The Khor Khaliya, the bay to the east of the Club, provides pleasant and safe water for races and the training of beginners. For qualified helmsmen who know these reef-ridden coastal waters there are many sailing excursions round the coast and to nearby islands.

The entrance fee to the R.A.F. Sailing Club for civilian members is 25 rupees with a monthly subscription of 10 rupees, the subscription for officers is *Rs.*5 and for airmen, *Rs.*3. Wives and families of members are included, paying no fees and having no voting rights.

Enquiries about membership of the Club, for which there is a long waiting list, should be made to the Hon. Secretary on forms supplied by him.

*Fishing*. "A S-T-R-I-K-E—Turn the boat!"; a pause, and then that triumphant warning scream from the reel which is music to all fishermen—"He's on." In Bahrain "he" may be a 7-lb. "Chanad" or a 40-lb Barracuda—they will both take the same 6-inch Wilson spoon or Stewart "wobbler." 526 226

The most popular method of fishing is Trolling, from any motor driven boat which can maintain a trolling speed of about 3-4 knots. A variety of rods are used—from light to heavy—and the humble hand-line is just as effective, although obviously not so much sport. Nickelled spoons, feather jigs and natural bait are the usual lures used for trolling. The best natural bait is a small gar-fish ("silts" in Arabic)

526 226 [136] about 6-in. to 9-in. long which trolls well because of its streamlined shape. The fish most commonly caught by trolling are listed hereunder; those marked with an asterisk have also been reported, but on rare occasions :—

Sea bass.
King Mackerel ("Chanad" or Indian seer).
Leer Fish.
Rock Cod.
Barracuda.
*"Sikkan" (English name unknown but weighs up to 60 lbs.).
*Sailfish.
*Shark (usually sand sharks up to 150 lbs.).
*Bonito.

Bottom fishing in the deeper water a mile or so off the coast, using crab, cuttlefish or large prawn as bait, yields Queen-fish, "Hamriyah" (English name unknown but similar to red snapper) and several kinds of rays, in addition to three or four of the above-listed species caught trolling. Many of these fish weigh 30 to 60 lbs. and give very good sport on a light sea-rod with a reel carrying about 250 yards of cutty hunk or nylon line with 18 or 24 lb. breaking strain. The American type 5-star drag reel is popular for trolling because by insulating the shock of the initial fierce strike, it enables lighter tackle to be used. Sailfish weighing about 55 lb. have been caught near the Black Buoy, the northern entrance marker to the Sitra channel, on at least two authenticated occasions. A game-fishing maxim says that "where there are sailfish, there are marlin" and, although not yet reported in local Bahrain waters, marlin have been seen as near as Umm Said on the east coast of the Qatar peninsular.

Bass (Ar. "Zbaiti"), "Shari" (12-in. long, drab colour), "Saafi" (about 24-in. long, white colour) and a colourful variety of small fish up to 5-6 lb. are caught fishing from the shore at many places around the coast. A trout rod or other light bait-casting rod with a 2½-oz. tip gives excellent sport and can be most exciting when, for instance, a 10 lb. sea bass is hooked and landed, as was done with such tackle in the 1952 season.

The spring and autumn are the best fishing seasons, although fish are sought and caught by the enthusiasts throughout the winter, except during the very cold spells. The hot summer months of July, August and September are the worst or fishing in Bahrain, the Bahrainis say that the fish go out to the deeper water to keep cool, in which they are both missed and envied by the local "Isaac Waltons," left ashore to prepare their tackle for the coming autumn season.

526 231 *Riding and Racing*. Bahrain offers excellent opportunities for riding, but it is only recently that these have been recognised by European and American residents in the Islands. The BAPCO Club has a stable of twelve horses at Awali and riding classes are held for children and adults. In Manama a number of Arab merchants keep horses for

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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The Results of a Fishing Expedition. *Photo: Y. A. Shirawi.*

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A Village Pool, North Sitra. *Photo: The Author.*

Rifaa Ash-Sharqi. *Photo: The Author.*

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**A Bahrain Football Team.**

hacking as well as for racing and they are often willing to lend them to those interested in riding. With the exception of a few horses owned by Europeans, the remainder in Bahrain are the property of H.H. The Ruler, of the State Police and of other members of the Ruling Family. The keeping of horses in Bahrain is an expensive matter as the cost of fodder is high.

There are at the time of writing only two race meetings a year, these are held at the Manama Racecourse on Jufair Road. The race meetings take place in the spring and autumn, but it is hoped shortly to increase their number. The Races are run by a committee which receives the full support and patronage of the Ruler and there is a Totalisator under Government control. The races are very popular in Bahrain and not only is the Enclosure always packed with many hundreds of Arabs and Europeans but the whole length of the track is lined with onlookers who during the morning of the races come in buses, taxis and on foot to the Racecourse. The races vary in distance from four furlongs to one mile, some are handicaps and others are open. The Race Meetings of Bahrain are one of the social events of the year and people come from Dhahran and Qatar for the occasion. The brightly coloured dresses of the ladies, the equally colourful clothes of the Arabs and the more sombre get-up of the Englishmen are worthy of this Gulf Ascot !

*Bathing.* Around the shores of Bahrain are a number of excellent beaches, particularly to the south of the island, away from the villages. Unfortunately the coast of Bahrain is so shallow that it is often necessary to walk for a long way into the sea before deep water is reached. Swimming and picnicing is particularly pleasant at Ras al-Barr and along the west coast of Bahrain below Zellaq. There is no real danger from swimming in the sea, sharks are very rarely seen and it is only the occasional ray that should be treated with respect. Swimming shoes are, however, very necessary as the sharp coral stone in many places along the coast causes bad cuts which are liable to go septic. At Zellaq there is the BAPCO Plage which, in the summer, sees an attendance of over 50 a day and as many as 200-300 bathers at week-ends.

There are a number of places for fresh water bathing, the Pool at Adari is very pleasant but in the summer is inclined to be crowded. There are also pools at Ain Hakim, Sitra and elsewhere. At Awali there are two swimming baths and the Gymkhana Club also possesses a large bath situated in very attractive surroundings. In all the natural springs and in the baths which receive their water direct from artesian wells, the water has a temperature of about 83 degrees ; this remains the same in winter and in summer so that in the former the water seems warm, in the latter, cool.

*Other Sports.* In addition to these activities it is possible to play many other games in Bahrain, including tennis, golf, hockey, cricket, volley-ball, football, etc.

There are a number of public and private tennis courts in Bahrain, in Awali the courts of the BAPCO Club, and in Manama the Bahrain

526 529 Sports Club, and the Gymkhana Club have courts and the Ahli Club is also building some. Tennis is often played at night, by the light of batteries of flood-lamps, and there are many tennis matches between Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Qatar. There are also cups and shields for Bahrain tournaments.

Bahrain has two golf courses, one in Manama, around the Race-course, the other near Awali. The latter belongs to the BAPCO Club and is situated in the desert between Awali and Sitra. As with other sports, golf teams from Bahrain play matches with teams from other parts of the Persian Gulf, but this is a sport that is confined to Europeans and Americans, the Arabs not yet having taken it up.

Football is one of the most popular sports in Bahrain, both with Arabs and Europeans, and has been played since the late 'twenties although there was no general organisation for its encouragement. In 1952, however, the Bahrain Football Association was formed and was supported by the Ahli Club's team, the Muharraq Sports team and the teams of the Gulistan Club, the Ferdousi Club, the R.A.F., the International Aeradio Company and the Bahrain Petroleum Company. It is the eventual aim of the Association to build a sports stadium in Bahrain, but till this object can be achieved, the Association does what it can to encourage sporting spirit in Bahrain and to organize matches and tournaments.

The other games mentioned above are also played, but on a smaller scale than the ones already described in detail. There is no doubt, however, that with the cinemas, with the clubs and with the opportunity of participation in the many sports played in Bahrain there are many ways of spending one's leisure hours and enjoying one's stay in Bahrain.

## CHAPTER II

## GARDENING IN BAHRAIN

247 GARDENING in Bahrain often seems to be a frustrating and disappointing hobby, but in time and with perseverance satisfactory results can be obtained and it is possible in the cold season to have a garden full of colour and flowers. The soil is thin and salty, the water is somewhat brackish and the strong north wind which blows in the winter is apt to play havoc with young seedlings. All gardens are irrigated as the rainfall is very small. Rain, when it does fall, often does more harm than good, it splashes the salty surface soil on to the stems of plants, shrubs and sometimes trees which causes small plants to die and often damages trees and shrubs. It is to prevent this damage that gardeners irrigate the ground immediately after rain, a labour which appears rather superfluous to people who do not appreciate the reason.

are chairs, tables, window curtains, often framed pictures and photographs, and usually a gramophone; in the houses of the wealthier people there is often a wireless set. Coffee shops reflect the change in ways of living. They are important institutions in Bahrain and take the place of clubs or cafes in Europe. Each has its regular clientele, but the popularity of individual coffee shops varies according to fashion. Ten years ago, coffee shops were usually small shops inside the bazaar, furnished with a few rough benches, where little else than coffee could be obtained. To-day, most of the coffee shops are elaborately decorated and illuminated, provided with little tables and chairs, and a gramophone or a wireless set which plays loudly and incessantly, relaying Arabic programmes to the customers. Some of the coffee shops are divided into two parts: in one part only coffee and drinks are served, and in the other part regular meals can be obtained, including Indian and Persian dishes, bread, cakes, and ices in the summer. Most of the proprietors are foreigners—Indians, Persians, and Iraqi, who are more enterprising in these matters than the local people. The bigger coffee shops are now referred to by the public as 'otels.'

**Games.** The popularity of games is another recent development during the last ten years. Before this, nobody played games except the men of the Levy Corps, who were made to do so, which was regarded as a peculiarity of the Commanding Officer. To-day, there are half-a-dozen local football teams and several hockey teams, who play against each other or against teams of sailors or Europeans from the Bahrain Petroleum Company. They play well, and are very keen, and every match attracts a large and interested audience from the town. Many of the parents of the young men who play disapprove of hockey and football, which they consider dangerous and unnecessary, chiefly because they did not play themselves when they were young. There is an entire lack of class distinction in these games: the sons of shaikhs play side-by-side with policemen, clerks, and taxi drivers. Although games have improved the physique of those who play them, the use of motor cars instead of horses or donkeys has caused a great many people to become soft and flabby. Sons of wealthy fathers, especially the young members of the Ruling Family, have entirely left off taking any exercise. They use a car to go a few yards, they never walk, and the only occasion on which they ride a horse is during marriage celebration or on public holidays, such as the annual accession celebrations.

**Class Changes.** The depression in the pearl trade and the recent improvement in the bazaars has caused an upheaval in financial positions, and with it a certain change in the political importance of classes. This change is gradually, though unwillingly, being appreciated by the Ruling Family. In the days when the pearl trade was flourishing, pearl merchants and nakhudas were the monied classes, and their money gave them great power, which they did not scruple to use for their own benefit. To-day, the men who used to be worth lacs of rupees are, in many cases, almost bankrupt, and petty traders, shop-keepers, and men who happen to own property in Manamah, are becoming the monied class. The old powerful pearl merchants were, in many cases, self-made men who started life as divers, but their wealth made them important and, though most of them could neither read or write, they were the people who mattered in Bahrain. Many of these men have lost all their influence because their money has gone. The class which is now becoming prosperous is more progressive, more mixed, and better educated, but as a community it does not hang together because, unlike the case of the pearl industry, its prosperity does not depend upon one trade alone. One of the serious disadvantages of the change is that the pearl industry provided work, during part of the year, for many thousands of men, but the people who are now making money provide little employment for the people. At present, about five thousand divers are working in the oil field. They are making a great deal more money than they would normally make from diving and, besides earning money, they are paying back their debts to the nakhudas by regular monthly instalments, so both parties are satisfied; but this employment is not permanent and, when present construction work at the oil field is finished, there will be a sudden increase in unemployment which will have to be dealt with by the Government.

**The Ruling Family.** The life and outlook of the members of the Ruling Family, with a few notable exceptions, has changed less than that of any other community. Although there is a great difference between the outlook of the older men and those who have grown up during the last ten years, the attitude of the family as a whole is

A three day holiday follows Ramadan, Eid al-Fitr, during which there are great celebrations and much visiting of neighbours to wish them "Eid-Kum Mubarak" (Happy Holiday), the answer to which is "Aadana Allah Ala Amthaleh." On the Eid the Ruler receives visitors at the Palace. The Eid is particularly colourful owing to the bright new clothes which are worn by the children. The boys wear new white thobes and bright-coloured silk caps and the girls proudly appear in gold-decorated dresses. In many cases small boys go calling with their parents, eagerly clutching handfuls of sweets as they leave their various hosts. Local bands, composed of the negro inhabitants of Bahrain, pass through the streets of the towns and villages playing tunes on their locally made instruments. These include many types of drums, flutes, lutes and a local form of bagpipe made from the stomach of a sheep. As the bands of players go from house to house they are tipped by the owners, who often, if they are wealthy, provide a meal for the musicians.

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NEW YEAR'S DAY

It is the custom in Bahrain on New Year's Day of the Christian Calendar for groups of Bahrainis of African origin to form into bands and go playing through the streets of Manama. These men, who to day are the same as all other Bahrainis, are descended from freed slaves or were themselves slaves who escaped to Bahrain and were manumitted. In gratitude for their freedom they thus celebrate New Year's Day. They play first at H.B.M.'s Political Agency and the Adviserate and on leaving these places they split up into smaller parties to serenade their friends. Around Bahrain flags, borne by the leaders of the musicians, these people, both men and women, dance steps and play the music which was brought many centuries ago to Bahrain by their African ancestors. In the music to which they dance the rhythm of the drum plays an important part, but to a European it may seem strange that the drummers frequently leave off playing whenever they feel tired, or if they want to talk to a friend or drink a cup of tea or coffee, and when the distraction is over they again join the band.

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It has occasionally been stated in newspapers and even recently in a book on Bahrain by some one who should know better that slavery still exists not only in the Persian Gulf but also in Bahrain. The celebrations of these Bahrainis at their freedom are proof enough that in Bahrain at least slavery is a thing of the past.

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THE HAJJ

The Hajj is the annual pilgrimage to Mecca which, according to his religion, every Moslem who is able to do so must perform once at least during his lifetime. The pilgrimage takes place during the month of Dhul Hajj. The pilgrims, many of whom have reached Mecca by most hazardous routes, wearing the two white unseamed garments that are mandatory, perform the various rites of the ceremony which includes the circumambulation of the Kaaba, pilgrimages and visits

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205 For those interested in sending food parcels to friends or relatives in England the following facts may be of interest. Not more than one parcel may be sent at any one time to one consignee in England. The total weight of the food parcel may not exceed 18 pounds, and no more than four pounds of any one commodity can be sent. There are no restrictions at present in force regarding the export of foodstuffs from Bahrain.

There are three post offices in Bahrain, one on Prior Road, Manama, a second on Sea Road, Muharraq and a third at Awali.

PUBLIC HOLIDAYS

527 The following are public holidays in Bahrain :

*Every Friday*, this is the Moslem sabbath.

*New Years Day*.

*Eid Ramadan*, a three days holiday at the end of the month of fasting, in 1953 this feast will fall on the 13th, 14th and 15th June.

*Eid al-Hajj*, a three days holiday on the 10th 11th and 12th of the Arabic month of Dhul Hajj at the conclusion of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. In 1953 this feast will fall on the 10th, 11th and 12th August.

*Ashura*, a two days holiday, but not a feast; these days, the 9th and 10th Muharram are when the Shia mourn the death of Hussein at Kerbela. In 1953 this holiday will take place on the 18th and 19th September.

*The Prophet's Birthday*, the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad. In 1953 this feast will take place on 19th November.

*Christmas Day*.

The dates of Moslem feast days and holidays are based on the Islamic lunar calendar, and consequently *move back ten days each year and eleven days in leap years*.

CALENDAR

305 The official calendar in Bahrain is the Moslem calendar and as stated above, Moslem holidays are based on it. The Moslem months are as follows :

| | |
|---|---|
| Muharram | Rajab |
| Safar | Shaban |
| Rabia al-Awal | Ramadan |
| Rabia ath-Thani | Shawal |
| Jamadi al-Awal | Dhul Qada |
| Jamadi ath-Thani | Dhul Hajj |

**The Islamic calendar dates from 622 A.D., the year in which the Hijra took place.**

517 and coffee-shops. This activity continues until about eleven o'clock especially in the summer when it is pleasanter to be out in the open air than indoors.

377 Manama is supplied with electric light from the Government Power
655 House, situated on the point at the north-east end of Manama. The
365 town water supply, also a Government concern, comes from artesian
312 wells in what used to be the Municipal Garden from where it is pumped into large tanks high above Manama and from there distributed by mains to all parts of the town and to numerous drinking fountains and public baths. This water system, which was installed by Holloway Bros., was completed in 1949, before this the water came from private and public artesian wells and was distributed by water carriers.

### QASARI

491 It is logical in describing Bahrain to leave Manama by the main road, Awal Road, but a more interesting drive can be taken by following the 2nd class road which branches off from Awal Road beyond the
361 Mental Hospital. After passing through a number of villages of
312 comparatively little interest the road comes to a shaded lane bordered
529 on one side by a lake. This is Ain al-Qasari, whose pool, although more extensive than that at Adari, is shallow and therefore unsuitable for swimming. Here there is a garden and a pleasant little house overlooking the pool, admittance to which is free, which is much frequented by picnicers. In the pool there are fish, some of which are as much as eighteen inches in length, as well as turtles. These are so accustomed to visitors that when people walk along the edge of the water or sit in the house, they swim lazily to the surface, waiting to be thrown pieces of bread or food. In a country consisting mostly of desert, and where a small and dirty pool usually constitutes the local water supply, the attractive appearance of Ain al-Qasari, particularly at sunset, is very agreeable.

296 There are in fact two springs called Qasari, the second, situated on Awal Road, is better known by the name of the "Dhobis Pool" on account of the large numbers of Indian washermen who mercilessly beat the dirty clothes on slabs of rock, and when they have finished hang them out to dry in long lines by the side of the road. It is a not unusual sight to round a corner of the road and to see before one lines of clothes, billowing in the breeze like wind-socks, and the frantic activity of the dhobis standing in the water in an odd array of clothing attempting to finish their task and dry the laundry before the sun sets.

### BILAD AL-QADIM

361 A short way beyond Ain al-Qasari is Bilad al-Qadim, literally "The Old Town," formerly the capital of Bahrain, which lies between the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, whose twin minarets are a landmark for navigators, and the Khor Mukhtar inlet on the east coast. Bilad al-Qadim can also be approached from Awal Road opposite the Suq

al-Khamis Mosque and half a mile south of the village there is an inlet of the sea which can be crossed at low tide by a ford which leads to the village of Tubli. 361

Bilad al-Qadim is a Shiite village and was the capital of Bahrain before the Arab conquest of the Islands. It is frequently referred to in local Shiite histories and is described but not named in a number of early Moslem writings. A large area of the town is now in ruins, but its walls and mounds show that it was once a place of considerable size and importance. According to local reports the sandy mound near the School opposite Suq al-Khamis Mosque is all that remains of the fort that protected the town, while the mosque itself was its Friday Mosque. The Thursday Market (Suq al-Khamis), after which the district takes its name, is probably a relic of the time when this was the capital of Bahrain and when goods were brought here from the country for sale, just as today the Wednesday Market serves the same purpose in Manama.

There are several well-known springs in the vicinity including Qasari, which has already been mentioned, the Dhobi Pool and Abu Zaidan. A relic of the old town still stands in the shape of Masjid ar-Rafia, a mosque built over a spring, which is on the west side of the town and contains an ancient Kufic inscription. Date groves and gardens surround the town but many of the inhabitants work in Manama, where some of them own shops. The white buildings in the clearing opposite the Suq al-Khamis Mosque are a Government Boys School and a dispensary. [312]

## ADARI

"The Lido of Bahrain" is a description which is often used for Ain Adari (The Virgin's Pool). It is especially applicable in the summer when every evening buses, cars, lorries and bicycles convey people from Manama to the deep, cool blue waters of the pool where they swim or sit about in the public garden or coffee-shop. Adari is the largest natural spring in Bahrain and the stream which flows from it irrigates many acres of gardens. 312 529

Adari was once a very messy pool where camels and donkeys were watered, but it has been developed by the government into a bathing place. The sides of the pool have been lined with cement and provided with steps, there is a mosque, a coffee shop, bathing huts and diving boards, and around the pool a flower garden where oleandar, bougainvillea and ponciana flourish. The road to Adari, which branches off Awal Road, is indicated by a sign-post about half a mile south of Suq al-Khamis. [491]

## UPPER AND LOWER SEHLAH

These are two villages on opposite sides of Awal Road. Upper Sehlah is a small village of stone and barasti houses built on a hill overlooking the surrounding gardens; in summer the village expands when the date pickers descend on the village and put up their barastis. 361 245 221

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Aerial view of the tumuli of Aali. In the background, to the right of the photo, the Jebel ad-Dukhan can be seen.

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Adari Pool.

### ZELLAQ

361 South again of Malakiya is Zellaq, the southernmost village on the
342 western Coast of Bahrain and approximately three miles west of Sakhir. A road runs from Zellaq to Awali and is much used by BAPCO employees coming to swim at the former place. The houses of Zellaq village, which are of stone, are built along the shore and many of them are large and spacious. As a result of the activities of BAPCO, Zellaq village has increased in size and prosperity and now contains a number of substantial white stone buildings which are conspicuous from a long distance across the flat and sandy plain that surrounds it.

162 The inhabitants of Zellaq are Sunni Arabs; some are from the Dawasir tribe, and many of them are dependents of the Ruling Family.
311 North of the village there are a number of large gardens, irrigated by innumerable artesian wells, which are owned by members of the Ruling Family and by their servants; these gardens form a green belt along the two miles of coast between Zellaq and Sedad.

312 The Bahrain Petroleum Company has a pump house at Zellaq which supplies Awali with much of its water and Zellaq was also once the discharging point for tankers bringing crude oil from Saudi
517 Arabia, before the submarine pipe-line was laid. Near the pumping station is the BAPCO Plage, the excellent bathing place which is much used by the employees of BAPCO, particularly in the Summer evenings.

### RAS AL-BARR

529 This, the southernmost point of the Bahrain islands, is a popular
484 place for summer picnics, but the approaches to it are difficult, and although never dangerous they can easily cause trouble to visitors by
491 the softness of the sand. It is best to travel in parties with not less than two cars, so that one can come to the help of the other if necessary, and care should be taken to keep to the tracks, however faintly indicated rather than to carve out new roads in the desert. The road to Ras al-Barr from Zellaq first passes through Mutalla, the Ruler's hunting lodge, while that from Awali past the Jebel passes another hunting lodge at Rumaitha before joining the Western road at Akala. From here the road goes south, past the swamps on the coast and along the narrow strip of sand which marks the end of the island.

136 In certain seasons of the year the shores along this part of Bahrain
262 are covered with the eggs of sea-birds, and many Arab dhows anchor off the coast while the crews remove the eggs for food. If one is lucky, while driving down the coast, hare and gazelle may be seen, as well as rose-tinted flamingoes on the shore.

## MUHARRAQ ISLAND

### MUHARRAQ

491 The visitor from Manama approaches Muharraq by crossing the
486 1½ mile long causeway and Shaikh Hamed Bridge, completed in 1942,

312 many of the travellers who have visited the islands. Men with deflated sheepskins dive down to the spring and place the mouth of the skin over the place where the fresh water emerges ; the skin then fills with fresh water and when full the diver comes to the surface. Before artesian wells were drilled in Bahrain both Muharraq and Manama obtained much of their water in this way, but today, owing to artesian piped wells and water systems, the undersea springs are little used except those to the north of Bahrain near the pearling banks. A Turkish traveller who visited Bahrain in 1554, Sidi Ali, says of the submarine springs, "The sailors provided with a leather sack, dive down into the sea and bring the fresh water from the bottom for Rais Murad's (the Governor of Bahrain) use. This water is particularly pleasant and cold in spring time. God's Power is boundless !" There is a 173 legend concerning the spring of Abu Mahur which says that in the time of the Caliph Merwan (684-685) a certain Ibn Hakim, a chief in Qatif, wished to marry the lovely daughter of a Bahrain shaikh. His suit was refused and so he attacked the islands and captured all the wells which supplied the towns on Bahrain Island, but the guardian diety of the Bahrainis caused the well Abu Mahur to appear in the sea near Muharraq to succour his people.

### NABIH SALIH

101 A most attractive island is Nabih Salih, set in the Khor-al-Kab between Umm al-Hassan and the mainland of Bahrain. With its ●529 thick cultivation, for the date palms run right down to the sea shore, and its many springs, including a large pool much frequented by [788] bathers, Nabih Salih is a very popular place for visitors. In addition to its pool it is a place of pilgrimage for the Shia of Bahrain who go to pay their respects to the tomb of Salih after whom the island is named. The date palms of the island are particularly fine, they compare very favourably with those elsewhere in Bahrain, which is mainly due to the pool already mentioned, Safahiya, which irrigates much of the island. [505] Nabih Salih can be visited by launch or sailing boat, the nearest point to it on Bahrain is Ain al-Hakim ; boats can also be obtained from Umm al-Hasan or from Sitra. People have been known to swim to the island, but this is not the only way of getting there and in the summer this method is inclined to be rather exhausting.

### SITRA

[101] South of Nabih Salih and close to the coast of Bahrain is Sitra 361 Island, which in addition to its many villages and gardens contains the Tank Farm and Drum Plant of BAPCO and the land end of the jetty. The site of these installations is a strip of bare and often sea-swept sands, but to the north of the island there are many gardens and a sizeable pool, Ain Raha, which is much visited by the people of Muharraq and Manama. Among the villages of North Sitra are Wadiyan, Sufala, Kharijya and Kuriya. Near the third village is a school and police station. To the south of the island is Umm al-Baidh, literally "Mother

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The Refinery. Photo : *Bahrain Petroleum Company.*

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Qasari Pool. Photo : *Sir Charles Belgrave.*

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There are at the time of writing only two race meetings a year, these are held at the Manama Racecourse on Jufair Road. The race meetings take place in the spring and autumn, but it is hoped shortly to increase their number. The Races are run by a committee which receives the full support and patronage of the Ruler and there is a Totalisator under Government control. The races are very popular in Bahrain and not only is the Enclosure always packed with many hundreds of Arabs and Europeans but the whole length of the track is lined with onlookers who during the morning of the races come in buses, taxis and on foot to the Racecourse. The races vary in distance from four furlongs to one mile, some are handicaps and others are open. The Race Meetings of Bahrain are one of the social events of the year and people come from Dhahran and Qatar for the occasion. The brightly coloured dresses of the ladies, the equally colourful clothes of the Arabs and the more sombre get-up of the Englishmen are worthy of this Gulf Ascot ! 526 542

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*Other Sports.* In addition to these activities it is possible to play many other games in Bahrain, including tennis, golf, hockey, cricket, volley-ball, football, etc.

There are a number of public and private tennis courts in Bahrain, in Awali the courts of the BAPCO Club, and in Manama the Bahrain

526 Sports Club, and the Gymkhana Club have courts and the Ahli Club is
●529 also building some. Tennis is often played at night, by the light of batteries of flood-lamps, and there are many tennis matches between Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Qatar. There are also cups and shields for Bahrain tournaments.

Bahrain has two golf courses, one in Manama, around the Racecourse, the other near Awali. The latter belongs to the BAPCO Club and is situated in the desert between Awali and Sitra. As with other sports, golf teams from Bahrain play matches with teams from other parts of the Persian Gulf, but this is a sport that is confined to Europeans and Americans, the Arabs not yet having taken it up.

Football is one of the most popular sports in Bahrain, both with Arabs and Europeans, and has been played since the late 'twenties although there was no general organisation for its encouragement. In 1952, however, the Bahrain Football Association was formed and was supported by the Ahli Club's team, the Muharraq Sports team and the teams of the Gulistan Club, the Ferdousi Club, the R.A.F., the International Aeradio Company and the Bahrain Petroleum Company. It is the eventual aim of the Association to build a sports stadium in Bahrain, but till this object can be achieved, the Association does what it can to encourage sporting spirit in Bahrain and to organize matches and tournaments.

The other games mentioned above are also played, but on a smaller scale than the ones already described in detail. There is no doubt, however, that with the cinemas, with the clubs and with the opportunity of participation in the many sports played in Bahrain there are many ways of spending one's leisure hours and enjoying one's stay in Bahrain.

## CHAPTER II

## GARDENING IN BAHRAIN

247 GARDENING in Bahrain often seems to be a frustrating and disappointing hobby, but in time and with perseverance satisfactory results can be obtained and it is possible in the cold season to have a garden full of colour and flowers. The soil is thin and salty, the water is somewhat brackish and the strong north wind which blows in the winter is apt to play havoc with young seedlings. All gardens are irrigated as the rainfall is very small. Rain, when it does fall, often does more harm than good, it splashes the salty surface soil on to the stems of plants, shrubs and sometimes trees which causes small plants to die and often damages trees and shrubs. It is to prevent this damage that gardeners irrigate the ground immediately after rain, a labour which appears rather superfluous to people who do not appreciate the reason.

A three day holiday follows Ramadan, Eid al-Fitr, during which there are great celebrations and much visiting of neighbours to wish them "Eid-Kum Mubarak" (Happy Holiday), the answer to which is "Aadana Allah Ala Amthaleh." On the Eid the Ruler receives visitors at the Palace. The Eid is particularly colourful owing to the bright new clothes which are worn by the children. The boys wear new white thobes and bright-coloured silk caps and the girls proudly appear in gold-decorated dresses. In many cases small boys go calling with their parents, eagerly clutching handfuls of sweets as they leave their various hosts. Local bands, composed of the negro inhabitants of Bahrain, pass through the streets of the towns and villages playing tunes on their locally made instruments. These include many types of drums, flutes, lutes and a local form of bagpipe made from the stomach of a sheep. As the bands of players go from house to house they are tipped by the owners, who often, if they are wealthy, provide a meal for the musicians.

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NEW YEAR'S DAY

It is the custom in Bahrain on New Year's Day of the Christian Calendar for groups of Bahrainis of African origin to form into bands and go playing through the streets of Manama. These men, who to day are the same as all other Bahrainis, are descended from freed slaves or were themselves slaves who escaped to Bahrain and were manumitted. In gratitude for their freedom they thus celebrate New Year's Day. They play first at H.B.M.'s Political Agency and the Adviserate and on leaving these places they split up into smaller parties to serenade their friends. Around Bahrain flags, borne by the leaders of the musicians, these people, both men and women, dance steps and play the music which was brought many centuries ago to Bahrain by their African ancestors. In the music to which they dance the rhythm of the drum plays an important part, but to a European it may seem strange that the drummers frequently leave off playing whenever they feel tired, or if they want to talk to a friend or drink a cup of tea or coffee, and when the distraction is over they again join the band.

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THE HAJJ

The Hajj is the annual pilgrimage to Mecca which, according to his religion, every Moslem who is able to do so must perform once at least during his lifetime. The pilgrimage takes place during the month of Dhul Hajj. The pilgrims, many of whom have reached Mecca by most hazardous routes, wearing the two white unseamed garments that are mandatory, perform the various rites of the ceremony which includes the circumambulation of the Kaaba, pilgrimages and visits

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**Recent Innovations.** Three times during the last ten years the composition of the police force has entirely changed. First it was a Levy Corps of Muscat Baluchis, then ex-Indian Army Punjabis, and finally the present force, whose development and training dates from about 1930. During the last six years, though expansion and development has been restricted owing to the need for economy, various innovations and improvements have been carried out. Necessary alterations were made in the Fort, which is an ancient building of mud and stone, whose walls constantly crumble and subside. Two large, airy barrack rooms were built, and a large swimming tank was constructed in a corner of the barrack yard. A police station was built in the turbulent town of Hedd, much to the dissatisfaction of the inhabitants, who have a rooted objection to law and order, and a police post was built at Budeya where a section of Natürs are now stationed. A police post with a lock-up and a flagstaff has a salutary effect on both these places, which have always been resentful of control.

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**Police Band.** The police band, consisting mostly of younger brothers of policemen, was started about two years ago. At first the band played entirely from ear, but in 1936 an Indian ex-army bandmaster was obtained as an instructor, and the band has now learned to play from music. A few years ago, during the visit of the Chief-in-Command, East India Squadron, the bandmaster of the marine band composed a national anthem for the Shaikh of Bahrain, which is now played on suitable occasions, and perhaps eventually the public will recognise it as a national anthem.

**Camel Section.** In 1935 a camel section was started, consisting of a dozen men mounted on camels which were provided by the Ruler. The N.C.O. in charge, a Sudanese, served in Egypt in the Frontier Districts Administration Camel Corps, and most of the men are manumitted slaves. The object of the mounted section is to patrol the coast and more inaccessible parts of the islands and to catch smugglers and persons landing without passports. The section has learned the regular camel drill; it presents a very smart appearance when on parade. Another section mounted on ponies is now being organised.

**Shooting.** The police, on the whole, are good at shooting, and during the last two years they have competed in a number of shooting matches with teams from the sloops of the Persian Gulf Division and teams from the Englishmen and Americans employed by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. In most cases the police have won the matches, sometimes beating their opponents by a large score. At the beginning of the present year a new system has been brought into force by which every man will fire a course during the year, and there will be a yearly inter-section competition. There are several unusually good shots among the police, and the men all show great keenness.

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**Uniforms.** The uniform of the police has passed through many changes in the last ten years. The original town police wore round black Persian caps, second-hand, ill-fitting khaki tunics originally used by the English Army, and long trousers. They now wear khaki shirts and shorts, putties and sandals, and scarlet turbans as worn by certain Egyptian Army regiments, Somaliland Camel Corps, and Egyptian Camel Corps. In the winter they wear woollen jerseys and military overcoats.

**Police Training in India.** During the last two years two parties of six N.C.O.'s and men were sent to the 10th Baluch Regiment at Karachi for a course of nine months' military training. The experiment has been very successful, and the value of the men as policemen has greatly increased owing to their training with the Indian Army. Had the men been able to speak Urdu they would have learnt more, but in each batch only one or two had any knowledge of the language. Any future experiments of this kind would, I am sure, be more successful if they took place in an Arabic-speaking country such as Iraq or Egypt. The training with the Army, and seeing a foreign country, has given the men who went to India more confidence in themselves than they had before.

Two years ago, Naik Abdel Kerim, the son of the late superintendent of police, was sent to India for six months and attached for training to the Karachi police. The experiment was a success, but in this case the man could speak both English and Urdu, which enabled him to learn easily.

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[517] thing of the past and the men who used to perform in them now find their amusements in attending football matches and cinemas.

MUHARRAM

796 The circumstances that brought about the division of the majority of Moslems into the Sunni and Shiite sects have been mentioned in Chapter II. The battle of Kerbela is still recognised by the Shia of Bahrain as a day of mourning for the martyrs who were killed.

During the first nine days of the month of Muharram, the first month in the Islamic year, there is a general mourning among the
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[781] of whom come from the Holy Cities of Iraq for the purpose, are often so eloquent that they reduce their audience to tears and wailing for the mortifications inflicted on those whom they regard as the highest of mankind after the Prophet himself. Night and day the tale is unfolded as the mullas take it in turn to preach to the assembled crowds. During the day the martams are not so full but at sunset the congregation increases as men return from their daily work. In the villages and in the towns, in the yellow light of kerosene lamps and in the glare of electricity, the story is told of those events which happened over 12 centuries ago. Many people are introduced into the story, the Old Testament prophets, the Prophet Muhammad, his family and his enemies, angels and archangels and other religious figures.

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before this day, but gathers strength on the night of the 9th. As the mourners leave the martams they are joined by others, some bearing torches and others carrying models of the tombs of Ali, Hussein and the others, while small children act the parts of the children of Hussein. Bands of men perform complex dances as they beat their backs with metal whips, while others cut their foreheads with swords. Men beat their bare chests as they are led by flag-bearers who keep time for the dancers. Music is supplied by the drums and chanting which fills the air with the sound, while wailing of black-clothed women on the roof-tops of the houses lining the route adds to the noise of the procession. White horses painted red to represent the blood of the martyrs, little children carried in litters and various other figures represent events in the drama of the passion play. As the morning of the 10th breaks preparations are made for the renewal of the procession, police line the routes, by-standers gather and the members of the procession leave the martams, joined later by the Shia from the villages. Slowly the great mass of men and boys passes through the streets, often taking over 1½ hours to pass one point but always completely under control and in time with the beating of the drums and the clash of the cymbals. Each group of men is led by one who is in charge of them and sees that they keep in time. In front of the breast-beaters is a man with a flag whose duty it is to indicate where they are to stop walking and start thumping their chests, and with his flag he indicates the tempo, and all along the route the thud can be heard as thousands of brawny men crash their arms and fists against their chests. In the centre of each huge circle of chain-men are two men with cymbals; these run up and down the road beating the cymbals and shouting "Ya Hussein" as the black robed men and boys strike their naked backs with copper chains. Despite its sound, this latter does little harm to the men and it is very rare that blood is drawn. 796 [535]

In former times it has been known for the man who acted the part of Yazid, the villain of the Passion Play, to have been seriously wounded by people carried away by the scene, but today Yazid no longer appears in the procession, nor does the Christian who gave water to Hussein and his people and who was formerly represented as a man with a sun-helmet, waving a whisky bottle and obviously drunk. This was in the days when the British were the only Christians in Bahrain and this was therefore considered the way in which to indicate a Christian ! Today, with the exception of the small children who are carried in litters the only person who appears in the play is Zain al-Abdin, the only adult male survivor of the massacre, who appears riding on a horse or a camel and whose part is usually taken by one of the religious teachers or their assistants. [186]

The procession[1] is arranged in nationalities, the Bahrainis, Persians, Qatifis and Hasawis, and the two latter groups of people come to Bahrain from Saudi Arabia, where the procession is banned. Each group, led by men with huge embroidered banners, passes along the road through rows of silent onlookers, many of whom are Sunni and 796 795

1 [On the 10th Muharram 73 – Analyst]

# Part IV.—USEFUL INFORMATION.

## CHAPTER I

## RECREATIONS

### CINEMAS

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The five cinemas in Manama, the Awal, the Ahli, the Bahrain and the National in Qudabiya and the Pearl Cinema on Government Road near the Government Hospital, the Muharraq Cinema, although they show a majority of Arabic films, often have English language films and usually there are two such films running every evening in Manama and Muharraq. Details of the performances are obtainable by phoning the cinemas and it is usually possible for those interested to have cinema notices sent to them as they appear.

Of the cinemas in Manama and Muharraq, five are especially pleasant in the summer, for they are open-roofed and are consequently very cool. One cinema has two open-air performances every day in the summer and in the winter an indoors performance ; the sixth is air-conditioned.

536 There is no Bahrain theatre but there are a number of amateur dramatic clubs who give public shows from time to time.

### CLUBS

575 *The Bahrain Club* (*Nadi al-Bahrain*). This is an Arab club in Muharraq with some 300 members and was founded in 1937 for cultural, social and sporting aims. The club has its own library with a large number of Arabic and English books and the latest newspapers and magazines. The members of the club are most interested in Arabic literature and have staged a number of plays. With the proceeds from the plays and with contributions from local merchants the club has been able to purchase its own buildings. Members of the club organize basket-ball and volley ball teams and also play a number of indoor sports.

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[For one of the folktales taken from a Shi'a local history of Bahrain about its occupation by the Portuguese, see category 173.]

hacking as well as for racing and they are often willing to lend them to those interested in riding. With the exception of a few horses owned by Europeans, the remainder in Bahrain are the property of H.H. The Ruler, of the State Police and of other members of the Ruling Family. The keeping of horses in Bahrain is an expensive matter as the cost of fodder is high.

There are at the time of writing only two race meetings a year, these are held at the Manama Racecourse on Jufair Road. The race meetings take place in the spring and autumn, but it is hoped shortly to increase their number. The Races are run by a committee which receives the full support and patronage of the Ruler and there is a Totalisator under Government control. The races are very popular in Bahrain and not only is the Enclosure always packed with many hundreds of Arabs and Europeans but the whole length of the track is lined with onlookers who during the morning of the races come in buses, taxis and on foot to the Racecourse. The races vary in distance from four furlongs to one mile, some are handicaps and others are open. The Race Meetings of Bahrain are one of the social events of the year and people come from Dhahran and Qatar for the occasion. The brightly coloured dresses of the ladies, the equally colourful clothes of the Arabs and the more sombre get-up of the Englishmen are worthy of this Gulf Ascot !

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674 The following were some of the more serious cases of theft ; clothing and money were stolen from people staying in a local hotel in the bazaar, money was stolen from a house in Rafaa and a radio and carpet was stolen from the house of a member of the American Mission. In all these cases the thieves were caught and the stolen property was recovered. In 11 other cases thefts of money, jewellery, wearing apparel, etc., were reported to the Police. In some instances persons were prosecuted for theft, but acquitted and in other cases no evidence was obtained.

Five Pakistanis were prosecuted for "bilking" shop keepers.

674 273 Fewer persons than in the previous year were convicted for contravention of liquor and drug regulations, this does not, however, indicate any decrease in the habit of drinking which among certain classes is becoming almost universal. Altogether 24 persons were prosecuted for distilling, selling and being in possession of liquor and for dealing in hashish and opium.

548 276 In one case a Palestinian was found to be in possession of 15 lbs. of opium. There is every reason to believe that an active trade in opium is carried on through Bahrain to the West. It is brought to Bahrain from Persia and India via the Trucial Coast and then conveyed on to ships in the harbour which carry it to Europe or the United States.

731 **Fires.** There were a number of serious fires during the year in which many people lost their barasti houses and their possessions. Most of the fires were caused by pressure stoves or lamps which ignited Saaf (palm branch) houses. There were no cases of arson.

The most serious fire was in the Telegraph area where 75 houses were completely destroyed together with their contents. A very strong wind fanned the fire which was only prevented from spreading over another area of barasti houses by wide roads on three sides of the site. This was one of the worst fires known in Bahrain. It appears to have been caused by an old blind man who knocked over a fire or a lamp in his house which lit the palm branch walls of the building. No lives were lost. In the village of Mahooz 55 houses were destroyed in one fire a few of these houses had mud and stone walls and matting roofs. In other fires, some of them in Manama and some in the villages, 17, 12, 15 and 14 houses were destroyed. In none of these fires was there any loss of life. In a fire in a launch, anchored off Manama, one man lost his life. More supplies of fire fighting equipment, hose pipe, etc., etc., which had been ordered in England were part of the cargo of a Strick Line ship which caught fire near Sitra and which burned for several days.

[368]

**AGENCY COURT**

**RESULT OF PROSECUTIONS IN 1372**

674

| No. | Nature of Offences. | No. of Cases. | No. of persons accused. | No. of persons convicted. | No. of persons acquitted. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Causing Death by Rash or Negligent Act | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 2 | Theft | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 3 | Cheating | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 4 | Criminal breach of trust | 2 | 2 | 2 | — | |
| 5 6 | Use of criminal force and assault | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | |
| | Liquor drinking and possession of | 6 | 7 | 6 | 1 | |
| 7 | Charas and Opium | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | |
| 8 | Affray | 1 | 3 | 3 | — | |
| | | 14 | 18 | 15 | 3 | |

**NATIONALITIES :**

| | |
|---|---|
| British | 1 person |
| Indian | 3 persons |
| Pakistan | 2 ,, |
| Palestine | 1 ,, |
| Transjordan | 1 person |
| Iran | 10 persons |
| | 18 |

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**Crime and Prostitution.**

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Immorality is undoubtedly increasing, but the increase in prostitution is not due to the Government but is a matter of supply and demand. During the last two years numbers of foreigners earning good pay have come to Bahrain, usually without their families, from Persia, Iraq, and India, and this has undoubtedly caused an increase in prostitution. Venereal disease is rampant, and the proportion of persons suffering from it, especially in ophtialmic forms, is very high. The medical supervision of prostitutes would undoubtedly result in an improvement in the public health. This suggestion was discussed and approved by the Manamah Municipal Council some years ago, but it has not yet been possible to arrange the medical organisation to cope with this matter.

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Most of the criminal cases which are dealt with by the police are cases of theft, assault, and immorality. Several important gangs of thieves have been rounded up during the last ten years. Some of these gangs were well provided with arms and had regular methods of disposing of stolen property in Bahrain or on the mainland. Foreigners, especially Hassawis, form the majority of the criminals. There are a number of inveterate thieves who spend the greater part of their lives in prison. Such persons, on the mainland, would be punished by cutting off of their hands and finally by decapitation. The punishments inflicted by the Bahrain courts are whippings, fines, and imprisonment, but imprisonment to many of these people is no hardship: the work is not hard, they are given better food than they would obtain themselves, and the only real punishment is being deprived of women.

273 276

**Drugs and Liquor.**

Liquor and drugs, such as opium, are forbidden in Bahrain, but in spite of the severe penalties which are enforced by the Bahrain courts against persons contravening the liquor regulations, the habit of drinking liquor and smoking opium is, in my opinion, steadily increasing. Ten years ago very few people drank liquor, and the smoking of opium was entirely confined to foreigners, Persians, Indians, and Baluchis. To-day many of the younger Arabs have acquired a liking for spirits, partly because they have had opportunities for drinking while travelling abroad, and frequent cases have occurred in which Arabs have been found to be taking opium.

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Opium is smuggled into Bahrain from Persia, usually in native crafts, but sometimes hidden in merchandise on the mail steamers. It varies in quality, most frequently it is in large lumps weighing four or five pounds, but sometimes it is in paper-covered sticks sealed up in bundles. It is very

361 bazaar, a movie theatre, branches of the Eastern Bank and the Imperial Bank of Persia, a post office, a broadcasting station and a single gas station.

362 743 Little by little Manama is being modernized and the houses built by the Standard Oil Company for its American and British employees serve as models for the natives in the improvement of their own. There are three hospitals, one operated by the Bahrein Oil Company; a second, for men and women, with a British staff, by the government; and the third by the Arabia Mission of the Dutch Reformed Church in America. However, the facilities of these few establishments are quite limited and even under normal conditions 85% of the population suffers from one or more ailments.

164 548 The diseases endemic in Bahrein are malaria, the entire group of fevers, dysentery both amoebic and bacillary, bilharzia, trachoma and ankylostomiasis. At the head of the list should go the entire family of venereal diseases. Prostitution, forbidden in Saudi Arabia, has increased greatly under the complacent eyes of the authorities and Bahrein has become a kind of "pleasure island" where thousands of native and foreign employees of the oil companies from Arabia spend their 273 leaves and money buying cheap pleasure, drinking arak, a 100 proof, colorless distillation of dates, contributing to vice and the propagation of disease.

164 The island is liable to epidemics of plague and cholera. From 1905 to 1911 Bahrein was visited every second year by plague and during the epidemic of 1911, in Manama, Muharraq and adjacent villages alone, more than two thousand persons died. Since World War I international control of plague and more vigorous quarantine measures by the British administration have limited the recurrence of this disease. Since 1920 epidemics of plague have occurred only at five year intervals.

Cholera epidemics are less frequent, probably because the water supply is less open to contamination than formerly. However, last year's epidemic was as serious in Bahrein as in the other ports of the Persian Gulf.

16: Marett D-3 (1948-1949) 1953 MJ1 Saudi Arabia MJ1 Bahrain MZ2



justifiably set at 1 year, no person was rotated until his replacement had arrived. There were many delays and these had a bad effect on morale. All in all, there was a tendency for the men to drink more than ordinarily, although we did not have too much trouble with alcoholism per se. We had our share of functional complaints and a few frank psychoses. Our next echelon of medical evacuation was a general hospital in Germany. This gave rise to the problem of those men who wanted to go to Germany to be hospitalized for one condition or another. It can well be imagined that a nice stay in a general hospital in Germany was a desirable change from the conditions in Arabia. Every effort was made to improve the recreational facilities and close co-operation was required of the medical personnel, chaplains, and command personnel. Among other things, a deep-sea fishing boat, which also doubled as a crash boat, was outfitted. This helped appreciably. We had a swimming pool of sorts which kept filling with sand. This was ultimately renovated and made more serviceable. Most of the recreational facilities of Aramco were open to us but there was the problem of transportation. We also had an open air movie theater that operated several nights a week. This was used to the maximum—almost everyone saw all the films. More recently the recreational facilities have been improved many fold. 000

Venereal disease in Saudi Arabia proper was no problem because prostitution does not exist. Our men had no contact with the local women. The native women are kept in seclusion for the most part, and when seen are shrouded in long, black dresses and heavily veiled, the entire face being covered with sort of leatherlike masks. Some cases in our men were, however, contracted from Indian prostitutes on Bahrein Island, which is located about 25 miles out in the Persian Gulf. We had planes going there almost every day and men were allowed to visit on pass. Bahrein Island is an independent sheikdom under a sort of British mandate and is the site of Bapco (British Arabian Petroleum Company). The city of Manama on Bahrein Island is quite large and served as a local shopping place for American personnel. The prostitutes there were almost 100 percent infected with one or more venereal diseases. Our incidence of infection from this source would probably have been much higher had the town been more readily accessible. SA 164 548 562 291 B 164 548

During the few cooler winter weeks our incidence of upper respiratory diseases was increased. This was especially true during the times of transition, such as early winter and early spring when the days were hot and the nights cool. After suffering with the heat for so long, there is a tendency for Americans not to clothe themselves properly when cooler weather arrives. During most of the time, short-sleeved shirts and shorts were worn. Open- SA 164 000

In complexion the people vary greatly, some, especially those who work in offices, are very fair, while the African element in the population has produced the opposite colouring. During the past ten years the fashion among the men of Bahrain for wearing partly European dress has developed rapidly, mainly due to the operations of the oil company, where long flowing robes are not only a nuisance but often dangerous. The older men, however, and the members of the Ruling Family still wear the traditional Arab dress which can be seen in its full glory in the picture of H.H. The Ruler. The basic garment is the "thobe," a long shirt fastened up to the neck, above it comes a cloak of brown, white or black wool, with gold braided edges, the "bisht" or "aba". On the head is a small skull cap, not usually visible, over which is a white or coloured headcloth "gutra' held in place by means of a black or white wool ring, called "agal." The last was originally a camel hobble which the bedouin in the desert used to wear on their heads when travelling, removing it when in camp, but today it has lost its original use and is just an article of attire. Members of the Ruling Family, all of whom use the title "Shaikh," wear gold head-rings on formal occasions, while H.H. The Ruler and the senior members of the family wear swords and daggers in gold scabbards.

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The purdah system still exists in Bahrain, although it is gradually being modified, and women are veiled when they appear in public; the more old fashioned wearing black masks concealing the upper part of the face, the younger contenting themselves with veils of black net. Although many women in the towns wear European clothes, nylons and cosmetics, they never appear outside their houses without a voluminious black cloak which covers them from the tops of their heads to the ground. In the country the Baharna women wear a large square shawl, black, blue or sometimes brightly covered, which conceals the clothes they wear. Despite the impression which may have been given by this description of veiling still current in Bahrain, the women of the country are now living a much wider life than formerly. Many girls go to the schools where as well as doing lessons they play games and do gymnastics, and what they learn at school gives them more interests at home when they marry. Family parties are commoner and husbands will now allow themselves to be seen driving with their wives in cars, which some years ago was almost unknown. In many ways the life of the women of Bahrain is improving. However, a fact that visitors to Bahrain should remember is that attempts to take photographs of women are usually strongly resented though the ordinary Arab male is fairly immune to the photographic enthusiasm of visiting Europeans.

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In Bahrain, unlike most other parts of the Arab World, the upper classes of Arab society have retained their traditional dress, while the working classes have adopted shirts and trousers. A result of this is that one should not be surprised if young men dressed in Arab clothes speak excellent English, know much about European history, French cooking and American enterprise, for they have probably been educated at the American University of Beirut or in Egypt or England. The

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there is a deep depression surrounded by large blocks of stone which was once a great spring said to have irrigated much of north-western Bahrain. This spring, known as Ain Sejour, is traditionally associated with the name of the Caliph Abd al-Malik (685-705) who is reputed to have come to Bahrain with an army to chastise the people who had given refuge to politico-religious refugees from Iraq. According to local histories the Bahrainis worsted the invaders in a war by a clever use of the underground water channels and a truce was signed. Later the Caliph is said to have murdered the Bahraini leaders and to have filled in this well "to reduce the pride of the people of Bahrain," since then it has been dry and the land around it has reverted to desert. It seems unlikely that the Caliph himself came to Bahrain, he probably sent one of his generals and later tradition ascribed the leadership to the Caliph himself.

Several well-to-do families own houses in Diraz, and when pearling flourished its people were important nakhudas (captains) and pearl merchants. Many of the villagers are still divers and keep their boats on the shore near the little mosque north of Budaiya Garden. For use in these boats the villagers weave their own sail-cloth on local looms.

### JESRA

On the edge of the open plain about 4 miles south of Budaiya is Jesra, the point where the pipeline from Arabia crosses to Bahrain, here also is a village whose Arab inhabitants are mainly retainers of the Ruling Family. Several Shaikhs have also built substantial houses in the village, as well as gardens irrigated from artesian wells. Another road leads from Jesra to Rifaa al-Gharbi, following the route of the pipeline across the desert.

### MALAKIYA

Four miles south of Jesra the road, after passing through the villages of Karzakan and Dumistan, enters the little village of Malakiya, set in the centre of thriving date gardens, some of which belong to merchants in Manama. The only claim to interest in this village is a large tomb which is held in great veneration by the Shia community of Bahrain and is visited by pilgrims from all parts of the Islands. The tomb is of a certain Amir Zaid, but there is some difference of opinion about his identity. Some contend that he was Zaid bin Sohan, one of the Companions of the Prophet, but according to other local authorities he was a certain Amir Zaid bin Umaira al-Abdi who witnessed a covenant of truce made between the people of the Islands and al-Mua'lla bin al-Hadrami, the Moslem conqueror of Bahrain. A third version is that the worthy Amir was the leader of the people of Bahrain in a war that took place between them and the Caliph Abd al-Malik (See paragraph on Diraz). It has not yet been decided which of these versions is in fact the true one, but this does not deter Shia pilgrims from visiting Malakiya.

8·Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



563 In the third place, clerical positions occupied by Indians and other
578 foreigners are highly coveted by the high-school graduates of Bahrain. This
554 must be understood within the context of traditional Arab respect for the scribe and the great power wielded until recent times by government employees: clerking represents a social position as well as a source of livelihood.

641 Finally, Indians are given privileges denied to Bahrainis. They are al-
273 lowed, for instance, a monthly allotment of alcoholic beverages and certain
563 public places are open to them and to Westerners only. The problem of
578 alcohol is a delicate one in Bahrain. In accordance with Muslim law it is prohibited to all Muslims. Foreigners and non-Muslims, however, can obtain a monthly allotment at specified prices through a permit from the British Residency. The only two groups that can benefit from such an arrangement are the Westerners and the Indians, since most other foreigners are Muslims.

563 An example of the resentment felt against the Indian clerks may be
578 seen in the following letter to the newspaper *al-Qafilah* from an indignant
191 Bahraini criticizing the Post Office Department:

> I came to the post office window with a large number of greeting cards which I wanted to send to friends outside Bahrain. I inquired from the clerk whether there were any special rates? Snatching the cards from my hands, he gave me an answer in a strange language, the only part of which I understood was "three annas and a half."
>
> It is strange that this department continues to employ clerks who do not understand the language of the country. In this connection, I remember that a short time ago I sent my manservant with a piece of paper on which I had written in Arabic the quantity of stamps I wanted of each denomination. Shortly afterwards he came back very angry. He told me that the clerk threw him out of the building and ordered him to "tell [your master] to write in Indian, Persian, or English. . . . We are not Arabs." [13]

609 A factor which also has considerable effect on the attitude of the native toward foreigners is the development of the oil industry in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. In Saudi Arabia the political climate has been such that the native is truly master of his house. The moment the foreigner, and particularly the Westerner, steps on Saudi Arabian soil, government officials and civilians alike do not hesitate to remind him in a thousand ways that he is in an independent country, that he is only a temporary guest, and that his sojourn in the country depends on good behavior. The Arabian American Oil Company, as part of its public relations policy, cooperates with the government fully in this respect and it is a well-known fact that a number of its American employees have been sent home for minor infractions of the local law or for being in some way rude to the native inhabitants.

Bahrain is only a few miles away from Saudi Arabia. Stories of how

[13] *al-Qafilah*, January 2, 1953.

two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya. It was the home of the Dawasir tribe who came to Bahrain shortly after it was conquered by the al-Khalifah and established themselves here. The tribe acquired great wealth and prestige, owning many pearling dhows, and by degrees they became so powerful that they were able to raid with impunity the neighbouring Bahrana villages. They even challenged the authority of the al-Khalifah, but Shaikh Hamed, on becoming Deputy Ruler in 1924, threatened to punish them if they did not behave. This they considered as an infringement of their liberties and they therefore announced to the Ruler that if he prevented them behaving as they were accustomed, they would leave Bahrain and settle in Saudi Arabia. Shaikh Hamed refused to give way and the Dawasir left Bahrain. This, however, was not the last of them, for during many years it was believed that they were preparing to invade Bahrain. To prevent this a force was maintained in the Islands. However, the scare eventually died down and Budaiya after lying deserted, was later partly re-occupied by other Bahrainis, while some of the Dawasir gradually returned, many of them settling in Manama and Muharraq.

The ruins of great houses and mosques still remain, while scattered between them are the houses of the new inhabitants, who do much fishing in the prolific waters near the town, and also work in Manama and Awali. Before reaching the Police Post that marks the entrance to Budaiya the road passes through the Government Experimental Garden where new agricultural methods are tried and where cows and sheep, kept under scientific conditions, are studied for their productivity. From the Budaiya Pier launches go to Jidda, the prison island, many of whose inmates come over daily to work in the Budaiya Garden. The Pier is also used by the Ruler when he visits his island of Umm an-Nasaan.

The small Government school at Budaiya just south of the Government gardens, in addition to teaching the usual Primary School subjects gives lessons in agriculture for many of the boys' fathers own or work in gardens in the neighbourhood.

## DIRAZ

Diraz is a village about half a mile north of the Budaiya Road and about 1½ miles from Budaiya itself. It consists mainly of stone houses, many of which are two-storied. The village stands on high ground among the sand dunes and is very similar to Beni Jumra which faces it a little way off on the opposite side of the road. It is so surrounded by clumps of date palms that its size is not appreciated from the road. A feature noticeable here, as well as in many other parts of Bahrain, is that date palms grow in groups at the bottom of depressions in the sand and are not irrigated by water channels but obtain moisture from below the surface of the ground.

North-west of the village there are mounds which indicate the existence of a much larger settlement in the past and an extensive area of ground is covered with glass and pottery sherds. Among the ruins



1/4 [The town of Budaiya :- Analysis]

659 which made the work of counting easier. After numbering the houses a preliminary registration of the names of the [561] occupants with details of age, sex etc., was made. The question of age was a problem as the majority of the people had no idea how old they were, often they asked the clerk to put down what he thought best. People who could read and write, however, especially children, eagerly volunteer- [961] ed information. Occupation, in the case of men, was easily answered, but in some cases husbands described the occupation of their wives as "eating and sleeping". The first investigation took some time to complete.

The particulars which were required included the person's religious sect, also the full names of both men and women. In the first census the names of women had not been recorded. In some of the Arab Sunni villages and in Muharraq, which is predominantly Arab, strong objection was taken to enquiries about the names of women, but the Shia Baharna raised no objections to this question. There was also a certain amount of organised agitation about recording sects, although in the first census nobody had objected to giving this information. Some of the young town Arabs feared that the census might show a higher proportion of Shias than of Sunnis. By dint of talks and explanations, in which His Highness took an active part, public feelings on these matters were allayed.

THE COUNTING. A Friday night when there was a full moon was fixed for the census. Shops in the towns normally close from noon time on Fridays and fishermen and men employed in cutting coral stone in the sea take a day off. In the moonlight it was easier for the counters to find their way about in the narrow lanes in some of the towns and villages and to see the numbers written in red paint on the doors of the houses. The date and time of the census was announced by proclamation some weeks before

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5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

644 461 471 still that of feudal chiefs, though the feudal feeling no longer exists among the people of Bahrain. They consider it their right that they should be well provided for financially by the State, and they resent any suggestion that they should add to their incomes by doing work. They are still the biggest landowners in Bahrain, but by draining their property dry, and not spending any money on improvements, their property has deteriorated in value. They regard any real work as degrading, and only accept posts on courts or councils for the sake of obtaining more money, not because it is incumbent on them, as members of the Ruling Family, to occupy public positions. Their attitude in this respect is a contrast to that of the merchant class in Bahrain, who are unusually public minded and who freely give up much of their time to sit on courts and committees and councils.

562 178 185 **The Women.** Among the women, too, there have been changes, but they are more gradual than among the men. Every step towards emancipation is firmly resisted by the older female members of the households, but in spite of this there is a definite feeling among the younger women that they should have more freedom. Their ambition, at present, is not to take any part in public matters, but to be able to go out more frequently. They are becoming restive of the restrictions of the purdah system. Some are now educated, and a few have travelled abroad in Syria, Persia, India, and Iraq, and there they have seen the changes which are taking place in the life of the women of those countries. Many who have never been out of Bahrain read newspapers and listen to news on wireless sets, and frequently meet Indian and Syrian women in Bahrain. All this causes them to feel unsettled.

[595] One of the notable recent changes is that nowadays a great many young men only marry one wife, not because they cannot afford to support more wives, but because they prefer monogamy. The younger men are no longer ashamed of mentioning their wives and talking about their families, and many of them take their wives out with them in cars. A few years ago, if a man was seen with a woman in his car, one could be quite sure that she was not his wife. The modern young men look for wives who are educated, and frequently marry Persian or Iraqi girls because they received better education. One of the effects of education among the women in Bahrain is that they learn to keep their houses clean and they appreciate the value of hygiene, which is taught at school. Education also makes them willing to employ qualified doctors, especially at childbirth, when, in the past, they would have been treated by local Arab untrained midwives who are dirty and dangerous, and whose use of the notorious salt method is undoubtedly responsible for an enormous number of casualties among children and pregnant women.

Changes are taking place all over the Gulf, but of the Arab States, Bahrain is changing most rapidly. The most conspicuous visible changes in comparing Bahrain to-day and ten years ago are in the capital, where a person returning to the country would notice the wider streets, better buildings, and a decrease in straw huts, trees, gardens and more vegetation, large shops selling European goods, motor traffic, European dress worn by natives, increasing use of machinery, partly owing to installation of electric power, knowledge of English language, and a far greater interest being taken in outside world affairs.

proximately 26,000 residents, and Hedd, a pearl fishing center, around 10,000. The population exceeded that of the 1941 census by almost 20,000: the increase was confined mainly to the towns of Manama and Muharraq, and was attributed in large part to immigration.

Since the organization of the first government school in 1919, education has made considerable progress, but expansion is handicapped by a shortage of trained teaching personnel. In 1950, the Bahrain government supported 13 primary schools for boys —8 in the towns and 5 in the villages. Educational facilities were made available to girls in 1928, and at present 6 primary schools are in operation. Of the 5,770 pupils registered in government schools in 1950-51, slightly over 1,700 were girls. A few private schools are established in Manama, while Koranic schools are found in most towns and villages. The government also maintains a secondary school, a technical school and a school hostel for boys, and provides scholarships for qualified students for advanced study at the American University of Beirut and in Great Britain. In the recent census, the literacy rate in the indigenous population was estimated at 10 per cent.

### Vital Statistics

The registration of births and deaths is not compulsory in Bahrain, and no data for the calculation of vital statistics are obtainable. Local medical authorities agree that the mortality rates in infancy and early childhood are uniformly high. Observations made by the census enumerators in 1950 suggest that the infant mortality is particularly serious in the rural villages, in contrast with the towns, where living conditions have improved within recent years. The maternal mortality rates are correspondingly high.

The size of the population remained practically stationary in the rural districts in the 9-year interval between the first and the second census surveys. The rate of increase in areas outside the towns of Ma-

in neighbouring countries. Figures often make dry reading, but the following may be of some interest as they demonstrate the mixture of races present in the islands. 162

| Nationalities. | |
|---|---|
| Bahrainis .. .. | 91,179 |
| Persians .. .. | 6,934 |
| Indians, Pakistanis and Goanese .. .. | 3,043 |
| Saudi Arabs .. .. | 2,526 |
| Omanis and Muscatis .. | 2,466 |
| Europeans and Americans | 2,208 |
| Other foreigners .. .. | 1,264 |
| | 109,650 |

| Distribution. | |
|---|---|
| Manama .. .. | 39,648 |
| Muharraq and Hedd. .. | 25,577 |
| Other towns and villages .. | 40,579 |
| Awali and ships in port .. | 3,846 |

*Sexes* : Males, 58,601. Females, 51,049.
The excess of men over women is due to the number of foreigners working in Bahrain who do not have families with them.

At the current rate of increase it was *estimated* that the population of Bahrain in 1952 was about 115,000 persons, and of Manama, 45,000 persons. [161]

Many races have gone into the making of the Bahrain people ; there are the Baharna, the original inhabitants of the islands, who are said to be descended from Arabs taken by Nebuchadnezzar into Iraq, who later fled from that country and settled in Bahrain. They are Shiite Arabs and live mostly in the villages and in certain quarters of Manama. Formerly the Baharna were second class citizens and were content to farm and work for their masters, but today they take an active part in all walks of life in Bahrain. Then there are the Sunni Arabs, most of whom came to Bahrain in the 18th century and during subsequent years ; the Ruling Family of Bahrain, the al-Khalifah, are in this group. There are also a number of negroes, mainly of the Sunni sect, who are descended from freed slaves or who were slaves themselves and escaped from other parts of the Gulf to Bahrain where they were manumitted. Persians have also settled in the islands, having left the trials and tribulations of their own country to seek their fortune in Bahrain. 563

It might here be as well to digress slightly from this description of the people of Bahrain to explain the meaning of "Shiite" and "Sunni," terms which so often appear in descriptions of Bahrain and its history. These names refer to the two main sects of Islam between whom the people of Bahrain are about equally divided. 795

The dispute that was to split the Moslems into two rival camps started soon after the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632 A.D. and concerned the future leadership of the young Moslem community which was so rapidly expanding and sweeping over territories which are known today as Iraq, Palestine, Syria, Egypt and Persia. The Prophet was succeeded by two of his Companions, who had stood at his side from the early days of his ministry, Abu Bakr (A.D. 632-34) and Omar (A.D. 634-44), and on the death of the latter a third Compan-

A three day holiday follows Ramadan, Eid al-Fitr, during which there are great celebrations and much visiting of neighbours to wish them "Eid-Kum Mubarak" (Happy Holiday), the answer to which is "Aadana Allah Ala Amthaleh." On the Eid the Ruler receives visitors at the Palace. The Eid is particularly colourful owing to the bright new clothes which are worn by the children. The boys wear new white thobes and bright-coloured silk caps and the girls proudly appear in gold-decorated dresses. In many cases small boys go calling with their parents, eagerly clutching handfuls of sweets as they leave their various hosts. Local bands, composed of the negro inhabitants of Bahrain, pass through the streets of the towns and villages playing tunes on their locally made instruments. These include many types of drums, flutes, lutes and a local form of bagpipe made from the stomach of a sheep. As the bands of players go from house to house they are tipped by the owners, who often, if they are wealthy, provide a meal for the musicians.

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NEW YEAR'S DAY

It is the custom in Bahrain on New Year's Day of the Christian Calendar for groups of Bahrainis of African origin to form into bands and go playing through the streets of Manama. These men, who to day are the same as all other Bahrainis, are descended from freed slaves or were themselves slaves who escaped to Bahrain and were manumitted. In gratitude for their freedom they thus celebrate New Year's Day. They play first at H.B.M.'s Political Agency and the Adviserate and on leaving these places they split up into smaller parties to serenade their friends. Around Bahrain flags, borne by the leaders of the musicians, these people, both men and women, dance steps and play the music which was brought many centuries ago to Bahrain by their African ancestors. In the music to which they dance the rhythm of the drum plays an important part, but to a European it may seem strange that the drummers frequently leave off playing whenever they feel tired, or if they want to talk to a friend or drink a cup of tea or coffee, and when the distraction is over they again join the band.

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It has occasionally been stated in newspapers and even recently in a book on Bahrain by some one who should know better that slavery still exists not only in the Persian Gulf but also in Bahrain. The celebrations of these Bahrainis at their freedom are proof enough that in Bahrain at least slavery is a thing of the past.

[567]

THE HAJJ

The Hajj is the annual pilgrimage to Mecca which, according to his religion, every Moslem who is able to do so must perform once at least during his lifetime. The pilgrimage takes place during the month of Dhul Hajj. The pilgrims, many of whom have reached Mecca by most hazardous routes, wearing the two white unseamed garments that are mandatory, perform the various rites of the ceremony which includes the circumambulation of the Kaaba, pilgrimages and visits

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621 any exodus from the villages to the towns. It was found
166 that there had been no movements from the villages to Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd. With a few exceptions the population of individual villages was the same as it was nine years ago. The only population movements which took place were among the Arab villages. In Dour, the last village on the eastern coast, which in 1941 contained 166 people only one house remained occupied; the population of Jow, a mile or two north of Dour, decreased from 427 in 1941 to 214 in 1950. Some of the people from these two places crossed to Qatar, others moved to Rafaa. The population of the two Rafaas, and Sakhir, was 2,929 in 1941, it is now over 4,000.

## NATIONALITY AND RELIGION

167 Assuming that the growth of Manamah's population was mainly due to more foreigners having settled in the town, which is very evident, it might be expected that the total number of foreigners in the country would be very much larger than the number which was recorded in 1941. In 1941 there were 15,930 foreigners. In 1950 the number was
[563] 18,471. The largest foreign minority were, and still are, the Persians who in 1941 numbered 7,547 but in 1950 only 6,934 persons registered themselves as Persians. This
[641] figure is open to doubt. For many reasons it is advantageous for Persians to acquire Bahrain nationality, if they are Bahrain subjects they can buy land and can travel to Persia on Bahrain passports. During the last year or two the Government has refused all applications by Persians for Bahrain nationality. It is probable therefore that a number of Persians described themselves as Bahrain subjects in the hope that they would be accepted as such. As most foreigners in Bahrain carry no papers which could establish their nationality it was not possible for the census staff to verify the nationality of Persians.

●563 Indians and Pakistanis (3,043) mostly living in
167 Manamah, were the next largest foreign community followed by Saudi-Arabians (2,526) who included many Hassawis employed as agricultural labourers; Omanis, Muscatis and Arabs from the Trucial Coast (2,466) were mostly people who entered Bahrain in recent years seeking work; British, Americans and other Europeans numbered 1,683, this total does not include ships crews at Sitra and at Jufair (584). In Manamah and Muharraq the British and American population was 270, including R.A.F. personnel. Other nationalities included Iraqis (224), Qataris (438), Kuwaitis (149), Yemenis (105). In the population of Bahrain at the time of the census over 30 nationalities were represented.

[206] Owing to local feeling Sunnis and Shias were not
795 registered separately but sectarial distribution outside Manamah and Muharraq is sharply defined. The Shia villages contain no Sunnis and the Sunni villages contain very few Shias. Muharraq contains a small number of Shia Baharna, who are scarcely distinguishable from the Arabs and a long established community of Persian Shias. In Manamah the Shias, both Baharna and Persians, are a large and important section of the population; certain quarters of the town are inhabited almost exclusively by Baharna and some of the suburbs are occupied almost entirely by Persians.

795 Bahrain is predominantly Moslem. There are less
162 than 4,000 persons belonging to other religions, of these 2,348 are Christians, not including men on ships in the harbours, 293 are Jews and 975 are Hindus.

AGE AND SEX.

162 Reliable information about ages was difficult to obtain because few of the local inhabitants knew their own ages. There is as yet no registration of births

5: Bahrain G-5 (192( -1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

## SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

**Arabs and Baharna.** There is a sharply defined difference in Bahrain between the urban and the rural population. The people of the towns, Manamah, Muharraq, and Hedd, are mostly Arabs and foreigners, traders, shop-keepers, pearl merchants, and landowners. The villagers, who are said to form about two-thirds of the total population, although there has never been a census in Bahrain, are the aboriginal Shia inhabitants of the islands, cultivators and fishermen, many of whom dive during the pearling season. There is a racial and religious difference between the two which is outwardly apparent in the appearance, the dress, and the speech of the people, especially in the case of the women. The Baharna, who used to own Bahrain, are now the tenants and servants of the Arab landowners and the Ruling Family, and there is no sympathy between them.

**The Baharna.** During the last ten years the life of the country people has altered very little, but their outlook has changed considerably. Though still suffering acutely from an inferiority complex, they have become more independent. They have learnt to resort to the Government when they consider themselves aggrieved, and they have shaken off the remnants of feudal obligation to individual members of the Ruling Family which they unwillingly bore in the past. They recognise and appreciate the advantages of a central government which has made it impossible for individual landlords to take the law into their own hands or to unduly oppress their tenants.

Another important political change is the marked decrease in the influence of the Shia religious leaders. The Shia Qadis used to be regarded, especially in the villages, as almost divine, but to-day their power has dwindled. This is mainly owing to the undignified dissentions among the religious leaders and the public exposure, after criminal proceedings, for misappropriation of trust money, of two Shia Qadis during recent years. The transfer of the wakf administration from the control of the Qadis to a council elected by the Shia community has also contributed towards the lessening of the influence of the Qadis. Instead of depending on the advice of the Qadis in all important and political matters, the country people now follow the lead or two or three politically minded merchants of Manamah whose ideas, though progressive, are not free from self-interest.

Living conditions among the Baharna have changed very little. They are still the poorest element in the community. Their villages are dirty, unhealthy, and insanitary, and physically they are below the standard of the Arabs. Although no statistics are available, it seems evident that there is a very high death rate among young children in the villages owing to unhealthy conditions and lack of medical attention. The diet of the people is mainly vegetables, fish, and a little rice and dates, but they spend more money on their clothes, because they need no longer fear that, if they are decently dressed, they will attract the cupidity of the local overlord. Although the average amount which they spend on marriage-money has decreased by over 50% in ten years, yet they still spend large sums on making the pilgrimage to the sacred cities of Iraq, which they regard as being as important as the pilgrimage to Mecca. In spite of the obvious poverty of the Baharna, the Ruling Family still believe that their tenants, when they fail to pay their rent, have large sums of money hoarded in their houses. This belief, in the past, was one of the reasons for the frequent attacks on Baharna houses and villages by armed followers of Khalifah landlords. For some years, however, crimes of this type have ceased to take place.

The Baharna take more interest in the doings of the outer world. Although most of them are illiterate when they come into Manamah or to the weekly markets, they listen to people discussing the news in the papers or what they have heard on the 'radios,' and they carry distorted and very inaccurate stories back to their houses and villages. In their general outlook the baharna are many years behind the town dwellers.

**The Townsfolk.** Among the townspeople, particularly in the capital, there have been startling changes during the last ten years, both in the style of living and the outlook of the people. These changes have come from the people themselves and have not been forced upon them by the Government. This is especially noticeable

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



An interesting development in recent years is the stress of the domina-
186 group, the Sunnis, on the unity and brotherhood of all Muslims and Arabs.
659 In 1950, when the second census was made, it was planned to count the two groups separately. This proposal, however, was construed as a British scheme to divide the Muslims and set them against each other. Strong objections were made by both groups, but primarily by the Sunnis, to the government and consequently this aspect of the census was abandoned. No such objections were raised during the census only nine years earlier.

186 Two factors can perhaps account for this rather nascent stress on unity: emerging nationalism and new economic forces. The conception of nationality is a Western contribution and a new arrival in the Persian Gulf. In Bahrain it is still a vague idea and certainly has not replaced to any degree the existing loyalties. It manifests itself in two ways: first, negatively in a desire to expel the foreigner (this has considerable appeal: it is concrete, intellectually easy to grasp, can be used as a rallying cry, and above all does not conflict with established social patterns); and second, positively, in a confused ideal of a pan-Arab, pan-Islamic union. No clear distinction is drawn between the two last concepts and the terms are used interchangeably. It must be admitted, however, that the pan-Arab aspect of the ideal predominates. This new spirit of nationalism has had the effect of creating a greater emphasis on unity among the native population. Furthermore, through this intellectual device the two groups can now present a common front against foreigners to protect their rights and interests, whether real or imaginary.

565 The new economic force for unity is the oil industry. On the surface
178 things seem as they have always been. In fact a change, subtle and hard
464 to detect, has taken place. The oil industry, as indicated previously, has
186 opened the doors of employment to the Shi'is. This has resulted in bettering slightly their economic condition and consequently their relative status vis-à-vis other groups. Furthermore, such employment has meant that they are no longer restricted to agriculture. They can now sell their labor and skills as everyone else in a wider and more favorable market. On the job at the company installations, Shi'i and Sunni are brought together as laborers or artisans and placed on the same footing. For the first time in their history it has become possible for individuals from both groups to collaborate in certain areas of action, not as Shi'is or Sunnis, but as members of an economic group.

### *THE JEWS*

162 A third native religious group is the small Jewish minority comprising
● 563 about 250 persons. Its members are well known for their industry, their
463 higher standard of living, their higher rate of education, and their amenability to Western influences. They are exclusively engaged in trade and money changing.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



641 563 The Jews have lived in the country in comparative peace and security for centuries. Their position was clear and definite. As non-Muslims they were outside the pale of the law and could not participate fully in the life of the community; but as "People of the Book" they were a *dhimma*, a protected community. In civil matters they enjoyed the same legal rights as all other Bahrain subjects. Here again social lines of demarcation were drawn on a religious basis.

563 578 798 With the appearance of the Palestine problem the position of this small minority became progressively more precarious. Today the Jews are socially ostracized and economically boycotted, and there have been instances where physical violence has been employed against them. The local press of Bahrain is replete with references to Bahraini Jews, the Jews in general, and to Israel. Such references include, among other things, threats to publish the names of those who associate with Jews in Bahrain or buy from them, references to the United Nations as a Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world, and editorial protests to the government against allowing allegedly Israeli airlines to land in Bahrain, or against radio-communications with Israel.[10]

648 439 The government of Bahrain has no official policy of enmity toward Israel as have the other Arab states. Commercial traffic is not prohibited with Israel or with the Jews as a whole, but in practice it is virtually so. This boycott is due in part to social pressure and in part to the fact that a large part of the goods imported into Bahrain is re-exported to Saudi Arabia, a country which has strict regulations against traffic with Jews.

167 563 Owing to their present position, the Jews are the only native community whose interests and aspirations are at complete variance with those of the native population. It is a matter of public knowledge that many of them have either left or are in the process of leaving the country to start a new life in Israel, the United States, or Europe.

### *THE PERSIANS AND THE INDIANS*

162 563 The two major foreign elements in the country are the Persians and the Indians.[11] Their social status and relations with the native population are determined primarily by psychological, political, and economic factors rather than by religion or tribal loyalties.

563 162 648 The Persians are the largest foreign group, but it should be noted that they are foreigners in the legal and political sense only, for they are as much a part of the scene as the legal citizens of the country. Iran has had a long and checkered association with the islands going back to pre-Islamic times. At one period, the islands were directly controlled by it, and as late

[10] See any number of *al-Qafilah*, a weekly newspaper, or *Sout al-Bahrain*, a monthly magazine. Both are published in Bahrain in Arabic.

[11] As used in this paper, the term "Indians" includes Indians, Pakistanis, Anglo-Indians, and Goanese.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



as the 19th century even the British recognized that Iran had some rights in Bahrain. The Iranian government has never relinquished its claims to the islands, a fact which has had a direct bearing on the position of the Persian community.

Under these favorable circumstances, Persians have been able until recently to move in and out of Bahrain without hindrance or restriction. Over the centuries a prosperous community developed, made up mostly of merchants, so that today some of the wealthiest inhabitants of Manamah are Persians. Generally speaking, this community is more enterprising, better educated, and has a higher standard of living than the local inhabitants of the land. But although the Persians grew prosperous and acquired property in houses and some land, their hearts were never in Bahrain — they were across the Gulf in the mother country. Bahrain is regarded by the Persians as an outpost for commercial activity but not for permanent settlement.

The Persians are resented by both the Arab inhabitants and the British. They are resented by the Arabs because they constitute a foreign community which is somewhat aloof from the rest of the population; in part, also, because of envy of their general prosperity and because they are regarded as interlopers who are taking the wealth of the country away. Two other serious objections to them are that they are Shi'is by religion and tend to look toward Iran rather than the Arab world for political association.

As for the British, they resent them for numerous reasons. In almost every way they constitute a threat, minor and insignificant though it may be, to the consolidation of their position in the shaykhdom. This is especially true since Bahrain has become the chief base for British naval, air, and political activity in the Persian Gulf. Specifically, the British resent the Persian community because it has always opposed what it regards as the "Indianization" policies of the British in Bahrain. It has played the double role of an opposition party and a fifth column. The recent difficulties of the British government and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Iran brought the problem of Anglo-Iranian relations to a sharp focus. The situation has constituted a threat to British prestige in the Gulf. In Bahrain Mosaddaq was regarded as a liberator — in the early part of 1953 pictures of him could be seen in many shops in Manamah.

The policies of the government of Bahrain have been detrimental to the position of the Persian community. In 1927 visas for entry to Bahrain became required of Persian subjects. In December of the same year a land registry office was established and a decree passed requiring that all land be registered; it also stipulated that only Bahrain subjects could own real property. With the passage of the decree a good many Persians had only two alternatives: either to acquire Bahrain citizenship, which many of them

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did, or sell out and return to the mother country. Those who remained are engaged either in trade or employed by the oil company or some other business establishment. In the last few years the government has been refusing to grant citizenship to Persian residents even though they may legally qualify.[12]

The Indians, the second largest foreign community, are in a certain sense in a position similar to that of the Persians. Bahrain, like other principalities in the Persian Gulf, has had a long association with the subcontinent through trade. In 1913, when the Bahrain Order-in-Council was passed, the country became administratively subject to the jurisdiction of the Governor-General of India.

The Indians constitute a prosperous and fairly well educated community. Some are engaged in trade on a big scale or as petty merchants. The rest — and they are the majority — are employed either by the government, the oil company, the British military and civil establishment, or other foreign business concerns in the country. They work mostly as clerks, foremen, cooks, waiters, and domestic servants.

Various explanations have been made as to why Indians are employed in such large numbers in preference to local Bahrainis or persons from other nationalities. In the first place, Bahrain does not have enough young men with a minimum of education and clerical or industrial training to fill these positions. Secondly, in view of British policy to tie Bahrain to India, it was only natural to look to it for the necessary labor supply. Furthermore, India could supply labor well trained by the British and used to their ways. Finally, Indian labor could be obtained at a lower rate than equally skilled labor from other countries.

The status of Indians is a rather peculiar one, for they live in a social zone all by themselves. They are resented by the native population and accepted only as subordinates by Westerners, with whom they would like to associate and with whom they would like to be classified. This is true especially of the clerical and professional group among them.

The causes of Bahraini resentment against them are psychological and economic in nature. In the first place, they constitute a community which is definitely foreign and makes a point of it, and in some respects looks down on the local population. This is especially the case among the white-collar workers.

Secondly, on the whole, the Indian community wields power far beyond its number. The people in Bahrain see Indians in government and business establishments and develop the feeling that they are being governed by them along with the British.

In the third place, clerical positions occupied by Indians and other for-

[12] *Census 1950*, p. 6.

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In the third place, clerical positions occupied by Indians and other foreigners are highly coveted by the high-school graduates of Bahrain. This must be understood within the context of traditional Arab respect for the scribe and the great power wielded until recent times by government employees: clerking represents a social position as well as a source of livelihood.

Finally, Indians are given privileges denied to Bahrainis. They are allowed, for instance, a monthly allotment of alcoholic beverages and certain public places are open to them and to Westerners only. The problem of alcohol is a delicate one in Bahrain. In accordance with Muslim law it is prohibited to all Muslims. Foreigners and non-Muslims, however, can obtain a monthly allotment at specified prices through a permit from the British Residency. The only two groups that can benefit from such an arrangement are the Westerners and the Indians, since most other foreigners are Muslims.

An example of the resentment felt against the Indian clerks may be seen in the following letter to the newspaper *al-Qafilah* from an indignant Bahraini criticizing the Post Office Department:

> I came to the post office window with a large number of greeting cards which I wanted to send to friends outside Bahrain. I inquired from the clerk whether there were any special rates? Snatching the cards from my hands, he gave me an answer in a strange language, the only part of which I understood was "three annas and a half."
>
> It is strange that this department continues to employ clerks who do not understand the language of the country. In this connection, I remember that a short time ago I sent my manservant with a piece of paper on which I had written in Arabic the quantity of stamps I wanted of each denomination. Shortly afterwards he came back very angry. He told me that the clerk threw him out of the building and ordered him to "tell [your master] to write in Indian, Persian, or English. . . . We are not Arabs." [12]

A factor which also has considerable effect on the attitude of the native toward foreigners is the development of the oil industry in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. In Saudi Arabia the political climate has been such that the native is truly master of his house. The moment the foreigner, and particularly the Westerner, steps on Saudi Arabian soil, government officials and civilians alike do not hesitate to remind him in a thousand ways that he is in an independent country, that he is only a temporary guest, and that his sojourn in the country depends on good behavior. The Arabian American Oil Company, as part of its public relations policy, cooperates with the government fully in this respect and it is a well-known fact that a number of its American employees have been sent home for minor infractions of the local law or for being in some way rude to the native inhabitants.

Bahrain is only a few miles away from Saudi Arabia. Stories of how

[12] *al-Qafilah*, January 2, 1953.

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609 foreigners are "kept in their place" there circulate by word of mouth — a method of communication highly developed in the Middle East — and exaggerated several times in the process. One of the central themes of the local Bahrain press is a comparison between Saudi Arabia and Bahrain in this respect. As is to be expected, this is causing a feeling of frustration among the natives and creating an atmosphere of restiveness and increasing antagonism toward foreigners.

In Kuwait a rather ambitious development program has been under way for several years, made possible by increasing oil royalties. There is an atmosphere of feverish activity, psychologically exaggerated because of its concentration in a small area. By contrast, life in Bahrain is slow and development sober but limited, in view of the comparatively small oil revenues. This causes some jealousy which finds an emotional outlet in an increasing suspicion of foreigners and increasing demands on the major companies, such as the Bahrain Petroleum Company, to do more for the country than they have been doing so far.

### *FOREIGN ARAB GROUPS*

563 167 463 A rather large number of foreign Arabs live in Bahrain. They can be divided into two main groups which in custom and social mores have little in common. The first group is composed of Arabs from Saudi Arabia, Oman, Muscat, Qatar, and Yemen. These people have always been part of the scene. They come and go as they have always done, with hardly any restriction on their movement. Many of them are related to people in [601] Bahrain by blood or marriage and are looked upon as "cousins," *awlad al-'amm*, a term which carries with it all the emotional overtones of the traditions of tribal life. Some of them are merchants; a large number, especially of those from Oman, Muscat, Qatar, and Yemen, are employed by the oil industry as common laborers, and others work with local industries. Their community life and standard of living do not vary a great deal from that of the local population; in fact they are hardly distinguishable from it.

The second group of foreign Arabs, made up of a small number of Egyptians, Syrians, Lebanese, Iraqis, and Palestinians, is comparatively new to the area. On the whole, their standard of living is probably higher than that of any other group with the exception of the Westerners. Few are engaged in trade; the majority are white-collar workers.

563 875 208 177 Although they are largely new arrivals, they already exert considerable influence on the life of the country. Unlike all other foreigners, they are genuinely welcomed and looked up to by the local population. They are the missionaries of Arab nationalism. Most of the high-school and a good number of the elementary-school teachers in Bahrain come from this group (see Table IV); in this key position, it can be truly said of them that they

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are the moulders of the new generation of Bahrainis. It is significant that all these teachers come from countries which have just emerged from British or French control.

## *TRENDS FOR THE FUTURE*

Social realignment among the Sunnis and the Shi'is must be thought of in terms of the distant future. It is true that secular and technical education, nationalism, and economic forces are all operating to bring these two groups together. As a result they have begun to cooperate with each other in certain areas of common interest as nonreligious groups; nevertheless, the old loyalties and social patterns are still strongly entrenched, as is very graphically illustrated by the religious riots of 1953 and 1954. It is even conceivable that when and if religion loses the depth of meaning it has at present to both groups, it may still remain as the basis of political alignment or power, as is the case in highly literate Lebanon.

Nationalism has replaced religious tradition as the basis of the relations of the Jews with the major segments of society. The resultant tension is being resolved through emigration, but a few will no doubt remain. All indications are that the political struggle between the Arabs and Israel will leave them little chance of reintegrating themselves on some new basis into society in Bahrain. It is possible, although highly improbable thanks to the presence of the British, that mass violence may be used against them. If this does take place, the problem in all likelihood will assume an international character. Israel, which has established itself as the protector and defender of Jewish minorities, no doubt would use every measure to dramatize the plight of this minority to the world.

The animosity of the native population toward Persians and Indians does not arise from fundamental issues of a permanent nature. There is, for instance, no parallel feeling toward Iran, India, or Pakistan; on the contrary, warm sympathy prevails for them as combatants against Western domination. Both the causes and the issues are transitory in character, and

*Table IV.* FOREIGN TEACHERS IN BAHRAIN

| *Year* | *Egypt* | *Syria* | *Lebanon* | *Palestine* | *Other Arab Countries* | *Other Nationalities* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1944/45 | 12 | 2 | 12 | — | — | 2 | 28 |
| 1945/46 | 10 | — | 13 | .. | 1 | 2 | 26 |
| 1946/47 | 13 | 9 | 12 | — | 1 | 2 | 37 |
| 1947/48 | 11 | 7 | 14 | — | 1 | 2 | 35 |
| 1948/49 | 22 | 6 | 14 | — | 1 | 3 | 46 |
| 1949/50 | 20 | 7 | 14 | 9 | 1 | 3 | 54 |
| 1950/51 | 9 | 9 | 15 | 10 | 1 | 3 | 47 |
| 1951/52 | 9 | 7 | 27 | 18 | 2 | 4 | 67 |

Source: Government of Bahrain, Dept. of Education, *Report on the Condition of Education in Bahrain* (Bahrain, 1952), p. 47. (In Arabic.)

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



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the course of development in Bahrain leaves no doubt that they will gradually be resolved. Bahrainis are receiving education at an increasing rate and are now gradually replacing these two foreign elements in clerical and intermediate positions. There will come a time when foreign labor is no longer needed. All foreign establishments in Bahrain, in response to local pressure, are now replacing foreign employees with Bahrainis, even if at the cost of some efficiency.

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Once the clerical and professional group becomes expendable, the major source of resentment will have been removed. Even if some Indians remain, the native Bahrainis will be able to compete with them on equal terms. In the case of the Persians, until the political issues primarily between the British and the Iranian governments concerning sovereignty over Bahrain are clarified, their position will stay the same.

What of the Westerners? It is my belief that the crisis is yet to come. Despite considerable talk, especially among the literate segment of the population, about exploitation, imperialism, and privileges, the Westerners' higher social status is accepted. The native population has been used for generations to think of them as a group with a special status over and above its own, and it will take some time before a mental reorientation is completed. In the second place, the native people fully realize that they need them. They may want to hate the foreign doctor but they need his medical skill; they may detest the oil company, but it supplies them with necessary royalties. The time, however, is drawing near when the problem will have to be faced. Negative nationalism and other political forces such as Communism (which at present has little influence in the Gulf) may force the issue prematurely if favorable circumstances arise.

65: Landshut S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2.

CHAPTER VIII

# THE JEWS IN THE ARABIAN PENINSULA

There are four Jewish minority groups living in the Arabian Peninsula: the small community in Bahrein, the Jews of the Hadhramaut, the Yemeni Jews, and the Jewish community in Aden. The last two groups have now been transferred in great numbers to Israel in the course of the so-called "Operation Magic Carpet" of 1948 and 1949. In both countries only a few remain. In Sa'udi Arabia there are no Jews.

## BAHREIN

The small Jewish community in Bahrein settled there in the late eighties of the last century, when the territory was already a British Protectorate. At the end of the year 1948 the entire community consisted of about 70 families—422 souls in all. Originating from different countries—mostly from Iraq, Persia, and India—the Bahrein Jews are engaged in commerce and handicrafts. Most of them appear to be in a position to earn more or less sufficient for their needs, while 10 families are said to be wealthy and 13 poor. There is one synagogue, where a member of the community holds services, but no school.

Until very recently the community lived a fairly peaceful life. In the sense that Jews have never been employed in the rather primitive public services, it could be said that by Western standards they do not enjoy equal rights with the Muslims. But, being engaged in trade, the Bahrein Jews do not feel this disability as much as might be supposed. More recently, however, the Balfour Declaration and the growing importance of the Palestine issue have gradually exacerbated relations. By the time the United Nations decided to partition Palestine, therefore, the community's original sense of security as a tolerated minority had been to some extent undermined. Also, according to some reports, the situation had been further worsened by the presence in Bahrein of outside agitators (presumably from Iraq), who are said to have played on the religious feelings of the Muslim populace. These reports claim that agitation of this kind was responsible for goading the Muslim population to hold a demonstration against Partition.

The usual results followed. Once the demonstrations had got under way, they were difficult to control; and on December 4, 1947, the populace had been worked up to a sufficient pitch of excitement to attack Jewish homes. Widespread looting took place and the synagogue was completely gutted. Fortunately, there was only one fatality, an aged Jewess being killed. A number of others were injured. These riots in Bahrein coincided with the far more serious outbreaks in Aleppo and Aden.

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Almost all the cultivators are Baharna or Hassawis, who are of the Shiite sect, descendants of Baharna who emigrated to Arabia. The Sunni Arabs do not work in the gardens. The people living in the villages which are scattered among the date gardens originally earned their livelihood entirely by working in the gardens; now many of them are employed by the oil company or in Manama. During the date picking season, which in many ways resembles the hop picking season in England, temporary villages of palm branch huts spring up among the date gardens when people from other parts of Bahrain come to pick the crop.

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The village people are the aboriginal inhabitants of the country and in the past they suffered much during the many invasions of Bahrain when their homes, gardens and water channels were destroyed and even in times of peace they were regarded as milch cows, whose wealth was extracted by their rulers. But in recent times their position has changed, they are more prosperous than they used to be and are on terms of equality with their neighbours.

## BOAT BUILDING

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It is claimed by some authorities on Middle Eastern history that the Phoenicians originated in Bahrain and sailed their craft up the Gulf, which then extended much farther northwards than it does today. and following the Euphrates to the point where the river is nearest to the Syrian coast, they landed and settled there. This may or may not be true but there is no doubt that the people of Bahrain have been sailors for at least as many centuries as the pearl industry has been in existence and their stitched boats not only sailed the Persian Gulf but entered the Indian Ocean.

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Most of Bahrain's boats were in former days employed as pearlers, and although the Kuwait shipyards built the largest craft it was natural that Bahrain, nearer the Indian source of timber and itself the centre of the pearling industry, should have its own yards. It should also be remembered that Kuwait is a comparatively modern town, having been founded early in the 18th century, before which date it did not attain importance as a harbour for north-east Arabia.

Today most of the boat building is carried on in Muharraq, although there are some yards at the western end of Manama. In former days, before iron nails were obtainable, Arab boats were not nailed but stitched together, with a giant needle and cord as thread, yet these boats of such fragile construction were able to weather the heaviest gales that swept the Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

In recent years launches have been made in greater numbers than sailing boats, so builders have inclined to specialise in the construction of those boats to which engines can best be fitted. For this reason many "jalibuts" have been built, they can be identified by their vertical bow and the straightness of the keel. The origin of this name is doubtful and many suggestions have been made to explain it. Possibly

are chairs, tables, window curtains, often framed pictures and photographs, and usually a gramophone; in the houses of the wealthier people there is often a wireless set. Coffee shops reflect the change in ways of living. They are important institutions in Bahrain and take the place of clubs or cafes in Europe. Each has its regular clientele, but the popularity of individual coffee shops varies according to fashion. Ten years ago, coffee shops were usually small shops inside the bazaar, furnished with a few rough benches, where little else than coffee could be obtained. To-day, most of the coffee shops are elaborately decorated and illuminated, provided with little tables and chairs, and a gramophone or a wireless set which plays loudly and incessantly, relaying Arabic programmes to the customers. Some of the coffee shops are divided into two parts: in one part only coffee and drinks are served, and in the other part regular meals can be obtained, including Indian and Persian dishes, bread, cakes and ices in the summer. Most of the proprietors are foreigners—Indians, Persians, and Iraqi, who are more enterprising in these matters than the local people. The bigger coffee shops are now referred to by the public as 'otels.'

**Games.** The popularity of games is another recent development during the last ten years. Before this, nobody played games except the men of the Levy Corps, who were made to do so, which was regarded as a peculiarity of the Commanding Officer. To-day, there are half-a-dozen local football teams and several hockey teams, who play against each other or against teams of sailors or Europeans from the Bahrain Petroleum Company. They play well, and are very keen, and every match attracts a large and interested audience from the town. Many of the parents of the young men who play disapprove of hockey and football, which they consider dangerous and unnecessary, chiefly because they did not play themselves when they were young. There is an entire lack of class distinction in these games: the sons of shaikhs play side-by-side with policemen, clerks, and taxi drivers. Although games have improved the physique of those who play them, the use of motor cars instead of horses or donkeys has caused a great many people to become soft and flabby. Sons of wealthy fathers, especially the young members of the Ruling Family, have entirely left off taking any exercise. They use a car to go a few yards; they never walk, and the only occasion on which they ride a horse is during marriage celebration or on public holidays, such as the annual accession celebrations.

**Class Changes.** The depression in the pearl trade and the recent improvement in the bazaars has caused an upheaval in financial positions, and with it a certain change in the political importance of classes. This change is gradually, though unwillingly, being appreciated by the Ruling Family. In the days when the pearl trade was flourishing, pearl merchants and nakhudas were the monied classes, and their money gave them great power, which they did not scruple to use for their own benefit. To-day, the men who used to be worth lacs of rupees are, in many cases, almost bankrupt, and petty traders, shop-keepers, and men who happen to own property in Manamah, are becoming the monied class. The old powerful pearl merchants were, in many cases, self-made men who started life as divers, but their wealth made them important and, though most of them could neither read or write, they were the people who mattered in Bahrain. Many of these men have lost all their influence because their money has gone. The class which is now becoming prosperous is more progressive, more mixed, and better educated, but as a community it does not hang together because, unlike the case of the pearl industry, its prosperity does not depend upon one trade alone. One of the serious disadvantages of the change is that the pearl industry provided work, during part of the year, for many thousands of men, but the people who are now making money provide little employment for the people. At present, about five thousand divers are working in the oil field. They are making a great deal more money than they would normally make from diving and, besides earning money, they are paying back their debts to the nakhudas by regular monthly instalments, so both parties are satisfied; but this employment is not permanent and, when present construction work at the oil field is finished, there will be a sudden increase in unemployment which will have to be dealt with by the Government.

**The Ruling Family.** The life and outlook of the members of the Ruling Family, with a few notable exceptions, has changed less than that of any other community. Although there is a great difference between the outlook of the older men and those who have grown up during the last ten years, the attitude of the family as a whole is

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



Over 61 percent of this population lives in the three towns of Manamah, Muharraq, and Hedd;[5] the rest, 38.5 percent, is scattered about in 90 villages and hamlets concentrated mostly in the northern and northeastern tip of the largest island. In the 9-year period between the two censuses the population had increased 22 percent, mainly in the three towns mentioned. The village population remained almost stationary (actually an absolute increase of 3.5 percent and a relative decrease of 5.5 percent). The concentration of increase in the towns can be explained by the better sanitary conditions existing there and the influx of foreigners. Evidently there was little local migration during this period from village to town, although in some cases it was found that villages had been deserted or greatly reduced in size.[6] It is interesting to note that the only population movement took place in some of the Arab Sunni villages.[7]

Tables I and III are in a certain sense misleading, for they give a false picture of homogeneity in the population (84 percent Bahrain subjects, 96 percent Muslims) that does not exist. Society in Bahrain is divided into several groupings, in most cases distinct and recognizable. Association with one group in many instances implies a certain occupational specialization, but the main forces that have determined social division are religion, tribal loyalties, and nationality.

### *THE SHI'IS AND THE SUNNIS*

The Muslim Arab population of Bahrain is divided into Shi'is and Sunnis, who in almost all cases never live in the same village. The Shi'is live in their own tightly-knit communities and do not intermix with the rest of the population to any considerable degree. Fighting — especially in the larger towns, when the two communities do come into contact — frequently breaks out between the two groups, necessitating the intervention of the police and even the British navy.[8] A recent index of the feeling between the two groups is the fact that for the last several years there has been no municipal council for the capital city, Manamah, for the simple reason that no agreement could be reached on the number of seats to be allotted each of the two Muslim groups.

Aside from the small minority of Persians, the Shi'is are all Baharnah. There is no agreement as to the ethnic origin of these people; however, they now speak Arabic and are regarded as Arabs. They are the oldest group among the present inhabitants of the shaykhdom and have been subjected through the centuries to successive conquests, so that altho gh at present they equal or exceed the Sunnis in number — as the 1941 census

[5] See Table II.
[6] *Census 1950*, p. 6.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[8] Abbas Farooghy, *The Bahrain Islands* (New York, 1951), p. 99.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



indicates — they constitute the poorer and lower classes of society and manifest all the markings of a minority group. Until recently they lived hardly above the servile state, their occupational specialization being exclusively the cultivation of the soil and other menial labor. The arrival of the British, which has assured them some security in person and a guarantee of minimum rights, and the development of the oil industry, which has opened possibilities of alternative employment, have had the effect of gradually raising these people from their status as second-class citizens.

The Sunnis act as the majority group. This has been especially true since a Sunni tribe established its political dominance over the islands in the 18th century. The Sunnis present a common front toward other groups; among themselves, however, they are divided into several communities and tribes. The largest Sunni community is the Huwalah. Its members are townsmen living by trade; and as townsmen everywhere, they do not manifest marked feelings of solidarity. They can perhaps be regarded as the nucleus of a future middle class.

The Utab, if not the largest Sunni tribe, is the most influential. This is due to the fact that the Khalifah family, one of its sub-tribes, has ruled the islands without serious interruption for almost 200 years. Every member of the Khalifah family has the title of "shaykh." Along with the privileges and prestige he enjoys as a result of his position, he has certain obligations and restrictions on his conduct and manner of life. For instance, in recent years many Bahrain subjects, especially among the younger city population, have taken to wearing European dress. No member of the ruling family may do so.

The two other Sunni tribes of any importance are the Sadah and the Dawasir, the first because of its alleged sacred origin, the second because of its comparative wealth.*

Unlike the Shi'is, the Sunnis are relatively mobile. They depend for their livelihood on trade, pearling, fishing, and more recently on employment in the oil industry. Boat building also used to be a fairly important industry. It is very seldom that a Sunni is found engaged in agriculture as a life occupation except as a landowner.

As has been shown, among the two main native elements social division and social tensions rest on religious foundations. Religious affiliation determines to a considerable degree the social and economic position of the individual. When mass violence breaks out it has so far been in terms of Shi'is and Sunnis, never in terms of economic groups.

An interesting development in recent years is the stress of the dominant

* Most of the Dawasir returned in anger to the Arabian mainland in the early 1920's, soon after Shaykh Hamad, whom they disliked, assumed control. For the story of their return see Government of Bahrain, *Administrative Report for the Years 1926-1937* (Bahrain, 1937), pp. 8–9.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



An interesting development in recent years is the stress of the dominant
186 group, the Sunnis, on the unity and brotherhood of all Muslims and Arabs.
659 In 1950, when the second census was made, it was planned to count the two groups separately. This proposal, however, was construed as a British scheme to divide the Muslims and set them against each other. Strong objections were made by both groups, but primarily by the Sunnis, to the government and consequently this aspect of the census was abandoned. No such objections were raised during the census only nine years earlier.

186 Two factors can perhaps account for this rather nascent stress on unity: emerging nationalism and new economic forces. The conception of nationality is a Western contribution and a new arrival in the Persian Gulf. In Bahrain it is still a vague idea and certainly has not replaced to any degree the existing loyalties. It manifests itself in two ways: first, negatively in a desire to expel the foreigner (this has considerable appeal: it is concrete, intellectually easy to grasp, can be used as a rallying cry, and above all does not conflict with established social patterns); and second, positively, in a confused ideal of a pan-Arab, pan-Islamic union. No clear distinction is drawn between the two last concepts and the terms are used interchangeably. It must be admitted, however, that the pan-Arab aspect of the ideal predominates. This new spirit of nationalism has had the effect of creating a greater emphasis on unity among the native population. Furthermore, through this intellectual device the two groups can now present a common front against foreigners to protect their rights and interests, whether real or imaginary.

565 The new economic force for unity is the oil industry. On the surface
178 things seem as they have always been. In fact a change, subtle and hard
464 to detect, has taken place. The oil industry, as indicated previously, has
186 opened the doors of employment to the Shi'is. This has resulted in bettering slightly their economic condition and consequently their relative status vis-à-vis other groups. Furthermore, such employment has meant that they are no longer restricted to agriculture. They can now sell their labor and skills as everyone else in a wider and more favorable market. On the job at the company installations, Shi'i and Sunni are brought together as laborers or artisans and placed on the same footing. For the first time in their history it has become possible for individuals from both groups to collaborate in certain areas of action, not as Shi'is or Sunnis, but as members of an economic group.

### *THE JEWS*

162 A third native religious group is the small Jewish minority comprising
563 about 250 persons. Its members are well known for their industry, their
463 higher standard of living, their higher rate of education, and their amenability to Western influences. They are exclusively engaged in trade and money changing.

A three day holiday follows Ramadan, Eid al-Fitr, during which there are great celebrations and much visiting of neighbours to wish them "Eid-Kum Mubarak" (Happy Holiday), the answer to which is "Aadana Allah Ala Amthaleh." On the Eid the Ruler receives visitors at the Palace. The Eid is particularly colourful owing to the bright new clothes which are worn by the children. The boys wear new white thobes and bright-coloured silk caps and the girls proudly appear in gold-decorated dresses. In many cases small boys go calling with their parents, eagerly clutching handfuls of sweets as they leave their various hosts. Local bands, composed of the negro inhabitants of Bahrain, pass through the streets of the towns and villages playing tunes on their locally made instruments. These include many types of drums, flutes, lutes and a local form of bagpipe made from the stomach of a sheep. As the bands of players go from house to house they are tipped by the owners, who often, if they are wealthy, provide a meal for the musicians.

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NEW YEAR'S DAY

It is the custom in Bahrain on New Year's Day of the Christian Calendar for groups of Bahrainis of African origin to form into bands and go playing through the streets of Manama. These men, who to day are the same as all other Bahrainis, are descended from freed slaves or were themselves slaves who escaped to Bahrain and were manumitted. In gratitude for their freedom they thus celebrate New Year's Day. They play first at H.B.M.'s Political Agency and the Adviserate and on leaving these places they split up into smaller parties to serenade their friends. Around Bahrain flags, borne by the leaders of the musicians, these people, both men and women, dance steps and play the music which was brought many centuries ago to Bahrain by their African ancestors. In the music to which they dance the rhythm of the drum plays an important part, but to a European it may seem strange that the drummers frequently leave off playing whenever they feel tired, or if they want to talk to a friend or drink a cup of tea or coffee, and when the distraction is over they again join the band.

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It has occasionally been stated in newspapers and even recently in a book on Bahrain by some one who should know better that slavery still exists not only in the Persian Gulf but also in Bahrain. The celebrations of these Bahrainis at their freedom are proof enough that in Bahrain at least slavery is a thing of the past.

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THE HAJJ

The Hajj is the annual pilgrimage to Mecca which, according to his religion, every Moslem who is able to do so must perform once at least during his lifetime. The pilgrimage takes place during the month of Dhul Hajj. The pilgrims, many of whom have reached Mecca by most hazardous routes, wearing the two white unseamed garments that are mandatory, perform the various rites of the ceremony which includes the circumambulation of the Kaaba, pilgrimages and visits

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5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East



less than that, but their attitude of listlessness and indifference has tended to pull all the rest down to their level. Just why slavery never took root in Bahrein, why the Arabs there never bought slaves to do their diving, is difficult to see. It seems such an easy way to get rich. One reason why Bahrein is a much stronger community financially now than its southern competitor is the fact that slaves have never been brought in to any large extent.

It is a great temptation, this opportunity to have one's work done by slaves, and nothing could seem to offer greater profits. The slaves have no rights. They can be punished if they show less diligence than their owner thinks adequate. They receive no wages at all, only such food and clothing as their master sees fit to give them. Arabs are not the only people that have been deceived by this fallacy. We believed it ourselves a hundred years ago. It has been a disastrous policy from every standpoint. Nothing could exceed the indifference and laziness of the average slave under such conditions. The money spent on food and clothing for these slaves brings a smaller return in service rendered than any wages paid in Arabia. Of that much any one is sure who has watched them work, or rather has watched their very successful efforts to avoid doing any work. Prostitution is commoner on that coast than in any other eastern Arabian community. Slave women are the toys of any man who buys them, and what the Pirate Coast sowed in its treatment of helpless women slaves, it is reaping in an atmosphere of degradation that envelops the entire community from the lowest to the highest.

As passive resisters these slaves are superb. I have seen one of them, disgruntled by some mistreatment or insult, simply lie down on the job and no expostulation

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701 625 suit them, they spoke no Arabic, and were regarded by the people of Bahrain as expensive foreign mercenaries; they were useless at ordinary police work, and the Indian Officers and N.C.O.'s caused constant trouble by incessant quarrels and intrigues. The Indians were enlisted for four years, but before this period had expired I began to enlist a force of local men as police, a project which I always strongly advocated. It was from this time that the present force was started, but the final transition was not completed until the end of 1932.

574 362 684 **Crime and Prostitution.** The number of serious crimes which are committed every year in Bahrain is small in comparison to the population, which is thought to be about 150,000. Usually about one or two cases of murder are dealt with by the police during the year, but it is possible that occasional murders take place which are not detected; especially murders of women and newly born children. Although in recent years Bahrain has progressed in many ways, there are still a number of Arabs living in Hedd and Muharraq who consider that they are justified in murdering their female relations if the women bring shame on the family. A few of the very old-fashioned Arabs even consider that because the Government does not ignore such murders it is encouraging immorality. The Kadis, however, although ultra conservative in their outlook, disapprove of men taking the law into their own hands and murdering women who misbehave. In some Arab countries the fear of punishment by death for immorality [62] has a very salutary effect, but Bahrain, although described as an Arab state, has very little in common with real Arab countries. The Baharna, who form about three quarters of the population, are not true Arabs, and the rest of the population includes all the nationalities who live around the Gulf. The only real Arabs in Bahrain are the Khalifah and a few families who came over with them from the mainland and a small number of members of mainland tribes who live almost entirely in Hedd, Muharraq, Budeya, and two or three small villages on the south coast.

[548] Immorality is undoubtedly increasing, but the increase in prostitution is not due to the [164] Government but is a matter of supply and demand. During the last two years numbers of foreigners earning good pay have come to Bahrain, usually without their families, from Persia, Iraq, and India, and this has undoubtedly caused an increase in prostitution. Venereal disease is rampant, and the proportion of persons suffering from it, especially in ophthalmic forms, is very high. The medical supervision of prostitutes would undoubtedly result in an improvement in the public health. This suggestion was discussed and approved by the Manamah Municipal Council some years ago, but it has not yet been possible to arrange the medical organisation to cope with this matter.

674 681 Most of the criminal cases which are dealt with by the police are cases of theft, assault, and immorality. Several important gangs of thieves have been rounded up during the last ten years. Some of these gangs were well provided with arms and had regular methods of disposing of stolen property in Bahrain or on the mainland. Foreigners, especially Hassawis, form the majority of the criminals. There are a number of inveterate thieves who spend the greater part of their lives in prison. Such persons, on the mainland, would be punished by cutting off of their hands and finally by decapitation. The punishments inflicted by the Bahrain courts are whippings, fines, and imprisonment, but imprisonment to many of these people is no hardship: the work is not hard, they are given better food than they would obtain themselves, and the only real punishment is being deprived of women.

273 276 **Drugs and Liquor.** Liquor and drugs, such as opium, are forbidden in Bahrain, but in spite of the severe penalties which are enforced by the Bahrain courts against persons contravening the liquor regulations, the habit of drinking liquor and smoking opium is, in my opinion, steadily increasing. Ten years ago very few people drank liquor, and the smoking of opium was entirely confined to foreigners, Persians, Indians, and Baluchis. To-day many of the younger Arabs have acquired a liking for spirits, partly because they have had opportunities for drinking while travelling abroad, and frequent cases have occurred in which Arabs have been found to be taking opium.

276 439 Opium is smuggled into Bahrain from Persia, usually in native crafts, but sometimes hidden in merchandise on the mail steamers. It varies in quality, most frequently it is in large lumps weighing four or five pounds, but sometimes it is in paper-covered sticks sealed up in bundles. It is very

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# Part IV.—USEFUL INFORMATION.

## CHAPTER I

## RECREATIONS

### CINEMAS

546 THERE are in Bahrain a number of cinemas, both public and private, which show films in various languages, English, Arabic, Hindustani and occasionally French and Italian. The Bahrain Petroleum Company, through the medium of the BAPCO Club, has an open-air cinema and theatre at Awali, at the former there are nightly (except Sunday) performances of comparatively recent American and British films, the programmes changing twice a week. There is also under construction a large air-conditioned cinema and theatre to which there will be an entrance fee and which will not be restricted to the European employees of BAPCO but will also be open to the general public.

The five cinemas in Manama, the Awal, the Ahli, the Bahrain and the National in Qudabiya and the Pearl Cinema on Government Road near the Government Hospital, the Muharraq Cinema, although they show a majority of Arabic films, often have English language films and usually there are two such films running every evening in Manama and Muharraq. Details of the performances are obtainable by phoning the cinemas and it is usually possible for those interested to have cinema notices sent to them as they appear.

Of the cinemas in Manama and Muharraq, five are especially pleasant in the summer, for they are open-roofed and are consequently very cool. One cinema has two open-air performances every day in the summer and in the winter an indoors performance; the sixth is air-conditioned.

536 There is no Bahrain theatre but there are a number of amateur dramatic clubs who give public shows from time to time.

### CLUBS

575 *The Bahrain Club* (*Nadi al-Bahrain*). This is an Arab club in Muharraq with some 300 members and was founded in 1937 for cultural, social and sporting aims. The club has its own library with a large number of Arabic and English books and the latest newspapers and magazines. The members of the club are most interested in Arabic literature and have staged a number of plays. With the proceeds from the plays and with contributions from local merchants the club has been able to purchase its own buildings. Members of the club organize basket-ball and volley ball teams and also play a number of indoor sports.

The present premises of the club are to the north of Muharraq town, but they have become too small for the number of members and there are plans for the sale of the club buildings and the future construction of new and larger premises elsewhere in Muharraq. 575

*Al-Ahli Club.* This is the largest Arab club in Manama, it was founded in 1938 and to-day has a membership of 285, which figure is rapidly increasing. The club has much the same aims as the one described above. It has a library and reading room and from time to time members and visitors deliver talks and lectures. The Club has recently moved to its new premises on Daly Road in Quadabiya. The central hall of the club has a stage for theatricals and public lectures and it is proposed to build two tennis courts in the grounds of the club. The club also has an excellent football team which usually does well in inter-Bahrain and foreign matches.

*Khalifah Eslah Club.* The second of the two Muharraq clubs, the Khalifah Eslah Club, has 150 members. Formerly housed in a building in the centre of the town, at the time of writing the club is raising funds for a new building on the Muharraq Sea Road.

This club was also founded for cultural purposes and much of its activity is connected with intellectual pursuits. At monthly meetings members of the club deliver lectures on various topics and there is a committee which encourages such activities. The club itself is administered by an elected committee which holds fortnightly meetings at which matters of interest to the club are discussed and members' proposals considered. From time to time the club produces plays which are well attended by the general public. It does not, however, take part in any sports.

*BAPCO Club.* The membership of BAPCO Club, with the exception of some 80 outside members from Manama, amounts to 1100 European and American employees of BAPCO and 400 wives and 350 children, the latter two groups being honorary members. The Club with its manifold activities is organised by the Oil Company for the entertainment of its employees during their leisure hours. Among the sports played under the auspices of the Club are cricket, association football, golf, hockey, squash, and tennis, as well as rifle shooting, archery and riding. Some of these activities are organised by separate clubs but they are all dependent upon BAPCO for financial aid and are, therefore, part of the BAPCO Club. There is also in Awali an amateur dramatic society, a library and billiards rooms. 466 575

Every Thursday evening there is a dance at the club, once a month this is formal ; also in the winter there are old-time dances which are particularly well attended.

*The Pakistan Club.* As its name implies, the majority of the members of this club are Pakistanis, but its 200 members also include many other 575

575 nationalities. The Club does valuable service in providing entertainment for some of the Pakistanis in Bahrain, it organises various sports, including volley-ball, cricket, football and physical exercises as well as indoor games. Once or twice a month the Club holds Housey sessions which are well attended by members and visitors. Also very useful in Bahrain, where there is a shortage of public libraries, is this Club's library, which as well as being supplied with books is provided with the latest newspapers and magazines.

*Bahrain Sports Club.* This Club was founded in 1918 under the patronage of H.H. the Ruler of Bahrain and other local notables. Its aim is to provide recreational and social amenities, which include a library, for its 250 members, most of whom are Indian nationals.

The Club premises are situated in Quadibiya, on Belgrave Road, and include the main club buildings, two tennis courts and an indoor badminton court. There are also two table-tennis tables and facilities for chess, bridge, etc. The Club's major activity is cricket, in which it excels, having won the Championship Shield of the Bahrain Cricket Association for the three years 1950-52. Tennis and badminton tournaments are also held every year for cups donated by the Bahrain Petroleum Company and by other Bahrain firms. Once a month there is a tombola evening to which the general public is admitted.

The Club is managed by a committee of seven members who are elected every January.

The membership fee to the Club is *Rs.*3 per month, members also pay *Rs.*7 per month for the use of the tennis courts, *Rs.*3 per month for the use of the badminton court and a library deposit of *Rs.*5.

*Gymkhana Club.* This Club, which has been in existence for some years, is for the benefit of the British and American inhabitants of Manama, although there are also some members in Awali and Muharraq. The Club premises, attractively surrounded by gardens, are to the south of the Racecourse and include, in addition to the Club building itself, a swimming bath, tennis courts and a patio where dances are frequently held.

Applications for membership to the Club should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, the Gymkhana Club.

There are other clubs in Bahrain, The Ferdousi and Gulistan Clubs, the Aruba in Manama, the Nahada in Hedd and clubs in some of the villages, but these are not likely to be of interest to visitors to Bahrain as their activities are more specialised.

## SPORTS

526 575 *Sailing.* Sailing is a pleasant relaxation which, in Bahrain, can be enjoyed all the year round. The recently formed Royal Air Force Sailing Club is actively promoting interest in sailing and dinghy racing

among residents of Bahrain and is filling a long-felt want for an organised centre for the small boat enthusiast. The R.A.F. Club was started in July 1951 mainly to provide a form of recreation for members of the R.A.F. stationed in Bahrain, but later it was found that many of the Britishers and Americans resident in Bahrain were interested in sailing so it was decided to admit fifty civilian members. In August 1952 the membership of the club numbered eighty.

The Club premises are open daily from noon to 8 p.m. except Fridays and Sundays when they open at 10 a.m. Races are held every week-end and there is a Club Day on the first Friday of each month. At the time of writing there are twelve sailing boats and numerous other craft at the Club, of the sailing boats, four are the property of the club, three loaned to it and the remainder are privately owned. There are also half-a-dozen dinghies, including four 14-foot "G.P. Dinghies" designed by Jack Holt—a class which it is planned to develop and also to encourage among private owner members. Helmsmanship is taught and tests must be passed before members are permitted to take out club boats. Sailing matches are arranged from time to time with the sailing club at Qatar.

The Club buildings are ideally situated in what used to be the B.O.A.C. Marine Airport. The premises are at the end of a short jetty which extends into the sea from a point of the shore of Manama in Quadaliya, and the areas protected from the full strength of the north-west and north winds by the mainland of Bahrain. The Khor Khaliya, the bay to the east of the Club, provides pleasant and safe water for races and the training of beginners. For qualified helmsmen who know these reef-ridden coastal waters there are many sailing excursions round the coast and to nearby islands.

The entrance fee to the R.A.F. Sailing Club for civilian members is 25 rupees with a monthly subscription of 10 rupees, the subscription for officers is *Rs.*5 and for airmen, *Rs.*3. Wives and families of members are included, paying no fees and having no voting rights.

Enquiries about membership of the Club, for which there is a long waiting list, should be made to the Hon. Secretary on forms supplied by him.

*Fishing*. "A S-T-R-I-K-E—Turn the boat!"; a pause, and then that triumphant warning scream from the reel which is music to all fishermen—"He's on." In Bahrain "he" may be a 7-lb. "Chanad" or a 40-lb Barracuda—they will both take the same 6-inch Wilson spoon or Stewart "wobbler."

The most popular method of fishing is Trolling, from any motor driven boat which can maintain a trolling speed of about 3-4 knots. A variety of rods are used—from light to heavy—and the humble hand-line is just as effective, although obviously not so much sport. Nickelled spoons, feather jigs and natural bait are the usual lures used for trolling. The best natural bait is a small gar-fish ("silts" in Arabic)

orginize the secondary school system. The teachers received from £25 to £30 a month and "bed and board" paid by the Bahrein government. Interestingly enough, the first director of the first school opened at Muharraq was the present Saudi Arabian Minister to London, Sheik Hafiz Wahba.

At present, there is no newspaper in Bahrein. A weekly newspaper, Al Bahrein, was founded in 1939, but ceased its publication after the death of its publisher, Abdallah Za-id. In 1940 a broadcasting station was built, and the Al-Bahrein Radio started short-wave broadcasts on a 23-m, 50 band on November 4. During the war, Radio Bahrein was most useful to the Allied cause, since its four daily news broadcasts in Arabic and Persian were heard more easily throughout the Near East than those of Egypt.

Besides the schools, two "circles" for the discussion of political and literary matters were established in 1935 under the patronage of the brother of the Sheik. There was already a Cercle Israelite in the island.

## ECONOMY

The geographical features and the geological formation of the islands greatly reduce the economic value of Bahrein. The scarcity of water and the sandy nature of the soil exclude agricultural development. The application of modern methods of agriculture and the utilization of artesian wells and gasoline operated pumps are too recent and too inadequate to make Bahrein even partially independent of imported food. For many years to come, and probably forever, the islands will be dependent on food, meat, vegetables, and fruits brought chiefly from the Persian or Arabian mainland.

Fortunately, in most of the islands of the Persian Gulf and the surrounding regions, wherever water is found naturally or capured artificially, date palms grow with astonishing ease. The northern part of Bahrein Island, thanks to natural springs and more recently to artesian wells, is practically a string of oases with palm groves numbering several hundred thousands.

## REVIEW OF 1372

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The two most important events during the year were the conclusion of a new oil agreement between the Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company and His Highness Shaikh Sulman's first visit to Europe to attend the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth.

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The new oil agreement was on a 50—50 basis on the same lines as other agreements which have recently been made between governments and oil companies in the Middle East, it also provided for a payment to the State on oil imported into Bahrain for refining. As a result of this agreement the total revenue for the year under review was 373½ lakhs of rupees, approximately £2,800,000, though the new scale of payments was not in operation throughout the whole of 1372.

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Expenditure was higher than in 1371. Excluding the one third of the oil revenue, which is paid to the Privy Purse, 48 per cent. of the State's expenditure was on social and public services; Education, Public Health, Public Protection and grants to Municipalities absorbed 18½ per cent., 15-3/8 per cent., 10-4/5 per cent., and 3 per cent. respectively, including capital expenditure on new schools, dispensaries and police quarters. The demand for more schools and hospitals is continuous and insistent but few Bahrain people realise the heavy recurrent cost of medical and education services which can be maintained on the present scale only as long as the present revenue continues.

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Trade flourished and the revenue from customs was higher than in the previous year; during recent years customs collections have risen annually. Local prosperity was apparent from what might be described as a building boom. Many new houses and shops were built in the towns and suburbs by private enterprise. The type of house varied from European style bungalows and blocks of flats, built by merchants and shaikhs for letting, to small stone houses which are gradually replacing barastis, palm branch huts. Several serious fires in barasti areas, which destroyed many dwellings, gave an impetus to building. Working men who owned pieces of ground built small houses and the Government received hundreds of applications from people who wished to buy building plots. Unfortunately the Government owns very little land in and around the towns, much of it having been given away or sold cheaply many years ago.

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The standard of living in Bahrain is very much higher than it was a few years ago and the health of the people is noticeably better than it used to be. For these reasons and owing to a steady influx of foreigners, mostly from Oman and the Trucial Coast, who come to Bahrain to work, it is believed that there has been a substantial increase in the population which at the time of the last census, in 1950, was found to be 110,000.

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The state of public security was good in spite of the presence of large a number of foreigners who are not as naturally law abiding as the people of Bahrain. There were no political or labour disturbances.

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Relations with Qatar deteriorated owing to incidents connected with the visit of a party of Bahrain schoolboys and school teachers to Zubara during the Spring holiday. The commercial development of Qatar tended to reduce Bahrain's transit trade and deprived some of the Bahrain merchants of agencies which used to include both Bahrain and Qatar. Relations with Saudi Arabia and Iraq were friendly, a deputation headed by Shaikh Isa bin Sulman, His Highness's eldest son, represented Bahrain at the coronation of King Faisal in Baghdad.

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# SOCIAL CLASSES AND TENSIONS IN BAHRAIN

*Fahim I. Qubain*

(See map, facing p. 239.)

ONE OF THE more interesting principalities in the Persian Gulf is the tiny island shaykhdom of Bahrain. Its geographical location, its maritime commerce, and its ancient pearl industry have all combined to create a multi-group society of its small population of about 110,000. On the whole, the country is well and efficiently governed, the various groups in the population have by generations of experience learned to tolerate each other, and crime in the Western sense of the word is almost nonexistent. At the same time, latent tensions exist that can be exploited if the proper circumstances arise. For instance, riots broke out between the Sunnis and the Shi'is during Muharram in September 1953. It took the use of the whole police force and the imposition of a curfew to bring peace back to the country.[1] In July of the following year, when some Shi'is were convicted for being involved in a fight with Sunnis, the whole Shi'i sect staged a demonstration, conducted an attack on a police post during which four Shi'is were killed, and finally all Shi'i workers went on strike.[2] Six months later, in December 1954, another general strike took place in support of demands made to the government for certain reforms which had already been promised by the ruler.[3] We propose, in this article, to examine the nature of these tensions and to evaluate their seriousness for the future.

## *POPULATION BREAKDOWN AND DISTRIBUTION*

Until 1941 only estimates existed regarding the population of the Bahrain cluster of islands. In that year, the government, primarily for food control purposes, conducted the first census in the history of the islands; in 1950 a second census was taken. At that time the population was 109,650.[4] (See Tables I, II, and III.)

[1] Government of Bahrain, *Official Gazette*, September 24, 1953, p. 3.
[2] *Times* (London), July 13, 1954, p. 7.
[3] *Ibid.*, December 6, 1954, p. 7.
[4] Government of Bahrain, *Census 1950* (Bahrain, 1950).

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Over 61 percent of this population lives in the three towns of Manamah, Muharraq, and Hedd;[5] the rest, 38.5 percent, is scattered about in 90 villages and hamlets concentrated mostly in the northern and northeastern tip of the largest island. In the 9-year period between the two censuses the population had increased 22 percent, mainly in the three towns mentioned. The village population remained almost stationary (actually an absolute increase of 3.5 percent and a relative decrease of 5.5 percent). The concentration of increase in the towns can be explained by the better sanitary conditions existing there and the influx of foreigners. Evidently there was little local migration during this period from village to town, although in some cases it was found that villages had been deserted or greatly reduced in size.[6] It is interesting to note that the only population movement took place in some of the Arab Sunni villages.[7]

Tables I and III are in a certain sense misleading, for they give a false picture of homogeneity in the population (84 percent Bahrain subjects, 96 percent Muslims) that does not exist. Society in Bahrain is divided into several groupings, in most cases distinct and recognizable. Association with one group in many instances implies a certain occupational specialization, but the main forces that have determined social division are religion, tribal loyalties, and nationality.

## *THE SHI'IS AND THE SUNNIS*

The Muslim Arab population of Bahrain is divided into Shi'is and Sunnis, who in almost all cases never live in the same village. The Shi'is live in their own tightly-knit communities and do not intermix with the rest of the population to any considerable degree. Fighting — especially in the larger towns, when the two communities do come into contact — frequently breaks out between the two groups, necessitating the intervention of the police and even the British navy.[8] A recent index of the feeling between the two groups is the fact that for the last several years there has been no municipal council for the capital city, Manamah, for the simple reason that no agreement could be reached on the number of seats to be allotted each of the two Muslim groups.

Aside from the small minority of Persians, the Shi'is are all Baharnah. There is no agreement as to the ethnic origin of these people; however, they now speak Arabic and are regarded as Arabs. They are the oldest group among the present inhabitants of the shaykhdom and have been subjected through the centuries to successive conquests, so that although at present they equal or exceed the Sunnis in number — as the 1941 census

[5] See Table II.
[6] *Census 1950*, p. 6.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[8] Albert Farroughly, *The Bahrain Islands* (New York, 1951), p. 99.

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indicates — they constitute the poorer and lower classes of society and manifest all the markings of a minority group. Until recently they lived hardly above the sevile state, their occupational specialization being exclusively the cultivation of the soil and other menial labor. The arrival of the British, which has assured them some security in person and a guarantee of minimum rights, and the development of the oil industry, which has opened possibilities of alternative employment, have had the effect of gradually raising these people from their status as second-class citizens.

The Sunnis act asthe majority group. This has been especially true since a Sunni tribe established its political dominance over the islands in the 18th century. The Sunnis present a common front toward other groups; among themselves, however, they are divided into several communities and tribes. The largest Sunni community is the Huwalah. Its members are townsmen living by trade; and as townsmen everywhere, they do not manifest marked feelings of solidarity. They can perhaps be regarded as the nucleus of a future middle class.

The Utab, if not he largest Sunni tribe, is the most influential. This is due to the fact that he Khalifah family, one of its sub-tribes, has ruled the islands without serious interruption for almost 200 years. Every member of the Khalifah family has the title of "shaykh." Along with the privileges and prestige he enjoys as a result of his position, he has certain obligations and restrictions on his conduct and manner of life. For instance, in recent years many Bahrain subjects, especially among the younger city population, have taken to wearing European dress. No member of the ruling family may do so.

The two other Sunni tribes of any importance are the Sadah and the Dawasir, the first because of its alleged sacred origin, the second because of its comparative wealth.*

Unlike the Shi'is, the Sunnis are relatively mobile. They depend for their livelihood on trade, pearling, fishing, and more recently on employment in the oil industry. Boat building also used to be a fairly important industry. It is very seldom that a Sunni is found engaged in agriculture as a life occupation except as a landowner.

As has been shown among the two main native elements social division and social tensions rest on religious foundations. Religious affiliation determines to a considerable degree the social and economic position of the individual. When mass violence breaks out it has so far been in terms of Shi'is and Sunnis, never in terms of economic groups.

An interesting development in recent years is the stress of the dominant

* Most of the Dawasir reurned in anger to the Arabian mainland in the early 1920's, soon after Shaykh Hamad, whom they disliked, assumed control. For the story of their return see Government of Bahrain, *Administrative Report for the Years 1926–1937* (Bahrain, 1937), pp. 8–9.

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The Jews have lived in the country in comparative peace and security for centuries. Their position was clear and definite. As non-Muslims they were outside the pale of the law and could not participate fully in the life of the community; but as "People of the Book" they were a *dhimma*, a protected community. In civil matters they enjoyed the same legal rights as all other Bahrain subjects. Here again social lines of demarcation were drawn on a religious basis.

With the appearance of the Palestine problem the position of this small minority became progressively more precarious. Today the Jews are socially ostracized and economically boycotted, and there have been instances where physical violence has been employed against them. The local press of Bahrain is replete with references to Bahraini Jews, the Jews in general, and to Israel. Such references include, among other things, threats to publish the names of those who associate with Jews in Bahrain or buy from them, references to the United Nations as a Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world, and editorial protests to the government against allowing allegedly Israeli airlines to land in Bahrain, or against radio-communications with Israel.[10]

The government of Bahrain has no official policy of enmity toward Israel as have the other Arab states. Commercial traffic is not prohibited with Israel or with the Jews as a whole, but in practice it is virtually so. This boycott is due in part to social pressure and in part to the fact that a large part of the goods imported into Bahrain is re-exported to Saudi Arabia, a country which has strict regulations against traffic with Jews.

Owing to their present position, the Jews are the only native community whose interests and aspirations are at complete variance with those of the native population. It is a matter of public knowledge that many of them have either left or are in the process of leaving the country to start a new life in Israel, the United States, or Europe.

### *THE PERSIANS AND THE INDIANS*

The two major foreign elements in the country are the Persians and the Indians.[11] Their social status and relations with the native population are determined primarily by psychological, political, and economic factors rather than by religion or tribal loyalties.

The Persians are the largest foreign group, but it should be noted that they are foreigners in the legal and political sense only, for they are as much a part of the scene as the legal citizens of the country. Iran has had a long and checkered association with the islands going back to pre-Islamic times. At one period, the islands were directly controlled by it, and as late

[10] See any number of *al-Qafilah*, a weekly newspaper, or *Sawt al-Bahrain*, a monthly magazine. Both are published in Bahrain in Arabic.

[11] As used in this paper, the term "Indians" includes Indians, Pakistanis, Anglo-Indians, and Goanese.

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as the 19th century even the British recognized that Iran had some rights in Bahrain. The Iranian government has never relinquished its claims to the islands, a fact which has had a direct bearing on the position of the Persian community.

Under these favorable circumstances, Persians have been able until recently to move in and out of Bahrain without hindrance or restriction. Over the centuries a prosperous community developed, made up mostly of merchants, so that today some of the wealthiest inhabitants of Manamah are Persians. Generally speaking, this community is more enterprising, better educated, and has a higher standard of living than the local inhabitants of the land. But although the Persians grew prosperous and acquired property in houses and some land, their hearts were never in Bahrain — they were across the Gulf in the mother country. Bahrain is regarded by the Persians as an outpost for commercial activity but not for permanent settlement.

The Persians are resented by both the Arab inhabitants and the British. They are resented by the Arabs because they constitute a foreign community which is somewhat aloof from the rest of the population; in part, also, because of envy of their general prosperity and because they are regarded as interlopers who are taking the wealth of the country away. Two other serious objections to them are that they are Shi'is by religion and tend to look toward Iran rather than the Arab world for political association.

As for the British, they resent them for numerous reasons. In almost every way they constitute a threat, minor and insignificant though it may be, to the consolidation of their position in the shaykhdom. This is especially true since Bahrain has become the chief base for British naval, air, and political activity in the Persian Gulf. Specifically, the British resent the Persian community because it has always opposed what it regards as the "Indianization" policies of the British in Bahrain. It has played the double role of an opposition party and a fifth column. The recent difficulties of the British government and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Iran brought the problem of Anglo-Iranian relations to a sharp focus. The situation has constituted a threat to British prestige in the Gulf. In Bahrain Mosaddaq was regarded as a liberator — in the early part of 1953 pictures of him could be seen in many shops in Manamah.

The policies of the government of Bahrain have been detrimental to the position of the Persian community. In 1927 visas for entry to Bahrain became required of Persian subjects. In December of the same year a land registry office was established and a decree passed requiring that all land be registered; it also stipulated that only Bahrain subjects could own real property. With the passage of the decree a good many Persians had only two alternatives: either to acquire Bahrain citizenship, which many of them

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did, or sell out and return to the mother country. Those who remained are engaged either in trade or employed by the oil company or some other business establishment. In the last few years the government has been refusing to grant citizenship to Persian residents even though they may legally qualify.[12]

The Indians, the second largest foreign community, are in a certain sense in a position similar to that of the Persians. Bahrain, like other principalities in the Persian Gulf, has had a long association with the subcontinent through trade. In 1913, when the Bahrain Order-in-Council was passed, the country became administratively subject to the jurisdiction of the Governor-General of India.

The Indians constitute a prosperous and fairly well educated community. Some are engaged in trade on a big scale or as petty merchants. The rest — and they are the majority — are employed either by the government, the oil company, the British military and civil establishment, or other foreign business concerns in the country. They work mostly as clerks, foremen, cooks, waiters, and domestic servants.

Various explanations have been made as to why Indians are employed in such large numbers in preference to local Bahrainis or persons from other nationalities. In the first place, Bahrain does not have enough young men with a minimum of education and clerical or industrial training to fill these positions. Secondly, in view of British policy to tie Bahrain to India, it was only natural to look to it for the necessary labor supply. Furthermore, India could supply labor well trained by the British and used to their ways. Finally, Indian labor could be obtained at a lower rate than equally skilled labor from other countries.

The status of Indians is a rather peculiar one, for they live in a social zone all by themselves. They are resented by the native population and accepted only as subordinates by Westerners, with whom they would like to associate and with whom they would like to be classified. This is true especially of the clerical and professional group among them.

The causes of Bahraini resentment against them are psychological and economic in nature. In the first place, they constitute a community which is definitely foreign and makes a point of it, and in some respects looks down on the local population. This is especially the case among the white-collar workers.

Secondly, on the whole, the Indian community wields power far beyond its number. The people in Bahrain see Indians in government and business establishments and develop the feeling that they are being governed by them along with the British.

In the third place, clerical positions occupied by Indians and other for-

[12] *Census Rept.*, p. 6.

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In the third place, clerical positions occupied by Indians and other foreigners are highly coveted by the high-school graduates of Bahrain. This must be understood within the context of traditional Arab respect for the scribe and the great power wielded until recent times by government employees: clerking represents a social position as well as a source of livelihood.

Finally, Indians are given privileges denied to Bahrainis. They are allowed, for instance, a monthly allotment of alcoholic beverages and certain public places are open to them and to Westerners only. The problem of alcohol is a delicate one in Bahrain. In accordance with Muslim law it is prohibited to all Muslims. Foreigners and non-Muslims, however, can obtain a monthly allotment at specified prices through a permit from the British Residency. The only two groups that can benefit from such an arrangement are the Westerners and the Indians, since most other foreigners are Muslims.

An example of the resentment felt against the Indian clerks may be seen in the following letter to the newspaper *al-Qafilah* from an indignant Bahraini criticizing the Post Office Department:

> I came to the post office window with a large number of greeting cards which I wanted to send to friends outside Bahrain. I inquired from the clerk whether there were any special rates? Snatching the cards from my hands, he gave me an answer in a strange language, the only part of which I understood was "three annas and a half."
>
> It is strange that this department continues to employ clerks who do not understand the language of the country. In this connection, I remember that a short time ago I sent my manservant with a piece of paper on which I had written in Arabic the quantity of stamps I wanted of each denomination. Shortly afterwards he came back very angry. He told me that the clerk threw him out of the building and ordered him to "tell [your master] to write in Indian, Persian, or English. . . . We are not Arabs." [12]

A factor which also has considerable effect on the attitude of the native toward foreigners is the development of the oil industry in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. In Saudi Arabia the political climate has been such that the native is truly master of his house. The moment the foreigner, and particularly the Westerner, steps on Saudi Arabian soil, government officials and civilians alike do not hesitate to remind him in a thousand ways that he is in an independent country, that he is only a temporary guest, and that his sojourn in the country depends on good behavior. The Arabian American Oil Company, as part of its public relations policy, cooperates with the government fully in this respect and it is a well-known fact that a number of its American employees have been sent home for minor infractions of the local law or for being in some way rude to the native inhabitants.

Bahrain is only a few miles away from Saudi Arabia. Stories of how

[12] *al-Qafilah*, January 2, 1953.

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are the moulders of the new generation of Bahrainis. It is significant that all these teachers come from countries which have just emerged from British or French control.

## *TRENDS FOR THE FUTURE*

Social realignment among the Sunnis and the Shi'is must be thought of in terms of the distant future. It is true that secular and technical education, nationalism, and economic forces are all operating to bring these two groups together. As a result they have begun to cooperate with each other in certain areas of common interest as nonreligious groups; nevertheless, the old loyalties and social patterns are still strongly entrenched, as is very graphically illustrated by the religious riots of 1953 and 1954. It is even conceivable that when and if religion loses the depth of meaning it has at present to both groups, it may still remain as the basis of political alignment or power, as is the case in highly literate Lebanon.

Nationalism has replaced religious tradition as the basis of the relations of the Jews with the major segments of society. The resultant tension is being resolved through emigration, but a few will no doubt remain. All indications are that the political struggle between the Arabs and Israel will leave them little chance of reintegrating themselves on some new basis into society in Bahrain. It is possible, although highly improbable thanks to the presence of the British, that mass violence may be used against them. If this does take place, the problem in all likelihood will assume an international character. Israel, which has established itself as the protector and defender of Jewish minorities, no doubt would use every measure to dramatize the plight of this minority to the world.

The animosity of the native population toward Persians and Indians does not arise from fundamental issues of a permanent nature. There is, for instance, no parallel feeling toward Iran, India, or Pakistan; on the contrary, warm sympathy prevails for them as combatants against Western domination. Both the causes and the issues are transitory in character, and

*Table IV.* FOREIGN TEACHERS IN BAHRAIN

| *Year* | *Egypt* | *Syria* | *Lebanon* | *Palestine* | *Other Arab Countries* | *Other Nationalities* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1944/45..... | 12 | 8 | 12 | — | — | 2 | 28 |
| 1945/46..... | 10 | — | 13 | .. | 1 | 2 | 26 |
| 1946/47..... | 13 | 9 | 12 | — | 1 | 2 | 37 |
| 1947/48..... | 11 | 7 | 14 | — | 1 | 2 | 35 |
| 1948/49..... | 23 | 6 | 14 | — | 1 | 3 | 46 |
| 1949/50..... | 20 | 7 | 14 | 9 | 1 | 3 | 54 |
| 1950/51..... | 9 | 9 | 15 | 10 | 1 | 3 | 47 |
| 1951/52..... | 9 | 7 | 17 | 18 | 2 | 4 | 67 |

Source: Government of Bahrain, Dept. of Education, *Report on the Condition of Education in Bahrain* (Bahrain, 1952), p. 49. (In Arabic.)

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the course of development in Bahrain leaves no doubt that they will gradually be resolved. Bahrainis are receiving education at an increasing rate and are now gradually replacing these two foreign elements in clerical and intermediate positions. There will come a time when foreign labor is no longer needed. All foreign establishments in Bahrain, in response to local pressure, are now replacing foreign employees with Bahrainis, even if at the cost of some efficiency.

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Once the clerical and professional group becomes expendable, the major source of resentment will have been removed. Even if some Indians remain, the native Bahrainis will be able to compete with them on equal terms. In the case of the Persians, until the political issues primarily between the British and the Iranian governments concerning sovereignty over Bahrain are clarified, their position will stay the same.

What of the Westerners? It is my belief that the crisis is yet to come. Despite considerable talk, especially among the literate segment of the population, about exploitation, imperialism, and privileges, the Westerners' higher social status is accepted. The native population has been used for generations to think of them as a group with a special status over and above its own, and it will take some time before a mental reorientation is completed. In the second place, the native people fully realize that they need them. They may want to hate the foreign doctor but they need his medical skill; they may detest the oil company, but it supplies them with necessary royalties. The time, however, is drawing near when the problem will have to be faced. Negative nationalism and other political forces such as Communism (which at present has little influence in the Gulf) may force the issue prematurely if favorable circumstances arise.

by Sunni Arabs who were prosperous when the pearling industry flourished but who depend today upon fishing, the oil company and transporting jus from Hawar for their living. In the summer the heat and the shortage of water (for although Jaw has a well it is brackish and more to the taste of the date palms that grow around it than to the people) drive most of the inhabitants to migrate to Sitra. Jaw was once spread some distance along the shore, as can be seen from the ruins that surround it, and in addition to having been a pearling centre it was inhabited by the people of Zubara when they wanted to escape the tyrannical rule of the Wahhabis in the 19th century. Jaw is the point on Bahrain nearest to Zubara and the Qatar coast, and for that reason it was always garrisoned when there was a threat to Bahrain from the mainland, but today the Police Camel Corps, which is stationed there, is to prevent the smuggling into Bahrain of Arabs from the Trucial Coast who come seeking work.

North of Jaw on the road to the Refinery is Asker and opposite it the island of Mushaikha, where an old tomb is the centre of pilgrimage for one of the Moslem sects, the Buharas. The interior of the tomb is filled with bottles of rose water, brought by pilgrims as offerings. Asker itself is a village much like Jaw and Dour.

### JIDHAFS

We must now return to Manama and follow the other road that leads out of the town, this time in the direction of Budaiya. After passing through some miles of gardens the road reaches Jidhafs, a large village, which is also said to have been at one time the capital of Bahrain. Its inhabitants have a reputation for being enterprising and go-ahead, they have recently demonstrated this by deciding to build a club, the first in any of the villages, although in the towns there are many. Jidhafs contains one of the Shiite Juma Mosques and Friday Prayer is said there. It may seem strange that this should be a claim to fame, but according to Moslem custom only certain mosques are used for the Friday Prayers which is intended to encourage large congregations and to prevent the dispersal of the faithful in all the other mosques.

Like all the villagers, those of Jidhafs enjoy a visit to the town every now and then, and in the evenings bus loads of men and many cyclists can be seen coming in to town to enjoy themselves by going to the cinema or sitting gossiping with their friends in the coffee-shops to the blare of wireless music.

South of Jidhafs in the direction of Suq al-Khamis is the village of Ain al-Dar; although today it presents a quiet and peaceful appearance it was once the headquarters of a notorious gang of robbers who used a ruined house, inhabited by a lunatic, as a cache for storing their loot.

### BUDAIYA

This strange town, on the north-western tip of Bahrain Island, is connected with Manama by a good motor road which runs through the village of Jidhafs. Budaiya used to be a large town, divided into Two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya.

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The financial progress of Bahrain during these years has been briefly as follows: five years of prosperity during which the State depended upon the diving industry, two lean years when the pearl market began to droop, two years of crisis during which the revenue did not cover the expenditure, one year of slight recovery followed by a sudden large increase of revenue from oil. It is likely that during the present year the revenue from oil alone will amount to more than double the total revenue of any previous year.

A detailed report on the revenue of these years is not necessary as it has been dealt with minutely in annual reports, but the accompanying figures show the annual income with explanations of any unusual rise or fall. The subject of this report is the last ten years, and it is not proposed in this report to deal with the future, but it may be stated that, in my opinion, the most urgent need for the State is to provide itself with a solid Reserve Fund which will assure it a regular income which can be depended upon even when oil begins to run dry. Unfortunately it is the nature of Arabs to be over-optimistic and to pay small heed to the future, so the need for building up this reserve will not be generally appreciated.

| *Year.* | *Customs Revenue.* | *Other Revenue.* | *Oil Royalty.* | *Total.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs | Rs | Rs | Rs | |
| 1344 | 8,82,000 | 1,80,000 | — | 10,62,000 | |
| 1345 | 10,68,000 | 3,37,000 | — | 14,05,000 | |
| 1346 | 11,43,000 | 97,000 | — | 12,40,000 | |
| 1347 | 11,24,000 | 91,000 | — | 12,15,000 | |
| 1348 | 9,98,000 | 1,36,000 | — | 11,34,000 | |
| 1349 | 6,89,000 | 1,28,000 | — | 8,17,000 | |
| 1350 | 6,85,000 | 1,19,000 | — | 8,04,000 | |
| 1351 | 6,00,000 | 84,000 | — | 6,84,000 | |
| 1352 | 6,08,000 | 89,000 | 29,000 | 7,26,000 | |
| 1353 | 6,57,000 | 1,63,000 | 67,000 | 8,87,000 | |
| 1354 | 6,91,000 | 83,000 | 5,68,000 | 13,42,000 | |
| 1355 | 8,74,000 | 81,000 | 6,92,000 | 16,47,000 | |

## THE STATE POLICE AND PUBLIC SECURITY

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**The Levy Corps.**

In 1926 the armed forces of Bahrain consisted of a Levy Corps, a few Persian police who were originally enlisted by the Municipality, and a body of 'Naturs,' armed watchmen who patrolled the town at night. The Levy Corps provided a guard at the Political Agency and posts at Rafaa and Sitra. The Levy Corps, which consisted of so-called Baluchis recruited in Muscat, was commanded by a British Officer seconded from the Indian Army, assisted by an Indian Officer and several Indian N.C.O.'s from Punjabi regiments. In 1926 the Levy Corps was commanded by Captain Geake, who had succeeded Captain Campbell. The Levy Corps was intended mainly as a defence force in case of any serious disturbance or an attack on Bahrain by the Dawasir Arabs, who once lived at Budeya but left Bahrain in anger soon after Shaikh Hamad assumed control.

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In the spring of 1926 it was decided that the Indian Army officer should be replaced by a British official, who would act as assistant Adviser and Commandant of the Levy Corps. Captain L. S. Parke was appointed in this capacity in place of Captain Geake, who returned to his regiment.

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**Political Disturbances.**

There was a general feeling of nervousness and unrest in Bahrain in 1926. Many people were afraid that the Dawasir would make a descent on the coast and a series of armed attacks on Shia villages, organised by disaffected members of the Ruling Family, were still fresh in the public mind. The present Ruler was not yet firmly established, many people were opposed to him, and in certain communities there was a feeling of bitter resentment against the new regime and the various reforms which had been introduced. Conditions were very different to what they are to-day: in the country few people would venture out unarmed at night, and in the towns there were frequent scares of armed attacks.

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On 3rd August, Haji Sulman, the Chief of the police, was shot at in Manamah; this caused great excitement; on the next day the 'shooting' occurred. Major, now Colonel, Daly, who was then Political Agent, was in the office at the Fort, seated at a table, talking to the Indian officer who stood in front of him. One of the Levy Corps men, who thought he had been badly treated by the Subedar, came outside the window and shot the Subedar from behind. The shot went through the Subedar, who died later in the day, and carried off a piece of Major Daly's ear. The man shot and killed one of the Indian Havildars and, when pursued by Major Daly, attacked him with a bayonet and wounded him in several places. Finally he surrendered himself.

There was an immediate panic in the town, crowds of people hurried into boats and set off for Muharraq, and shopkeepers closed their shops, thinking that the Dawasir were coming. Finally calm was restored. The affair was the action of a single individual who 'ran amok,' and it had no political significance; this opinion was not, however, shared by everybody. For about two months after the incident Bahrain was virtually under martial law. One, or sometimes two, of the sloops of the Persian Gulf Division were anchored in the harbour, and British naval guards were stationed at the Fort and at the Agency. The Levy Corps was disbanded and the men were sent back to Muscat, from whence many of them gradually returned to Bahrain as at that time there was no passport system and no check was kept on persons arriving in the country.

In the middle of October a detachment from one of the Punjabi regiments, commanded by a British officer, arrived in Bahrain and was stationed at the Fort. Shortly after their arrival the Baluchi Levy Corps man who had been the cause of all the trouble was tried, sentenced, and shot.

**Attempt to assassinate the Shaikh.**

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About a month later Shaikh Hamad narrowly escaped assassination. He was driving out to one of his country houses after dinner, as was his custom, when he was shot at by four men at close range from behind a hedge at a bend in the road. The sudden glare of the car's powerful headlights evidently dazzled the men and their shots went low, hitting the car and missing the Shaikh, who at that time used always to sit in front next to the driver. Though the place of the ambush was only a mile or two from Manamah, no news of the attempt was received until next morning, and consequently the criminals escaped.

In 1930, through the combined efforts of Haji Sulman, the local police officer and Shaikh Mohomed bin Jabr, who is now the Amir of Muharraq, the men who attempted to assassinate Shaikh Hamad were arrested. It was proved that they were some of the same men who had taken part in attacks on Shia villages, where they murdered and robbed men, women, and children. Their final arrest was the result of long and complicated investigations extending over several years, and the result of this work reflected great credit on the police who dealt with the case. The men were a gang of Hassawis who were employed by certain members of the Ruling Family as 'gunmen.' For a price they would shoot anybody. The complicity of their masters was proved in the Bahrain courts and the Shaikhs who were concerned were heavily fined and deprived of their offices. One of them, when the murderers were convicted, was acting as the President of one of the Bahrain courts. Shaikh Ibrahim bin Khalid, who was one of the principal persons concerned, has since died. The Hassawis being foreigners were tried in the Agency court and sentenced not to death but to imprisonment.

On November 3rd, 1926, the village of Senobis, about three miles from Manamah, was attacked by armed robbers, several of the villagers were killed, and one of the attackers was shot while carrying away plunder.

**Indian Levy Corps.**

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After these various events it was decided that a regular and efficient force was needed to preserve law and order. A force consisting of ex-Indian Army Punjabi Moslems was enlisted by me in India, with the help of the Indian Army recruiting authorities. Captain L. S. Parke arrived at the end of 1926 and took over command of the new Levy Corps; he held the post of Commandant of Police and assistant Adviser until 1932 when, owing to the need for economy, his agreement was not renewed.

The Indians, on the whole, were not a success, though they worked and behaved well, but they filled a gap at a time when a force of trained men was very necessary. The climate did not

5: Bahrain G-5 (1925-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

which was spent on the school during the year, Rs 5,000 - was contributed by public subscription. The school was managed by a committee of Shia notables, and a young Iraqi from Baghdad was appointed as the headmaster. His family had originally lived in Katif, and after being in Bahrain for some time he was discharged, as his active sympathy with the Shia subjects of His Majesty King Ibn Saoud made him a possible cause of political complaint. Owing to the lack of suitably educated men among the Shias in Bahrain, most of the senior masters at the school were subjects of Iraq. From its beginning the progress of the school was hampered by the dissensions among the members of the committee.

**Opening of a Girls' School.** In the same year a school for girls was opened in Muharraq in response to a demand for female education by some of the more progressive and enlightened Arabs of that town. The clerical and conservative Arabs in Bahrain disapproved very strongly of this innovation. They said that it would increase immorality because, if the girls could read and write, they would correspond surreptitiously with men outside their own house. The school was publicly denounced in the Friday mosque, but in spite of this it has been a flourishing institution since it started. The school owed its existence mainly to Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa and Shaikh Mohomed Ali Zainal, the much-respected Hedjazi pearl merchant and educationalist, whose arguments convinced the general public that the school would be beneficial.

**Appointment of a School Inspector.** The following year, 1348 (1929-30), was a year of disturbance, changes, and reforms. After a long period of expensive and unproductive school administration, the public began to demand a better return for the large sums of money which were paid every year by the Government to the treasurer of the education committee. The sudden dismissal by the education committee of a headmaster of the Manamah school who had quarrelled with the Muharraq headmaster caused a crisis. The Manamah headmaster was a popular man, and his supporters, who thought that he had been badly treated, openly criticised the conduct of the committee, especially that of the treasurer, and the unsuitable authority which was held by the Muharraq headmaster. Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa came to the conclusion that if the schools were to be properly managed it was essential that their finance and administration should be under the direct supervision of the Government, and that a qualified inspector of schools should be appointed. Mr. Faik Adham, a Syrian recommended by the President of the Beyrout University, who held a degree from that university and also a degree from the Islamieh College, was appointed as inspector of schools. His wife, a qualified teacher, was made the headmistress of a new school for girls which was opened in Manamah.

**Strike of Students and Masters.** The headmaster of the Muharraq school and many of the members of the education committee bitterly resented the appointment of a school inspector and what they regarded as the interference of the Government in school affairs. For many years they had mismanaged educational matters with impunity and no question had been asked about the accounts. When the treasurer was asked to explain certain financial transactions he promptly sent in his resignation, which was accepted. This was the signal for trouble. Without any warning the headmaster of the Muharraq school declared a strike of teachers and students. This action was intended to affect all the schools, but actually only the Manamah and Muharraq boys' schools took part in the strike. For several days the boys marched about the towns in procession in a typical Egyptian manner, making noisy demonstrations and delivering speeches against the Government, which they afterwards admitted had been taught to them by the masters. There was a certain amount of disorder, and damage was done to the Muharraq school. Shaikh Abdullah immediately took strong action: he sent for the two headmasters, who refused to appear, but wrote a long letter, making ridiculous demands. They were promptly dismissed and sent back to Syria, where they organised a venomous press campaign against the Bahrain Government, which was taken up by several newspapers in Syria, Iraq, and Egypt. The schools were closed for ten days by order of the Government and then re-opened. At first the attendance was small, but soon the normal number of students returned and the schools settled down to their ordinary routine, which continued undisturbed until the end of the term. This demonstration was undoubtedly encouraged by some of the members of the committee whose authority from that time was deliberately curtailed by the Government.

8:Qubain S-5. (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# SOCIAL CLASSES AND TENSIONS IN BAHRAIN

*Fahim I. Qubain*

(See map, facing p. 239.)

ONE OF THE more interesting principalities in the Persian Gulf is the tiny island shaykhdom of Bahrain. Its geographical location, its maritime commerce, and its ancient pearl industry have all combined to create a multi-group society of its small population of about 110,000. On the whole, the country is well and efficiently governed, the various groups in the population have by generations of experience learned to tolerate each other, and crime in the Western sense of the word is almost nonexistent. At the same time, latent tensions exist that can be exploited if the proper circumstances arise. For instance, riots broke out between the Sunnis and the Shi'is during Muharram in September 1953. It took the use of the whole police force and the imposition of a curfew to bring peace back to the country.[1] In July of the following year, when some Shi'is were convicted for being involved in a fight with Sunnis, the whole Shi'i sect staged a demonstration, conducted an attack on a police post during which four Shi'is were killed, and finally all Shi'i workers went on strike.[2] Six months later, in December 1954, another general strike took place in support of demands made to the government for certain reforms which had already been promised by the ruler.[3] We propose, in this article, to examine the nature of these tensions and to evaluate their seriousness for the future.

## *POPULATION BREAKDOWN AND DISTRIBUTION*

Until 1941 only estimates existed regarding the population of the Bahrain cluster of islands. In that year, the government, primarily for food control purposes, conducted the first census in the history of the islands; in 1950 a second census was taken. At that time the population was 109,650.[4] (See Tables I, II, and III.)

[1] Government of Bahrain, *Official Gazette*, September 24, 1953, p. 3.
[2] *Times* (London), July 13, 1954, p. 7.
[3] *Ibid.*, December 6, 1954, p. 7.
[4] Government of Bahrain, *Census 1950* (Bahrain, 1950).

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[See p. 270, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2



the last stages of the disease and obviously his time was short. I was unable to give him any but the most unfavorable prognosis, and he died just a week later.

Two or three days after his death, I heard myself under discussion in one of the reception rooms where I was paying a visit. "This man," said an Arab to his friend, "is certainly a remarkable doctor. He arrived in Riyadh some ten days ago, as you know, and Abdullah sent for him at once. As soon as the doctor stepped into Abdullah's house he pointed at him with his finger. 'You will die,' he said, 'in exactly a week.' Now he did not feel especially bad the following week; on the contrary he felt somewhat better, but just a week from that day he lay down and died."

A woman came to us in Bahrein suffering from an ovarian cyst. It was a huge affair weighing probably sixty or seventy pounds. We had no scales at hand large enough to weigh it. As it rested on the instrument table, the father of the patient came and asked for it. "You must give that to me," he said. "I want it."

"No," I said, "you don't want that. We do not give those things away. It will be of no use to you."

"Yes," persisted the man, "you must give it to me for I need it. This woman you have just operated on is my daughter and on account of this trouble she lost her good name. Her husband returned three years ago after a prolonged absence and finding her abdomen swollen he divorced her without any words. Now it is evident that this trouble was not due to unfaithfulness on her part, so I want to take this to the judge and clear her good name."

"Very well," I said. "If it will do anybody any good you are welcome to it." So they brought in a large

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East M1
Bahrain MZ 2



sheet, put the cyst in and tied the sheet catacorner both ways, hung it from a large pole and two men carried it down the street to the judge's house. He looked at it in great astonishment. *"Mashallah* (What the Lord is able to do)!" was his first comment. The great cyst was carried around and exhibited to every prominent house in the city and was the talk of the place. Then after three or four days, being a thin-walled structure, it burst, and that was the end of the first chapter.

But there was another chapter to the story of the cyst. Six months later I was in Katif on a visit and a man came into the reception room. "Do you know," he asked my host, "who this man is?"

"Well," he replied, "I know who he says he is. He says he is the doctor from Bahrein."

"That is just who he is. Do you know what he did?"

"No, what did he do?"

"What did he do? Why this is the man who operated on the woman from Bedaiah. He took an enormous sack from her abdomen. They took it to the judge and to the various prominent houses of Bahrein and showed it everywhere, and after three or four days decided that they would like to know what was inside, so they opened it up and a live chicken jumped out of it."

Some of the missionaries overheard the following description of one of the hospital operations. "What do you think," said the narrator, "that I saw this morning? I was in the operating room of the American Hospital and a man came in. The doctor listened to his chest with that funny little machine that he puts in his ears. 'Yes,' he said almost at once, 'there is something the matter with your heart. You will have to be operated on.' So he was put up on the operating table and the doctor made

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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Most of the parents of the boys disapproved of their children's behaviour, but they said that they could not prevent them from doing what they wished. Parental control in Bahrain is almost non-existent, and boys of twelve years of age and older usually act independently of their parents' wishes. Fathers frequently complain that they would like their sons to go to school, but as their boys do not wish to do so they cannot make them attend school.

**Reforms in the Schools.** In 1349 (1930-1931), Rs 61,000/- was spent on education, which included the cost of completing the new Manamah school. The school was a large, handsome building capable of accommodating about five hundred boys, with a central hall, the largest room in Bahrain, which will seat over six hundred people. At the beginning of the year some trouble was caused by the Shia school committee and the members of the old education committee. An attempt was made to combine the Sunnis and Shias on one committee, but although the Sunnis agreed, the Shias refused to sit on a mixed committee. The presence of the Government's inspector was still much resented by some of the masters and by people who previously had undue influence in school affairs and finances. The curriculum of the schools was entirely re-organised and a simpler range of subjects was taught in all schools: subjects such as physics, music, and advanced mathematics, which were previously part of the programme and which were badly taught by unqualified teachers, were omitted. English lessons were given only in the higher forms. Several new masters were recruited from Syria, and three young Bahrain men who had been educated at Government expense in Beyrout were taken on as masters. The pay and the contracts of all masters were placed on a proper footing, and their salaries were made to depend upon their abilities. Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa became Minister of Education and was responsible for all matters concerning schools and education; the committees continued to exist, but instead of being an assistance they continually hampered the progress of education. By the end of the year there were over 500 boys and 100 girls attending the Government schools and, owing to the proper supervision of accounts, the monthly cost of running the schools was Rs 3,600/- instead of Rs 5,600/-.

**Disappearance of School Committees.** During the following year, 1350 (1931-32), the expenditure on education was Rs 45,000/-. Owing to the internal disputes among the members of the Shia school committee the attendance at the Jaffarieh school dwindled to about fifty boys. Many of the Shias removed their boys from school because they objected to a Sunni school inspector. During the year the Sunni committee gave up any pretence of taking an interest in the school because they were no longer able to appoint the masters and to decide their salaries, so eventually this committee was allowed to disappear and, after a general quarrel among its members, the Shia committee was dissolved. The control of the schools remained in the hands of Shaikh Abdullah, assisted by the inspector of education and, when necessary, myself.

**Amalgamation of Manamah Boys' Schools.** The year 1351 (1932-33) was a lean year financially. The salaries of all Government servants, including the staff of the education department, were subjected to a cut, and economies were made in every possible direction. The expenditure on education was reduced to Rs 34,000/-, but in spite of this the number of students increased, and from an educational point of view the year was satisfactory. The most important change was the amalgamation of the Sunni and Jaffarieh schools. The Jaffarieh school became the Manamah boys' school and the old Sunni school was taken over as a girls' school. The change was resented by most of the Shias, who adopted a dog-in-the-manger attitude. Although they refused to send their boys to the Jaffarieh school, they objected to its being used by Sunnis. At the same time another school was opened by a young man, Ibrahim al Arayadh, who had been dismissed from the department of education after the disturbances in the previous year. This school was financed by some of the wealthier Shia families in Manamah, and for a year or two it served a useful purpose.

During the next two years progress was satisfactory and undisturbed. In 1352 (1933-34), expenditure was reduced to Rs 22,000/- by means of combining classes under one teacher and various other methods of economy, but at the same time attendance at the schools increased from 828 to 966. During the following year there was a further increase in students, and a number of

still that of feudal chiefs, though the feudal feeling no longer exists among the people of Bahrain. They consider it their right that they should be well provided for financially by the State, and they resent any suggestion that they should add to their incomes by doing work. They are still the biggest landowners in Bahrain, but by draining their property dry, and not spending any money on improvements, their property has deteriorated in value. They regard any real work as degrading, and only accept posts on courts or councils for the sake of obtaining more money, not because it is incumbent on them, as members of the Ruling Family, to occupy public positions. Their attitude in this respect is a contrast to that of the merchant class in Bahrain, who are unusually public minded and who freely give up much of their time to sit on courts and committees and councils.

**The Women.**

Among the women, too, there have been changes, but they are more gradual than among the men. Every step towards emancipation is firmly resisted by the older female members of the households, but in spite of this there is a definite feeling among the younger women that they should have more freedom. Their ambition, at present, is not to take any part in public matters, but to be able to go out more frequently. They are becoming restive of the restrictions of the purdah system. Some are now educated, and a few have travelled abroad in Syria, Persia, India, and Iraq, and there they have seen the changes which are taking place in the life of the women of those countries. Many who have never been out of Bahrain read newspapers and listen to news on wireless sets, and frequently meet Indian and Syrian women in Bahrain. All this causes them to feel unsettled.

One of the notable recent changes is that nowadays a great many young men only marry one wife, not because they cannot afford to support more wives, but because they prefer monogamy. The younger men are no longer ashamed of mentioning their wives and talking about their families, and many of them take their wives out with them in cars. A few years ago, if a man was seen with a woman in his car, one could be quite sure that she was not his wife. The modern young men look for wives who are educated, and frequently marry Persian or Iraqi girls because they received better education. One of the effects of education among the women in Bahrain is that they learn to keep their houses clean and they appreciate the value of hygiene, which is taught at school. Education also makes them willing to employ qualified doctors, especially at childbirth, when, in the past, they would have been treated by local Arab untrained midwives who are dirty and dangerous, and whose use of the notorious salt method is undoubtedly responsible for an enormous number of casualties among children and pregnant women.

Changes are taking place all over the Gulf, but of the Arab States, Bahrain is changing most rapidly. The most conspicuous visible changes in comparing Bahrain to-day and ten years ago are in the capital, where a person returning to the country would notice the wider streets, better buildings, and a decrease in straw huts, trees, gardens and more vegetation, large shops selling European goods, motor traffic, European dress worn by natives, increasing use of machinery, partly owing to installation of electric power, knowledge of English language, and a far greater interest being taken in outside world affairs.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



609 foreigners are "kept in their place" there circulate by word of mouth — a method of communication highly developed in the Middle East — and exaggerated several times in the process. One of the central themes of the local Bahrain press is a comparison between Saudi Arabia and Bahrain in this respect. As is to be expected, this is causing a feeling of frustration among the natives and creating an atmosphere of restiveness and increasing antagonism toward foreigners.

In Kuwait a rather ambitious development program has been under way for several years, made possible by increasing oil royalties. There is an atmosphere of feverish activity, psychologically exaggerated because of its concentration in a small area. By contrast, life in Bahrain is slow and development sober but limited, in view of the comparatively small oil revenues. This causes some jealousy which finds an emotional outlet in an increasing suspicion of foreigners and increasing demands on the major companies, such as the Bahrain Petroleum Company, to do more for the country than they have been doing so far.

### *FOREIGN ARAB GROUPS*

563 167 463 A rather large number of foreign Arabs live in Bahrain. They can be divided into two main groups which in custom and social mores have little in common. The first group is composed of Arabs from Saudi Arabia, Oman, Muscat, Qatar, and Yemen. These people have always been part of the scene. They come and go as they have always done, with hardly any restriction on their movement. Many of them are related to people in Bahrain by blood or marriage and are looked upon as "cousins," *awlad al-'amm*, a term which carries with it all the emotional overtones of the traditions of tribal life. Some of them are merchants; a large number, especially of those from Oman, Muscat, Qatar, and Yemen, are employed by the oil industry as common laborers, and others work with local industries. Their community life and standard of living do not vary a great deal from that of the local population; in fact they are hardly distinguishable from it.

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The second group of foreign Arabs, made up of a small number of Egyptians, Syrians, Lebanese, Iraqis, and Palestinians, is comparatively new to the area. On the whole, their standard of living is probably higher than that of any other group with the exception of the Westerners. Few are engaged in trade; the majority are white-collar workers.

563 875 208 177 Although they are largely new arrivals, they already exert considerable influence on the life of the country. Unlike all other foreigners, they are genuinely welcomed and looked up to by the local population. They are the missionaries of Arab nationalism. Most of the high-school and a good number of the elementary-school teachers in Bahrain come from this group (see Table IV); in this key position, it can be truly said of them that they

228 656 178 The Bahrain Government has tried hard to encourage the diving industry, by the remittance of the registration fees on diving boats, by customs concessions and by other means, but it is certain that the industry will never return to its palmy days when so many of the people of Bahrain were connected with it or depended on it.

228 431 609 Visitors to the pearl banks are advised to set out at about midnight from Bahrain. Launches can be hired in Manama or Muharraq and if they leave at twelve midnight, the banks will be reached at two or three in the morning. The remainder of the night can be spent lying at anchor and in the early morning the opening of the shells can be watched, followed by the preparations for the day's work and the actual diving. The divers have no objection to being photographed at their work and welcome foreigners on board their boats, they do, however, appreciate a present from visitors and it is a good plan to take out some fresh dates or other fruit, for the boats, particularly at the end of the season, are usually low in fresh provisions and such a gift is very welcome.

## CHAPTER VII

## LOCAL INDUSTRIES

### THE POTTERIES

323 [438] PEARLING is not the only ancient industry in Bahrain, for the presence in many parts of the islands of pottery sherds indicates that pottery has been made here for many centuries. Today this industry is restricted to the village of Aali whose inhabitants work in the same way as did their forefathers, scorning modern innovations.

[472] From the hills around Rifaa the clay is brought to Aali ; brown and red clay for the coarser objects and white clay for finer work. The raw clay is beaten and then mixed with water until it is ready for throwing by the younger members of the potter's family, for each pottery is a separate family concern. All the processes which go into the making of pottery take place in small sheds, in each one a potter can be seen at work, his feet in a pit working the wheel which is on a level with his waist. Rapidly he flings lumps of clay on to the spinning wheel and with deft fingers works the shapeless mud into graceful jars, bowls and other utensils. When each piece is completed it is set in the sun to dry before being taken to the oven. Most of the ovens [172] are built in the prehistoric tumuli south of the village, which have been excavated. A hole is made in the roof of the tomb and another at the side; in the former the objects to be baked are placed and the latter is filled with firewood. When the fires are lit the tombs become miniature volcanoes with thick smoke belching from their peaks, slowly the fires die down, the smoke clears and the baked pottery is removed and the ovens are prepared for the next baking.

796 who therefore disapprove of the whole affair, but it is rare that there
795 is any trouble between the two sects, both of them having adopted the principle of live and let live.

796 In the afternoon of the 10th Muharram the more energetic members of the procession go out into the villages where similar smaller processions take place and which are often made more colourful by the use of additional model tombs which are no longer seen in Manama. In the evening, as in every evening of the first ten days of the month, those who took part in the processions are feasted in the martams, and for three more days the orators continue to preach to the people, for it was for three days that Hussein lay on the field of Kerbela. But on the 13th of the month the period of mourning ends, the "props" are returned to the various martams, the collecting boxes are again displayed in the Shiite shops, out of which some of the expenses of Ashura are paid, and the Mullas return home to Iraq.

796 Europeans are permitted to witness the procession on the 9th and
● 609 10th days of Muharram, but it is illegal to photograph any part of the procession and the State Police remove the cameras or movie-cameras
656 and expose the film of those who break this law. In addition, unwary photographers have often been roughly handled by members of the Shiite faith, who feel that a sacred procession is not a suitable subject for casual snap-shots. It is therefore much more tactful to dispense with artificial means and to rely on one's memory for recording what is an unique occasion, for the procession has been banned in Iraq and Persia and so Bahrain is now one of the very few places where it can be seen.

## CHAPTER X

## BAHRAIN'S STAMPS

205 THE generally accepted date for the establishment of the first post office in Bahrain, in the town of Manama, is 1884, and as the Indian Government was at that time responsible for political relations with the Ruler of Bahrain, it naturally followed that Indian stamps were used in the Islands. It was not till 1911, however, that a formal agreement granting the British a monopoly of postal services in Bahrain was signed.

In the first instance Indian stamps were used without an overprint—Indian stamps of Queen Victoria and George V post-marked "Bahrain," and it is only possible to trace stamps used in Bahrain by the post-mark. The two most usual post-marks are a circle with bars outside and two circles with the name at the top and the date across the centre. Fortunately the word Bahrain shows up quite well in most of these, provided that there is enough of the post-mark on the stamp if the latter is not on a cover. These issues were usually limited to 3 pies, ½ anna, 1 anna and 2½ anna stamps.

8·Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



563 In the third place, clerical positions occupied by Indians and other
578 foreigners are highly coveted by the high-school graduates of Bahrain. This
554 must be understood within the context of traditional Arab respect for the scribe and the great power wielded until recent times by government employees: clerking represents a social position as well as a source of livelihood.

641 Finally, Indians are given privileges denied to Bahrainis. They are al-
273 lowed, for instance, a monthly allotment of alcoholic beverages and certain
563 public places are open to them and to Westerners only. The problem of
578 alcohol is a delicate one in Bahrain. In accordance with Muslim law it is prohibited to all Muslims. Foreigners and non-Muslims, however, can obtain a monthly allotment at specified prices through a permit from the British Residency. The only two groups that can benefit from such an arrangement are the Westerners and the Indians, since most other foreigners are Muslims.

563 An example of the resentment felt against the Indian clerks may be
578 seen in the following letter to the newspaper *al-Qafilah* from an indignant
191 Bahraini criticizing the Post Office Department:

> I came to the post office window with a large number of greeting cards which I wanted to send to friends outside Bahrain. I inquired from the clerk whether there were any special rates? Snatching the cards from my hands, he gave me an answer in a strange language, the only part of which I understood was "three annas and a half."
>
> It is strange that this department continues to employ clerks who do not understand the language of the country. In this connection, I remember that a short time ago I sent my manservant with a piece of paper on which I had written in Arabic the quantity of stamps I wanted of each denomination. Shortly afterwards he came back very angry. He told me that the clerk threw him out of the building and ordered him to "tell [your master] to write in Indian, Persian, or English. . . . We are not Arabs." [12]

609 A factor which also has considerable effect on the attitude of the native toward foreigners is the development of the oil industry in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. In Saudi Arabia the political climate has been such that the native is truly master of his house. The moment the foreigner, and particularly the Westerner, steps on Saudi Arabian soil, government officials and civilians alike do not hesitate to remind him in a thousand ways that he is in an independent country, that he is only a temporary guest, and that his sojourn in the country depends on good behavior. The Arabian American Oil Company, as part of its public relations policy, cooperates with the government fully in this respect and it is a well-known fact that a number of its American employees have been sent home for minor infractions of the local law or for being in some way rude to the native inhabitants.

Bahrain is only a few miles away from Saudi Arabia. Stories of how

[12] *al-Qafilah*, January 2, 1953.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



609 foreigners are "kept in their place" there circulate by word of mouth — a method of communication highly developed in the Middle East — and exaggerated several times in the process. One of the central themes of the local Bahrain press is a comparison between Saudi Arabia and Bahrain in this respect. As is to be expected, this is causing a feeling of frustration among the natives and creating an atmosphere of restiveness and increasing antagonism toward foreigners.

In Kuwait a rather ambitious development program has been under way for several years, made possible by increasing oil royalties. There is an atmosphere of feverish activity, psychologically exaggerated because of its concentration in a small area. By contrast, life in Bahrain is slow and development sober but limited, in view of the comparatively small oil revenues. This causes some jealousy which finds an emotional outlet in an increasing suspicion of foreigners and increasing demands on the major companies, such as the Bahrain Petroleum Company, to do more for the country than they have been doing so far.

### *FOREIGN ARAB GROUPS*

563 167 463 A rather large number of foreign Arabs live in Bahrain. They can be divided into two main groups which in custom and social mores have little in common. The first group is composed of Arabs from Saudi Arabia, Oman, Muscat, Qatar, and Yemen. These people have always been part of the scene. They come and go as they have always done, with hardly any restriction on their movement. Many of them are related to people in Bahrain by blood or marriage and are looked upon as "cousins," *awlad al-'amm*, a term which carries with it all the emotional overtones of the traditions of tribal life. Some of them are merchants; a large number, especially of those from Oman, Muscat, Qatar, and Yemen, are employed by the oil industry as common laborers, and others work with local industries. Their community life and standard of living do not vary a great deal from that of the local population; in fact they are hardly distinguishable from it.

[601]

The second group of foreign Arabs, made up of a small number of Egyptians, Syrians, Lebanese, Iraqis, and Palestinians, is comparatively new to the area. On the whole, their standard of living is probably higher than that of any other group with the exception of the Westerners. Few are engaged in trade; the majority are white-collar workers.

563 875 208 177 Although they are largely new arrivals, they already exert considerable influence on the life of the country. Unlike all other foreigners, they are genuinely welcomed and looked up to by the local population. They are the missionaries of Arab nationalism. Most of the high-school and a good number of the elementary-school teachers in Bahrain come from this group (see Table IV); in this key position, it can be truly said of them that they

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The financial progress of Bahrain during these years has been briefly as follows: five years of prosperity during which the State depended upon the diving industry, two lean years when the pearl market began to droop, two years of crisis during which the revenue did not cover the expenditure, one year of slight recovery followed by a sudden large increase of revenue from oil. It is likely that during the present year the revenue from oil alone will amount to more than double the total revenue of any previous year.

A detailed report on the revenue of these years is not necessary as it has been dealt with minutely in annual reports, but the accompanying figures show the annual income with explanations of any unusual rise or fall. The subject of this report is the last ten years, and it is not proposed in this report to deal with the future, but it may be stated that, in my opinion, the most urgent need for the State is to provide itself with a solid Reserve Fund which will assure it a regular income which can be depended upon even when oil begins to run dry. Unfortunately it is the nature of Arabs to be over-optimistic and to pay small heed to the future, so the need for building up this reserve will not be generally appreciated.

| *Year.* | *Customs Revenue.* Rs | *Other Revenue.* Rs | *Oil Royalty.* Rs | *Total.* Rs | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1344 | 8,82,000 | 1,80,000 | — | 10,62,000 | |
| 1345 | 10,68,000 | 3,37,000 | — | 14,05,000 | |
| 1346 | 11,43,000 | 97,000 | — | 12,40,000 | |
| 1347 | 11,24,000 | 91,000 | — | 12,15,000 | |
| 1348 | 9,98,000 | 1,36,000 | — | 11,34,000 | |
| 1349 | 6,89,000 | 1,28,000 | — | 8,17,000 | |
| 1350 | 6,85,000 | 1,19,000 | — | 8,04,000 | |
| 1351 | 6,00,000 | 84,000 | — | 6,84,000 | |
| 1352 | 6,08,000 | 89,000 | 29,000 | 7,26,000 | |
| 1353 | 6,57,000 | 1,63,000 | 67,000 | 8,87,000 | |
| 1354 | 6,91,000 | 83,000 | 5,68,000 | 13,42,000 | |
| 1355 | 8,74,000 | 81,000 | 6,92,000 | 16,47,000 | |

## THE STATE POLICE AND PUBLIC SECURITY

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**The Levy Corps.**

In 1926 the armed forces of Bahrain consisted of a Levy Corps, a few Persian police who were originally enlisted by the Municipality, and a body of 'Natives,' armed watchmen who patrolled the town at night. The Levy Corps provided a guard at the Political Agency and posts at Rafaa and Sitra. The Levy Corps, which consisted of so-called Baluchis recruited in Muscat, was commanded by a British Officer seconded from the Indian Army, assisted by an Indian Officer and several Indian N.C.O.'s from Punjabi regiments. In 1926 the Levy Corps was commanded by Captain Geake, who had succeeded Captain Campbell. The Levy Corps was intended mainly as a defence force in case of any serious disturbance or an attack on Bahrain by the Dawasir Arabs, who once lived at Bodeya but left Bahrain in anger soon after Shaikh Hamad assumed control.

[C19]

In the spring of 1926 it was decided that the Indian Army officer should be replaced by a British official, who would act as assistant Adviser and Commandant of the Levy Corps. Captain L. S. Parke was appointed in this capacity in place of Captain Geake, who returned to his regiment.

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**Political Disturbances.**

There was a general feeling of nervousness and unrest in Bahrain in 1926. Many people were afraid that the Dawasir would make a descent on the coast and a series of armed attacks on Shia villages, organised by disaffected members of the Ruling Family, were still fresh in the public mind. The present Ruler was not yet firmly established, many people were opposed to him, and in certain communities there was a feeling of bitter resentment against the new regime and the various reforms which had been introduced. Conditions were very different to what they are to-day: in the country few people would venture out unarmed at night, and in the towns there were frequent scares of armed attacks.

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN MZ 2

# 11

# Bahrain

## GEOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

619 Bahrain is an independent sheikhdom, 131 comprising a small group of islands at the entrance to the Gulf of Bahrain, between the Hasa coast of Saudi Arabia and the peninsula of Qatar. Famous since ancient times as the center of the Persian Gulf pearling industry, the islands have attained new prominence within recent years as a link in the chain of oil fields stretching from Qatar to central Iraq. The Sheikhdom has 648 had protective treaty relations with Great Britain since 1880, and the headquarters of the British Political Resident for the Persian Gulf area are established on Bahrain Island.

131 The archipelago consists of 5 main islands, besides several small islets, which have an aggregate area of about 210 to 225 square miles. Bahrain, the principal island, is approximately 27 miles in length and 10 133 miles in width. A narrow belt of luxuriant date gardens, supported by abundant fresh-water springs and wells, rims the northern end of the island, but the remainder is mostly barren desert. Rocky hills rise to an elevation of about 450 feet along the central ridge, Jabal ad Dukhan, while sandy wastes, broken by salt marshes, stretch toward the south.

131 Muharraq, a horseshoe-shaped sandy island, with an area of 5 to 6 square miles, is second in size and in importance. It lies northeast of Bahrain, and is separated from [491] the larger island by a narrow channel which is bridged by a 2-mile causeway, constructed in 1941. Chief among the other inhabited islands are Sitra and Nabbi Sālih, offshore to the east, and Umm Na'san, to the west.

p. 255(A)

164 occurred intermittently in the past, chiefly in Manama and Muharraq. The islands are
[744] exposed to the introduction of the disease from neighboring territories, but the enforcement of quarantine regulations has prevented its establishment for several decades.

**Other Infections.** Although a mild degree of louse infestation occurs among the inhabitants in some congested areas, louse-borne typhus is rarely, if ever, reported. Imported cases of cutaneous leishmaniasis, or Oriental sore, and filariasis are occasionally treated in the local medical institutions, but the insect vectors are not known to be present, and indigenous infections have not been recorded. Guinea worm infection is sometimes seen among persons from Iran, but it is not found in the resident population.

### Nutritional Diseases

146 361 511 The standards of nutrition have improved materially in the last few years. Undernutrition is common, but serious defects are seen primarily among the inhabitants of outlying villages and the families of workers from the mainland. Poverty, traditional dietary customs and intestinal parasitism are contributory factors. Subclinical deficiencies in vitamin C are widespread, and scurvy is observed from time to time. Rickets is frequent among the children in the towns. Anemia is prevalent, and hemoglobin levels of 25 to 30 per cent are not unusual among the women.

## SUMMARY

619 Bahrain is an independent sheikhdom 131 which consists of an archipelago of 5 main 282 islands situated in the Persian Gulf near the 315 coast of Arabia. It has long been famous as a pearl fishing center, and, since 1932, has enjoyed prosperity as an oil-producing area. 161 It has a heterogeneous population which 162 numbered 109,650 in 1950, including 18,471 795 foreigners. The people are predominantly of 144 mixed Arab and Persian origin, and about 96 per cent are Moslems.

p. 264(B)

## RESULTS OF THE CENSUS

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POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION. The number of people in Bahrain on the night of 3rd March 1950 (12th Jamad-al-Awal, 1369) was 109,650. This represents a growth in the population of about 20,000 since the first census was taken in 1941 ( 1359). The increase was not evenly distributed; in 1941 about 55% of the population lived in the three towns, Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd and the rest of the inhabitants of Bahrain lived in the villages. The proportion of town and country dwellers has changed, the three towns now contain 61% of the population and the villages contain 39%, (these figures do not include Awali). There are about 90 villages and many small hamlets and settlements in Bahrain.

In Manamah the census showed a population of 39,648, an increase of nearly 12,000 (43%) in nine years. The population of Muharraq and Hedd was 25,577, an increase of 4,138 (20%) over the 1941 figure. In the villages, excluding the two Rafaas, there was an increase of only 344.

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From records in the Passport Office at the time of the census it appeared that about 6,000 persons, almost all of them males, who normally resided in Bahrain, were absent from the country. It can be assumed that most of these men were working with oil companies and contractors in the neighbouring states. In 1941 very few Bahrain Arabs were working abroad. The proportion of men who are employed outside Bahrain is very high.

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The large increase in the population of Manamah is not due to urbanization but it is due to immigration. The village communities especially in the Shia villages are very closely knit and insular so the census clerks had no difficulty in ascertaining whether there had been

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166 any exodus from the villages to the towns. It was found that there had been no movements from the villages to Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd. With a few exceptions the population of individual villages was the same as it was nine years ago. The only population movements which took place were among the Arab villages. In Dour, the last village on the eastern coast, which in 1941 contained 166 people only one house remained occupied; the population of Jow, a mile or two north of Dour, decreased from 427 in 1941 to 214 in 1950. Some of the people from these two places crossed to Qatar, others moved to Rafaa. The population of the two Rafaas, and Sakhir, was 2,929 in 1941, it is now over 4,000.

## NATIONALITY AND RELIGION

1671 Assuming that the growth of Manamah's population was mainly due to more foreigners having settled in the town, which is very evident, it might be expected that the total number of foreigners in the country would be very much larger than the number which was recorded in 1941. In 1941 there were 15,930 foreigners. In 1950 the number was [563] 18,471. The largest foreign minority were, and still are, the Persians who in 1941 numbered 7,547 but in 1950 only 6,934 persons registered themselves as Persians. This [6411] figure is open to doubt. For many reasons it is advantageous for Persians to acquire Bahrain nationality, if they are Bahrain subjects they can buy land and can travel to Persia on Bahrain passports. During the last year or two the Government has refused all applications by Persians for Bahrain nationality. It is probable therefore that a number of Persians described themselves as Bahrain subjects in the hope that they would be accepted as such./ As most foreigners in Bahrain carry no papers which could establish their nationality it was not possible for the census staff to verify the nationality of Persians.

## LITERACY

212 An effort was made to ascertain the number of literates.
162 In addition to people who were educated at Government and private schools those who had learned to read and write at Quran schools were counted as literate. The first Government school was opened in 1919 and during the last twenty years the number of schools for boys and girls has steadily increased. Persons registered as literate amounted to 14,057. If Europeans and Indians were deducted from this total there remain about 10,000 literates among the local population of 105,000, approximately 10% of the indigenous population being literate. This percentage, for Bahrain, is not low.

## HOUSES

362 All occupied houses were numbered and counted; in some cases a "house" consisted of one small hut, in other cases it was a building occupied by thirty or forty members and hangers-on of one family. Empty houses, of which there were none in Manamah and few in Muharraq, were not included. The number of houses in Manamah was 5,703 and in Muharraq 3,720; in the first census the numbers were 4,051 and 3,155 respectively. In nine years 1,600 new houses have been built in Manamah and 500 in Muharraq. In both towns the proportion of stone houses has increased considerably. The figures for houses in the villages are less accurate, it was often difficult to determine where one dwelling, consisting of a group of huts in a compound, ended and the next dwelling began. The census showed 6,232 houses in the villages and islands as against 5,575 in 1941. Taking the whole population and the number of houses, the average number of persons occupying one house was 6½.

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The people of Bahrain are extremely law abiding and there is very little crime. A force of 300 uniformed police and 200 armed watchmen is responsible for the maintenance of law and order. The Police headquarters is the Fort to the south-west of Manama, this also contains the Traffic Department, the jail for short term convicts and the police barracks. There are police stations in various districts of Manama and Muharraq and in Hedd, Budaiya, Jaw, Sitra and elsewhere in Bahrain.

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Most of the Government buildings in Bahrain are constructed by the Public Works Department whose offices and yards are on the northern shore of Manama south of the Manama-Muharraq Causeway. This department is also responsible for the Manama town water supply and the upkeep of roads and bridges. Close to the Public Works Department, on the opposite side of the Causeway, is the power house and office of the State Engineer. Electricity was first installed in Manama in 1929, later it was extended to Muharraq. The Power Station now generates about 7½ million Kw. per annum.

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In addition to these departments there are others including the Transport Section, near the Police Fort, and the Agricultural Department which runs experimental gardens in Budiaya and Manama and gives advice to Bahrain agriculturalists.

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## THE RULING FAMILY OF BAHRAIN

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*The Ruler* :

HIS HIGHNESS SHAIKH SULMAN BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E.

*Sons of the Ruler* :

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HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH ISA BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH KHALIFAH BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH MUHAMMAD BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.

*Uncles of the Ruler* :

HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH ABDULLA BIN ISA AL-KHALIFAH, C.I.E.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH MUHAMMAD BIN ISA AL-KHALIFAH, C.B.E.

*Brothers of the Ruler* :

SHAIKH MUBARAK BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ABDULLA BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ALI BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH IBRAHIM BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH KHALIFAH BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH DAIJ BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH AHMED BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.

*Sons of Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa* :

SHAIKH RASHID BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ALI BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH HAMED BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.

Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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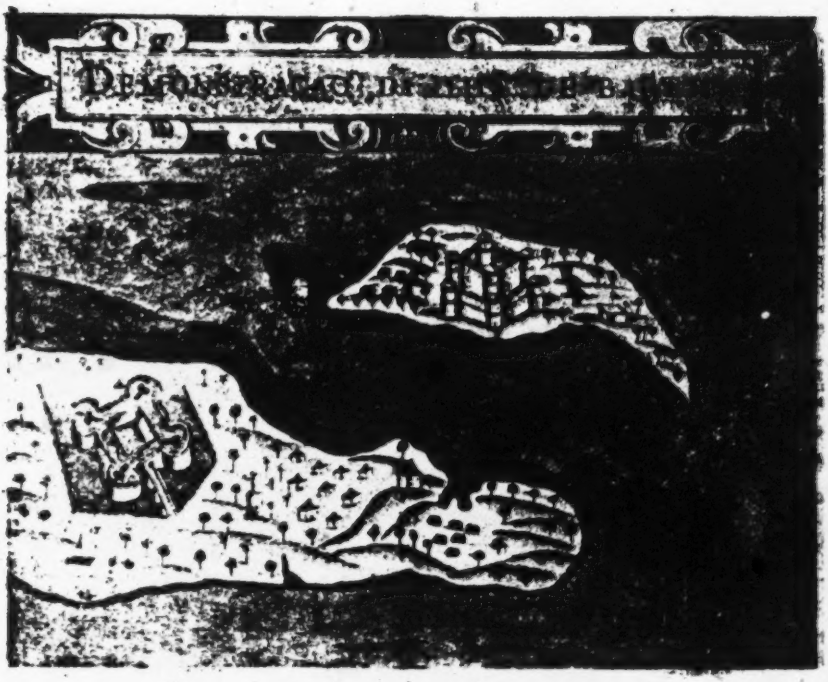

North Bahrain in 1635. A map taken from a Portuguese book on India (*see Chapter VIII*).

*Photo: Courtesy of Royal Egyptian Geographical Society.*

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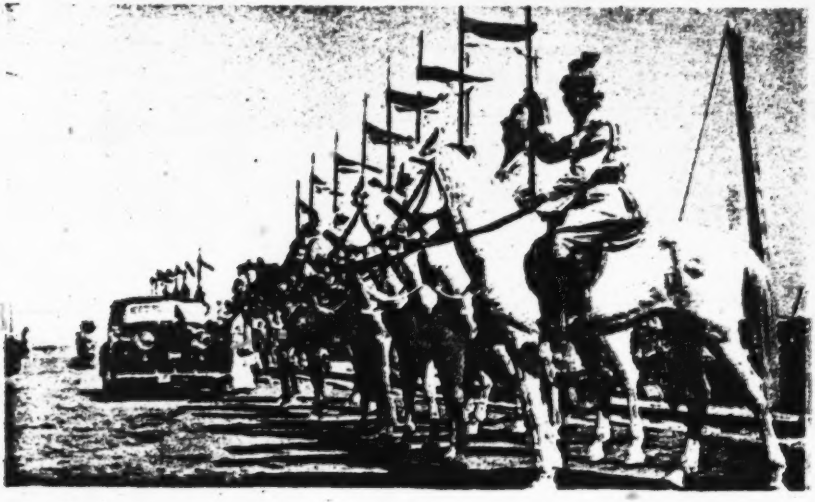

Bahrain State Police, Mounted Section.

*Photo: K. P. Narayan.*

Portuguese there was a church in Bahrain (bottom left-hand corner) and it is possible that the ruins that can be seen by the side of the road leading to the fort were once a church. Also in the map is a village of black-roofed houses with one tall minaret-like building, probably the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, whose twin minarets, as stated above, are of comparatively recent origin. The map also shows a number of small black houses facing on to a bay, these could represent the town of Manama, then a village, which is known to have existed in the time of the Portuguese. What is more surprising is the large two-storeyed fort on Muharraq Island ; this cannot be explained as easily as the other items, for there is to-day only one fort on Muharraq Island, that of Arad, which is known to have been built by the Omanis in 1800. It could be that they built their fort on the ruins of another older one, but it is also possible that this fort represents Muharraq town, which, until comparatively recently, was protected by a wall. On the map to the right of the fort is a small building with two flags, probably the tomb of some local notable, and to the left of the fort there is another group of houses representing either Muharraq or one of the coastal villages. Finally there is the island of Abu Mahir, whose fort is indicated by a small tower set in the sea to the left of Muharraq Island. The book from which this map is taken is in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris and the map is here reproduced by kindness of the Royal Geographical Society of Egypt.

361 172 712

Some miles south of the Jebal ad-Dukhan there is a hill called 'Amr and crowning it is a fort, a simple construction of loose stones, built, according to tradition, by Shaikh Jabbara, who became ruler of Bahrain about 1698 A.D. Far from gardens and fresh water, this fort was in fact in an ideal position from which to guard Bahrain against foreign enemies, for the sea is visible to the east and the west. The story of Shaikh Jabbara will be told in Part III.

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The palace of Shaikh Farir is said to have been situated at Rifaa ash-Sharqi, overlooking the central plain of Bahrain island and, to-day, the oil town of Awali. The fort of Rifaa ash-Sharqi in its present form was built by Shaikh Sulman bin Ahmed al-Khalifah, one of the early Khalifah rulers, who started work on it in 1812. The wooden doors that he caused to be set up can still be seen at the entrance to the house of the Amir of Rifaa, the inscriptions that they bear, when the numerical values of the letters are added up, indicate that the fort was built in the above year.

Returning to Manama, we pass the Qalat ad-Diwan, to-day used as the H.Q. of the Bahrain State Police. Although this fort has been modernised, the main outline is still recognisable as it was built on the orders of Nadir Shah, after he seized Bahrain in 1739. This fort contained the Persian garrison in Bahrain till they were expelled by the Khalifah. Shaikh Isa (1869-1932) often used the Qalat ad-Diwan as his summer palace until it was taken over by the Police.

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In Muharraq Island a rather comic toy-like fort sits on the seashore of Arad Bay facing Muharraq town. A simple construction of

by Sunni Arabs who were prosperous when the pearling industry flourished but who depend today upon fishing, the oil company and transporting jus from Hawar for their living. In the summer the heat and the shortage of water (for although Jaw has a well it is brackish and more to the taste of the date palms that grow around it than to the people) drive most of the inhabitants to migrate to Sitra. Jaw was once spread some distance along the shore, as can be seen from the ruins that surround it, and in addition to having been a pearling centre it was inhabited by the people of Zubara when they wanted to escape the tyrannical rule of the Wahhabis in the 19th century. Jaw is the point on Bahrain nearest to Zubara and the Qatar coast, and for that reason it was always garrisoned when there was a threat to Bahrain from the mainland, but today the Police Camel Corps, which is stationed there, is to prevent the smuggling into Bahrain of Arabs from the Trucial Coast who come seeking work.

North of Jaw on the road to the Refinery is Asker and opposite it the island of Mushaikha, where an old tomb is the centre of pilgrimage for one of the Moslem sects, the Buharas. The interior of the tomb is filled with bottles of rose water, brought by pilgrims as offerings. Asker itself is a village much like Jaw and Dour.

### JIDHAFS

We must now return to Manama and follow the other road that leads out of the town, this time in the direction of Budaiya. After passing through some miles of gardens the road reaches Jidhafs, a large village, which is also said to have been at one time the capital of Bahrain. Its inhabitants have a reputation for being enterprising and go-ahead, they have recently demonstrated this by deciding to build a club, the first in any of the villages, although in the towns there are many. Jidhafs contains one of the Shiite Juma Mosques and Friday Prayer is said there. It may seem strange that this should be a claim to fame, but according to Moslem custom only certain mosques are used for the Friday Prayers which is intended to encourage large congregations and to prevent the dispersal of the faithful in all the other mosques.

Like all the villagers, those of Jidhafs enjoy a visit to the town every now and then, and in the evenings bus loads of men and many cyclists can be seen coming in to town to enjoy themselves by going to the cinema or sitting gossiping with their friends in the coffee-shops to the blare of wireless music.

South of Jidhafs in the direction of Suq al-Khamis is the village of Ain al-Dar; although today it presents a quiet and peaceful appearance it was once the headquarters of a notorious gang of robbers who used a ruined house, inhabited by a lunatic, as a cache for storing their loot.

### BUDAIYA

This strange town, on the north-western tip of Bahrain Island, is connected with Manama by a good motor road which runs through the village of Jidhafs. Budaiya used to be a large town, divided into Two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya.

## HOWAR ISLANDS

101 This group of 16 islands is about twelve miles south-east of Ras al-Barr. It consists of one large island, Howar itself, which is about eleven miles long and a mile in breadth, and fifteen other islands much smaller in size. In the centre of the main island there is a rocky [361] eminence known as al-Jebal. There are only two villages, the larger [625] one at the northern end on the shore of the bay consists of stone huts with mat roofs (Kubbar); it also has a small mosque. The Bahrain [162] State Police maintain a garrison on the island, in a fort which dominates the bay and from the roof of which the Qatar peninsular is visible. The islands are inhabited by fishermen from Bahrain and also by men [312] who come to cut gypsum which they sell in Bahrain. The water supply of the island is very limited and consists of old cisterns cut out of living rock which are filled by rain. Attempts to drill for water have failed, but in the years when there is normal or plentiful rainfall the island provides good grazing for camels and sheep. Fishing in the 133 bay is excellent, the water is comparatively deep and a launch can 503 come alongside the short jetty. The southern tip of the island is so close to the Qatar coast that when the tide is out boats cannot pass between the island and the shore, but at one place between Howar and Qatar, a long narrow channel has been hewn out of the coral sea bed to allow boats to pass through a shallow stretch of water. This submarine canal was made by a certain Isa ibn Tarif, a notorious pirate, who played an important part in the history of Bahrain during the middle of the last century; he used the channel as a passage to his fortress on the Qatar coast from where he sallied forth to attack the shipping around Bahrain.

132 The climate of Howar is noticeably better than in Bahrain, it is drier and cooler during the summer nights, but has no other amenities to attract visitors fleeing from the dampness of Bahrain, and at present its only visitors go there for work and not for pleasure.

## ZUBARA

361 On the coast of the Qatar peninsular opposite the Bahraini village
172 of Jaw is the ruined town and the bay of Zubara, which has already been mentioned in detail in the history of Bahrain in Part II. The town of Zubara is on the east of the bay and stretches about 1½ miles along the coast and 2 miles inland. The ruins of the town are still impressive. The high wall which surrounds the wide straight streets and the fine mosques, the obvious care with which the town was laid out, speaks well for those who governed it. Further east of the town, at a distance of about two miles across the desert, is the great fort; some of the walls and the mosque are still standing. At the corners of the walls are towers with slits for rifles and the domed roof of the mosque presents an attractive picture. The whole building is made from local stone and little gypsum was used in its construction. Within the fort there are two wells one of which is dry, but the other still

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Among a small but vociferous section of the public there is a demand for a Code. This would be of great help to the Magistrates in the Court but as most of the cases which they hear are civil cases some sort of civil code is required even more than a criminal code. There is also criticism of the lack of legal qualifications of the magistrates, who are members of the Ruling Family. None of them have had legal training though some of them have had long experience of local court work. This is a relic of the days when the chief men of a tribe used to dispense justice to the members of the tribe. In the past the arrangement worked well enough but times have changed and the type of people who now appear in court are better educated, more sophisticated and more critical than they used to be.

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## POLICE AND PUBLIC SECURITY

(From the report of Shaikh Khalifah bin Mohamed AlKhalifah, Director of Police and Public Security)

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**Strength.** At the end of the year the strength of the Police and Natur forces was as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Superintendents .. .. .. .. | 3 |
| Inspectors .. .. .. .. | Nil |
| Sub-Inspectors .. .. .. .. | 3 |
| N.C.O's and Men .. .. .. .. | 299 |
| Followers, Clerks, Boatmen, etc. .. .. | 46 |
| Armed Naturs .. .. .. .. | 261 |

Three Police Inspectors were promoted to Superintendents and the post of the State Superintendent of Police was changed to Director of Police and Public Security.

During the year 53 recruits were enlisted, 30 men were granted their discharge, 2 were dismissed, 4 deserted and one died. The Naturs were increased by 7 men.

**Duties.** There was no change in the regular police duties which, as before, absorbed about half of the force. These duties included police posts, standing guards, police station personnel, traffic and jail duties and land and sea patrols. Musketry courses were fired by 271 N.C.O's and Men and by 4 Officers.

The camel section, which eventually became a picturesque but expensive survival, was done away with ; 11 camels were sold and one died and the men were posted to other sections. Patrol work previously done by the camel section can be carried out more economically and more efficiently by car patrols.

The health of the Police was good, the sick parade average was 5.7 per cent. against 6.2 per cent. in the previous year ; 44 men were in-patients at the Government Hospital as against 52 in 1371.

An N.C.O. with many years service in the force, Naik Juma Ali Taimoor, was run over by a car, when he was sitting outside a shop, and killed.

Earned leave was taken by 80 men of the State Police, most of them spent their leave in Bahrain ; 71 Naturs took earned leave.

Pay, rations and allowances were the same as in 1371.

**Stores.** Among the stores which were purchased during the year were blankets, boots, saddlery and spares for guns and rifles. Brass numerals to be worn by every N.C.O. and policeman were imported from the United Kingdom. In the past no numbers were worn.

At the end of the year the amount in the Police Provident Fund was Rs. 2,11,507. The balance of the Police Fund was Rs. 11,563/-, the sum of Rs. 5,744/- was paid out in loans to Police and Naturs, most of the payments being for building or repairing houses.

**Crimes and Accidents.** There was a slight increase in the number of serious crimes which is thought to be partly due to the large influx of foreigners, especially Omanis, during recent years.

On 25th January, 1953, some Omanis who were living in the brothel area, missed one of their party, Abdulla bin Salim. They went to his house which was found to be locked. One of them climbed over the wall and on entering the house he found Abdulla with his throat cut. The victim was a bad character, a procurer in the brothel area. Police investigations produced no evidence to justify a prosecution.

On 13th December, 1952, a youth named Abdul Husain bin Isa, who worked as a car cleaner and who habitually slept in a garage in Manama, was found by the owner of the garage, when he came to take out his car, lying dead on his bed with a wound in his back and signs of having been throttled. The garage doors were locked, one key was in the possession of the youth and the owner of the garage had another key. The garage, however, could have been entered by an inner door. There appeared to be no motive for the murder as the victim was not of the type to be associated with an affair of sex. The Police arrested the owner of the garage and his brother and laid a charge of murder against them in the Bahrain Court. The family of the murdered man were insistent that he had been murdered by the owners of the garage. The case was heard and the accused were acquitted owing to lack of evidence.

On 17th May, 1953, one Abdul Husain bin Haji Sulman bin Khalaf, a local Bahraini, was walking in a lane near his house, at night. His brother, Ibrahim, came on him from behind and stabbed him twice with a knife. He was seriously injured but after hospital treatment he recovered. The reason for the attack was a family quarrel. The attacker was sentenced to four years imprisonment with hard labour.

On 7th November, 1952, two men were cleaning their hands with petrol at one of the garages in Manama. Another man lit a match which ignited the petrol causing serious burns to both of the men one of whom subsequently died in hospital.

An Omani came from Dubai and reported to the Police that two years before his son, aged 18, who was working in a garage in Bahrain, died from burns. It was established that the boy had died in hospital as a result of burns but no evidence was forthcoming about the cause of the burns.

A man who was arrested for pickpocketing attempted to commit suicide by cutting his throat with a razor blade, in the Police Station.

There were two deaths from electrocution. A boy of 12 years caught hold of an electric wire in a shop and was killed, and a man climbed an electric standard, in order to catch birds, touched a live wire and was killed immediately.

Five cases of accidental drowning occurred, two men were lost when their small fishing craft capsized, an old man, reputed to be nearly 100 years old, fell into the sea from a fishing boat during stormy weather off Barbar and two children were drowned on the shore west of Manama town. In none of these cases was there any suggestion of foul play.

On 23rd August, 1953, some boys were out shooting on the shore near Jasrah. A shot from the gun of Mohamed Ahmed Al Ghatam entered the neck of one Ibrahim bin Mohamed Al Khalifah and killed him. The owner of the gun immediately left Bahrain. His father was ordered to pay Rs. 5000 to the relatives of the victim and to remove himself from Jasrah and an order was passed against the son forbidding him to return to Bahrain for an indefinite period. The families were related and were branches of the Ruling Family.

There were 280 cases of theft reported to the Police against 303 cases in 1371. Of these cases 55 were presented in Court, 133 cases were undetected and 92 cases were not proceeded with for lack of evidence. Most of the cases were pickpocketing and thefts of clothes.

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The financial progress of Bahrain during these years has been briefly as follows: five years of prosperity during which the State depended upon the diving industry, two lean years when the pearl market began to droop, two years of crisis during which the revenue did not cover the expenditure, one year of slight recovery followed by a sudden large increase of revenue from oil. It is likely that during the present year the revenue from oil alone will amount to more than double the total revenue of any previous year.

A detailed report on the revenue of these years is not necessary as it has been dealt with minutely in annual reports, but the accompanying figures show the annual income with explanations of any unusual rise or fall. The subject of this report is the last ten years, and it is not proposed in this report to deal with the future, but it may be stated that, in my opinion, the most urgent need for the State is to provide itself with a solid Reserve Fund which will assure it a regular income which can be depended upon even when oil begins to run dry. Unfortunately it is the nature of Arabs to be over-optimistic and to pay small heed to the future, so the need for building up this reserve will not be generally appreciated.

| *Year.* | *Customs Revenue.* Rs | *Other Revenue.* Rs | *Oil Royalty.* Rs | *Total.* Rs | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1344 | 8,82,000 | 1,80,000 | — | 10,62,000 | |
| 1345 | 10,68,000 | 3,37,000 | — | 14,05,000 | |
| 1346 | 11,43,000 | 97,000 | — | 12,40,000 | |
| 1347 | 11,24,000 | 91,000 | — | 12,15,000 | |
| 1348 | 9,98,000 | 1,36,000 | — | 11,34,000 | |
| 1349 | 6,89,000 | 1,28,000 | — | 8,17,000 | |
| 1350 | 6,85,000 | 1,19,000 | — | 8,04,000 | |
| 1351 | 6,00,000 | 84,000 | — | 6,84,000 | |
| 1352 | 6,08,000 | 89,000 | 29,000 | 7,26,000 | |
| 1353 | 6,57,000 | 1,63,000 | 67,000 | 8,87,000 | |
| 1354 | 6,91,000 | 83,000 | 5,68,000 | 13,42,000 | |
| 1355 | 8,74,000 | 81,000 | 6,92,000 | 16,47,000 | |

## THE STATE POLICE AND PUBLIC SECURITY

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**The Levy Corps.**

In 1926 the armed forces of Bahrain consisted of a Levy Corps, a few Persian police who were originally enlisted by the Municipality, and a body of 'Naturs,' armed watchmen who patrolled the town at night. The Levy Corps provided a guard at the Political Agency and posts at Rafaa and Sitra. The Levy Corps, which consisted of so-called Baluchis recruited in Muscat, was commanded by a British Officer seconded from the Indian Army, assisted by an Indian Officer and several Indian N.C.O.'s from Punjabi regiments. In 1926 the Levy Corps was commanded by Captain Geake, who had succeeded Captain Campbell. The Levy Corps was intended mainly as a defence force in case of any serious disturbance or an attack on Bahrain by the Dawasir Arabs, who once lived at Budeya but left Bahrain in anger soon after Shaikh Hamad assumed control.

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In the spring of 1926 it was decided that the Indian Army officer should be replaced by a British official, who would act as assistant Adviser and Commandant of the Levy Corps. Captain L. S. Parke was appointed in this capacity in place of Captain Geake, who returned to his regiment.

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**Political Disturbances.**

There was a general feeling of nervousness and unrest in Bahrain in 1926. Many people were afraid that the Dawasir would make a descent on the coast and a series of armed attacks on Shia villages, organised by disaffected members of the Ruling Family, were still fresh in the public mind. The present Ruler was not yet firmly established, many people were opposed to him, and in certain communities there was a feeling of bitter resentment against the new regime and the various reforms which had been introduced. Conditions were very different to what they are to-day: in the country few people would venture out unarmed at night, and in the towns there were frequent scares of armed attacks.

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On 3rd August, Haji Sulman, the Chief of the police, was shot at in Manamah; this caused great excitement; on the next day the 'shooting' occurred. Major, now Colonel, Daly, who was then Political Agent, was in the office at the Fort, seated at a table, talking to the Indian officer who stood in front of him. One of the Levy Corps men, who thought he had been badly treated by the Subedar, came outside the window and shot the Subedar from behind. The shot went through the Subedar, who died later in the day, and carried off a piece of Major Daly's ear. The man shot and killed one of the Indian Havildars and, when pursued by Major Daly, attacked him with a bayonet and wounded him in several places. Finally he surrendered himself. 579 701

There was an immediate panic in the town, crowds of people hurried into boats and set off for Muharraq, and shopkeepers closed their shops, thinking that the Dawasir were coming. Finally calm was restored. The affair was the action of a single individual who 'ran amok,' and it had no political significance; this opinion was not, however, shared by everybody. For about two months after the incident Bahrain was virtually under martial law. One, or sometimes two, of the sloops of the Persian Gulf Division were anchored in the harbour, and British naval guards were stationed at the Fort and at the Agency. The Levy Corps was disbanded and the men were sent back to Muscat, from whence many of them gradually returned to Bahrain as at that time there was no passport system and no check was kept on persons arriving in the country.

In the middle of October a detachment from one of the Punjabi regiments, commanded by a British officer, arrived in Bahrain and was stationed at the Fort. Shortly after their arrival the Baluchi Levy Corps man who had been the cause of all the trouble was tried, sentenced, and shot.

**Attempt to assassinate the Shaikh.**

About a month later Shaikh Hamad narrowly escaped assassination. He was driving out to one of his country houses after dinner, as was his custom, when he was shot at by four men at close range from behind a hedge at a bend in the road. The sudden glare of the car's powerful headlights evidently dazzled the men and their shots went low, hitting the car and missing the Shaikh, who at that time used always to sit in front next to the driver. Though the place of the ambush was only a mile or two from Manamah, no news of the attempt was received until next morning, and consequently the criminals escaped. 579 643

In 1930, through the combined efforts of Haji Sulman, the local police officer and Shaikh Mohomed bin Jabr, who is now the Amir of Muharraq, the men who attempted to assassinate Shaikh Hamad were arrested. It was proved that they were some of the same men who had taken part in attacks on Shia villages, where they murdered and robbed men, women, and children. Their final arrest was the result of long and complicated investigations extending over several years, and the result of this work reflected great credit on the police who dealt with the case. The men were a gang of Hassawis who were employed by certain members of the Ruling Family as 'gunmen.' For a price they would shoot anybody. The complicity of their masters was proved in the Bahrain courts and the Shaikhs who were concerned were heavily fined and deprived of their offices. One of them, when the murderers were convicted, was acting as the President of one of the Bahrain courts. Shaikh Ibrahim bin Khalid, who was one of the principal persons concerned, has since died. The Hassawis being foreigners were tried in the Agency court and sentenced not to death but to imprisonment.

On November 3rd, 1926, the village of Senobis, about three miles from Manamah, was attacked by armed robbers, several of the villagers were killed, and one of the attackers was shot while carrying away plunder.

**Indian Levy Corps.**

After these various events it was decided that a regular and efficient force was needed to preserve law and order. A force consisting of ex-Indian Army Punjabi Moslems was enlisted by me in India, with the help of the Indian Army recruiting authorities. Captain L. S. Parke arrived at the end of 1926 and took over command of the new Levy Corps; he held the post of Commandant of Police and assistant Adviser until 1932 when, owing to the need for economy, his agreement was not renewed. 701 625

The Indians, on the whole, were not a success, though they worked and behaved well, but they filled a gap at a time when a force of trained men was very necessary. The climate did not

suit them, they spoke no Arabic, and were regarded by the people of Bahrain as expensive foreign mercenaries; they were useless at ordinary police work, and the Indian Officers and N.C.O.'s caused constant trouble by incessant quarrels and intrigues. The Indians were enlisted for four years, but before this period had expired I began to enlist a force of local men as police, a project which I always strongly advocated. It was from this time that the present force was started, but the final transition was not completed until the end of 1932.

**Crime and Prostitution.**

The number of serious crimes which are committed every year in Bahrain is small in comparison to the population, which is thought to be about 150,000. Usually about one or two cases of murder are dealt with by the police during the year, but it is possible that occasional murders take place which are not detected, especially murders of women and newly born children. Although in recent years Bahrain has progressed in many ways, there are still a number of Arabs living in Hedd and Muharraq who consider that they are justified in murdering their female relations if the women bring shame on the family. A few of the very old-fashioned Arabs even consider that because the Government does not ignore such murders it is encouraging immorality. The Kadis, however, although ultra conservative in their outlook, disapprove of men taking the law into their own hands and murdering women who misbehave. In some Arab countries the fear of punishment by death for immorality has a very salutary effect, but Bahrain, although described as an Arab state, has very little in common with real Arab countries. The Baharna, who form about three quarters of the population, are not true Arabs, and the rest of the population includes all the nationalities who live around the Gulf. The only real Arabs in Bahrain are the Khalifah and a few families who came over with them from the mainland and a small number of members of mainland tribes who live almost entirely in Hedd, Muharraq, Budeya, and two or three small villages on the south coast.

Immorality is undoubtedly increasing, but the increase in prostitution is not due to the Government but is a matter of supply and demand. During the last two years numbers of foreigners earning good pay have come to Bahrain, usually without their families, from Persia, Iraq, and India, and this has undoubtedly caused an increase in prostitution. Venereal disease is rampant, and the proportion of persons suffering from it, especially in ophthalmic forms, is very high. The medical supervision of prostitutes would undoubtedly result in an improvement in the public health. This suggestion was discussed and approved by the Manamah Municipal Council some years ago, but it has not yet been possible to arrange the medical organisation to cope with this matter.

Most of the criminal cases which are dealt with by the police are cases of theft, assault, and immorality. Several important gangs of thieves have been rounded up during the last ten years. Some of these gangs were well provided with arms and had regular methods of disposing of stolen property in Bahrain or on the mainland. Foreigners, especially Hassawis, form the majority of the criminals. There are a number of inveterate thieves who spend the greater part of their lives in prison. Such persons, on the mainland, would be punished by cutting off of their hands and finally by decapitation. The punishments inflicted by the Bahrain courts are whippings, fines, and imprisonment, but imprisonment to many of these people is no hardship: the work is not hard, they are given better food than they would obtain themselves, and the only real punishment is being deprived of women.

**Drugs and Liquor.**

Liquor and drugs, such as opium, are forbidden in Bahrain, but in spite of the severe penalties which are enforced by the Bahrain courts against persons contravening the liquor regulations, the habit of drinking liquor and smoking opium is, in my opinion, steadily increasing. Ten years ago very few people drank liquor, and the smoking of opium was entirely confined to foreigners, Persians, Indians, and Baluchis. To-day many of the younger Arabs have acquired a liking for spirits, partly because they have had opportunities for drinking while travelling abroad, and frequent cases have occurred in which Arabs have been found to be taking opium.

Opium is smuggled into Bahrain from Persia, usually in native crafts, but sometimes hidden in merchandise on the mail steamers. It varies in quality, most frequently it is in large lumps weighing four or five pounds, but sometimes it is in paper-covered sticks sealed up in bundles. It is very

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276 439 expensive in Bahrain, and successful opium smugglers and retailers make large profits. Opium is easy to hide and lacks the strong smell which frequently leads to the detection of locally made liquor. In opium cases the police depend mainly on informers, who are usually men who are themselves concerned in the opium business but who consider that they have not had a fair share of the profits and so give their friends away. Opium has been discovered hidden in gramophones, clocks, flour-bins, and in the ceilings of rooms.

273 Illicit liquor used to consist entirely of locally distilled arak made from dates. Ten years ago it was manufactured only by two or three Iraqis and Jews, who were gradually rounded up, but in about 1930 there was a great increase in arak, and a number of Bahrain subjects took to making it, probably because it was such a profitable trade. The illicit liquor traffickers displayed great ingenuity in hiding their stills and their cellars: arak was made in ruined houses, in out-of-the-way date gardens and in subterranean rooms which still exist in a few old houses which were used in the past as places for hiding valuables in times of war. Distributors kept bottled supplies of arak in wells, in false walls, under rubbish heaps, and sometimes under the seats of motor cars. In one case the police discovered that the municipal lunatic asylum was a distributing centre, and the keeper and his wife were members of a liquor gang.

About two years ago, after numerous prosecutions, there appeared to be a decrease in the use of arak, but cases began to occur in which people used methylated spirits as a drink. During the last year this practice has increased very much, and a concoction consisting of methylated spirits mixed with eau-de-Cologne is rapidly taking the place of arak. It is probably more injurious to the health than arak, but it is very popular with women of the town, and apparently a small quantity causes drunkenness in a short time. Methylated spirit is only sold to reliable dealers, and is mixed before being sold with a chemical to make it unpalatable; there are no restrictions, however, on the sale of scent.

The Ruler, the religious leaders, and the majority of the people in Bahrain disapprove very strongly of drink, but there is a small section of the community which would like the restrictions on liquor to be removed. The great influx of well-paid foreigners from countries where the sale of liquor is allowed is the chief reason for the increase of cases against the liquor laws. There is undoubtedly an occasional leakage of liquor from the Bahrain Petroleum Company, but this is not sufficiently frequent to have any effect on the liquor question in general. The most effective way of preventing the increase in drinking is to deal very drastically with any cases which are proved in the courts.

697 **The State Jail.** The jail is in the Fort and consists of a number of cells and a yard. Prisoners are well fed—they usually put on weight during their term of imprisonment—and are provided with clothes. Convicts wear leg-irons, which is a measure to prevent their escape, as they work outside the Fort most of the day. There are no regular warders, but each section of the police takes in turn jail duties; this was found more satisfactory than having a permanent jail staff. Usually there are between twenty and thirty convicts in the prison. Debtors receive the same food as prisoners, but wear their own clothes and are not obliged to do any work apart from cleaning the prison. As most of the convicts serve for short terms, it has not been possible to organise any prison industries. There is no women's prison, but there are two cells adjoining the house of the senior police N.C.O., whose wife acts as a wardress if any women are confined in the Fort. The question of a small building for women prisoners is under consideration, and the present jail is also to be repaired during the coming year.

625 **The Present Police Force.** Although the existing police force was enlisted locally, the men are not all Bahrain subjects. The present strength of the police is 204 N.C.O.'s and men, including Bahrain Arabs, Shia Baharna, local Persians, and one or two Persians who served in the South Persian Rifles, Kurds, Yemenis, Iraqis, mainland Arabs, Swahilis, Somalis, Sudanese, and a number of manumitted slaves; the last category make very good policemen. In the past, service in the police was regarded as somewhat derogatory, but in the last few years the public attitude towards the police has changed: there is now keen competition to enlist in the force, and when a few recruits are required, hundreds of men present themselves at the Fort for enlistment. It is now possible to take only picked men whose height, chest measure-

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ment, and physique passes a standard test. The competition to enlist is due partly to the lack of employment among divers and partly to the change in public feeling towards the police. A few years ago the Shaikhs and the local people took no interest in them; now they have developed a patriotic pride in them, and when the police give a display the whole town flocks to see them.

Many of the police are divers, but men who have very heavy debts are not taken on. While serving in the police, men who owe money to Nakhudas refund Rs 5/- every month to their Nakhudas, and in this way many of the police have entirely paid off their debts. Usually, when a diver enlists, his Nakhuda reduces the man's debt by 20% or 30%, provided that the diver remains in the police until he has paid off the balance by instalments.

Policemen are enlisted for a period of four years; their pay is Rs 25/- per month, and in addition they receive Rs 3/- per month clothing allowance and are issued with uniform, rations, and quarters. About fifty married men occupy houses in the married lines. There is great need for more married quarters, and their construction is under consideration. It is in every way more satisfactory for married men to keep their wives in the Fort than outside in the town.

Recruits do a six months' training course, which is a modified version of the Indian Army recruits' course. It includes drill, musketry, bayonet fighting, and lathi drill. On completion of training they are drafted into sections. They respond well to training and soon acquire smartness which makes them distinguishable when they are walking out in mufti in the town. The best type of recruits are men who are partly Arab and partly negro; these combine the physique of the African and the quicker mentality of the Arab.

**Administration and Routine.** The police force is divided into fourteen sections and the headquarters, which consists of the senior N.C.O.'s, Indian instructors, the band, and men employed on special duties such as court work, hospital orderly, etc., etc. Duties such as jail guards, outposts, bazaar beats, are carried out by each section in turn, so that every man becomes acquainted with all various duties. Owing to the number of men employed on duties, it is rarely possible to muster more than forty men on the daily parades, which are held every morning except Fridays, and on four afternoons of the week. On the other afternoons the men play games, hockey, and football. The normal duties include outposts at Hedd, Muharraq, the Bahrain Petroleum Company's Camp, and Sakhir, guards at the Political Agency, the Quarter guard and police station, steamer parties, bazaar patrol, traffic duties, and guards on prison parties working outside the Fort. In addition to their normal duties, the police frequently provide guards of honour and sometimes take part in ceremonial parades either by themselves or with contingents of the British Navy. Three times every year the police go out for a route march round the island and are in camp for five or six days. On these occasions they carry their tents, kit, and food and are a self-contained unit; the transport is either donkeys or the police lorry.

**Changing Nature of Duties.** Owing to the rapidly changing conditions in Bahrain, the duties of the police are becoming more difficult and more complicated. When the present force was started the police had to deal with a comparatively simple and ignorant people and a small number of more sophisticated and educated Arabs and Indians. They are now brought into contact with a large English-speaking community and an ever-increasing number of educated Asiatic foreigners, most of whom speak no Arabic. Many of these people are inclined to resent the authority of the police, and frequently individual policemen are called upon to deal with situations which require considerable tact. They are at a disadvantage, being entirely uneducated and usually unable to speak the language of the person they have to deal with. There are only two men in the police who can speak English, and about half a dozen who can read and write Arabic. In the summer of 1934, Haji Sulman bin Jasim, the superintendent of police, died suddenly. His death was a great loss to the State as, in addition to his administrative qualities, he was very good at criminal investigation. This branch of police work is now being done by Havildar Mahmood, and the other Havildar, Ali Mirza, is responsible for the discipline and interior organisation of the force. One of the developments which has caused most work for the police is the sudden increase in motor traffic. On the average there are about ten motor accidents every month which have to be investigated and reported, and the checking of driving and car licences, as well as traffic supervision, has become one of the most important duties.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 · M22 Bahrain M22

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**Recent Innovations.** Three times during the last ten years the composition of the police force has entirely changed. First it was a Levy Corps of Muscat Baluchis, then ex-Indian Army Punjabis, and finally the present force, whose development and training dates from about 1930. During the last six years, though expansion and development has been restricted owing to the need for economy, various innovations and improvements have been carried out. Necessary alterations were made in the Fort, which is an ancient building of mud and stone, whose walls constantly crumble and subside. Two large, airy barrack rooms were built, and a large swimming tank was constructed in a corner of the barrack yard. A police station was built in the turbulent town of Hedd, much to the dissatisfaction of the inhabitants, who have a rooted objection to law and order, and a police post was built at Budeya where a section of Natura are now stationed. A police post with a lock-up and a flagstaff has a salutary effect on both these places, which have always been resentful of control.

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**Police Band.** The police band, consisting mostly of younger brothers of policemen, was started about two years ago. At first the band played entirely from ear, but in 1936 an Indian ex-army bandmaster was obtained as an instructor, and the band has now learned to play from music. A few years ago, during the visit of the Chief-in-Command, East India Squadron, the bandmaster of the marine band composed a national anthem for the Shaikh of Bahrain, which is now played on suitable occasions, and perhaps eventually the public will recognise it as a national anthem.

**Camel Section.** In 1935 a camel section was started, consisting of a dozen men mounted on camels which were provided by the Ruler. The N.C.O. in charge, a Sudanese, served in Egypt in the Frontier Districts Administration Camel Corps, and most of the men are manumitted slaves. The object of the mounted section is to patrol the coast and more inaccessible parts of the islands and to catch smugglers and persons landing without passports. The section has learned the regular camel drill; it presents a very smart appearance when on parade. Another section mounted on ponies is now being organised.

**Shooting.** The police, on the whole, are good at shooting, and during the last two years they have competed in a number of shooting matches with teams from the sloops of the Persian Gulf Division and teams from the Englishmen and Americans employed by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. In most cases the police have won the matches, sometimes beating their opponents by a large score. At the beginning of the present year a new system has been brought into force by which every man will fire a course during the year, and there will be a yearly inter-section competition. There are several unusually good shots among the police, and the men all show great keenness.

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**Uniforms.** The uniform of the police has passed through many changes in the last ten years. The original town police wore round black Persian caps, second-hand, ill-fitting khaki tunics originally used by the English Army, and long trousers. They now wear khaki shirts and shorts, puttees and sandals, and scarlet turbans as worn by certain Egyptian Army regiments, Somaliland Camel Corps, and Egyptian Camel Corps. In the winter they wear woollen jerseys and military overcoats.

**Police Training in India.** During the last two years two parties of six N.C.O.'s and men were sent to the 10th Baluch Regiment at Karachi for a course of nine months' military training. The experiment has been very successful, and the value of the men as policemen has greatly increased owing to their training with the Indian Army. Had the men been able to speak Urdu they would have learnt more, but in each batch only one or two had any knowledge of the language. Any future experiments of this kind would, I am sure, be more successful if they took place in an Arabic-speaking country such as Iraq or Egypt. The training with the Army, and seeing a foreign country, has given the men who went to India more confidence in themselves than they had before.

Two years ago, Naik Abdel Kerim, the son of the late superintendent of police, was sent to India for six months and attached for training to the Karachi police. The experiment was a success, but in this case the man could speak both English and Urdu, which enabled him to learn easily

## THE NATURS

625 The naturs consist of about 150 men who are employed in Manamah and Muharraq as town watchmen. Although they are armed with rifles, they do no drill and are not instructed in musketry or shooting. They are under the command of the Amirs of Manamah and Muharraq. Their chief duty is to patrol the bazaars and streets of the two towns during the night and to assist the police in any emergency. They are a cheap and useful force and an effective preventative against theft. They are paid Rs 25/- per month and they receive no rations or clothing except a white shirt and a headdress which they wear on official occasions. Men who are likely candidates for the police are frequently posted to the natur force until a vacancy occurs in the police; in this way they get some training before becoming policemen. The naturs are especially useful for investigation work and are frequently used in liquor and opium cases. In spite of occasional friction between the Amirs and the police N.C.O.'s, the naturs and the police work well together.

## CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT AND REVENUE

647 **Organisation and Establishment.** The Customs Department in its present form has existed for about fourteen years. Before then the late Ruler was in the habit of farming out the customs to certain Hindu merchants, which was unsatisfactory both to the State and to the mercantile community. In 1923 the Government of India lent to the Bahrain Government a special officer to organise a regular customs department which was based on Indian methods and the Bill of Entry system. In 1924, Mr. C. L. deGrenier was appointed Director of Customs, and he continues to hold the post. The institution of a regular customs system and department was appreciated by the public.

The customs was the first organised department of the Government, and in the beginning it acted as a general revenue department and dealt with many other matters besides customs; even now the collection of pearling and boat licences and registration of craft is done through the customs department.

The customs staff consists of the Director of Customs and nine senior Indian clerks, mostly men of long service, and about a dozen local clerks, of whom eight joined the department from the Government schools. In addition to the clerical staff there are about twenty-five naturs, many of whom are Bahrain-born Baluchis, the descendants of the Baluchi bodyguard who have been attached to the Khalifah shaikhs for many years. Customs officials are posted at Muharraq and at Sitra. There is no regular preventive service, as the local police and naturs are employed to detect cases of smuggling.

651 **Revenue.** 1. **Customs Duty.** Customs revenue is obtained from customs duties and Import Yard charges. Duty is assessed *ad valorem*, according to the local market value, but in practice the invoice price of goods is normally accepted for assessment of duty.

Until 1351 (1932-33), customs duty on goods of every kind was 5%; liquor was imported free of customs duty as it was regarded as an immoral import. In 1351 the duty on certain luxury articles was raised to 7½% and then to 10%, and the duty on tobacco and its products was raised to 15%, and 15% was charged on liquor.

2. **Import Yard charges. Khanchieh.** There is no demurrage or bonded warehouse system in Bahrain. Khanchieh, which is a ground rent for space in the customs premises occupied by imported goods, is charged according to a scale of fixed charges based, not upon value, but roughly on the size of packets. Nothing is charged for the first ten days, but after ten days a charge is made, and also every ensuing ten days.

3. **Porterage.** Porterage is charged for moving cargo from the pier to the sheds.

4. **Pier Fees.** Wharfage is charged according to a fixed tariff and includes 'Biladiya,' or municipal tax, which has now been abolished as a separate charge.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



## Government and Administration

The rule of the Sheikh, which is personal, is directly exerted over the part of Bahrein adjacent to Manāmah, and over the island of Muharraq, where he resides except during the four hottest months of the year. His authority over the rest of the principality is little more than nominal, for the land is divided among various relatives of his own, who hold it as almost independent fiefs, collecting their own taxes, and administering their own justice. Thus the islands of Sitrah and Nebi Sālih, with all the villages on the E. side of Bahrein to the S. of Khōr el-Kabb, and the inland villages of Rifā' esh-Sharqi and Rifā' el-Gharbi, are held by the Sheikh's brother Khālid. The subtraction of all this territory considerably reduces the Sheikh's revenue, which is derived not only from customs, but also from agricultural duties, taxes on pearl-boats, judicial fees, and rent of town lands, shops, or *khāns*. The Sheikh is assisted in the government by a *wazīr*, whose aid is all the more necessary, as the ruler is frequently absent on the mainland, chiefly for sporting purposes. In the towns of Manāmah and Muharraq there are deputy governors with the title of *emīr*.

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Justice, in criminal cases and important civil cases, is administered on behalf of the Sheikh by a chief qādhi. The treatment of minor cases depends upon the religious belief of the parties: if both are Sunnis, they go before the (Sunni) Sheikh of Muharraq: if both are Shiahs, before the (Shiah) Sheikh of Manāmah. There are, in addition, seven other qādhis permitted to adjudicate upon cases referred to them by agreement.

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Mercantile cases, especially those in which foreigners are concerned, are decided by a tribunal variously called *Mejlis el-'Urfi* or *Mejlis et-Tijārah*, a Customary or Commercial Court, with permanent members nominated by the Sheikh in consultation with the British Political Agent. When one or more of the parties to a case is a British subject, or when none of them are Bahrein subjects, the Mejlis is usually convoked by the Agent, and sits at the Agency, a representative of the Sheikh being permitted to attend. Cases arising out of pearl-diving operations are settled by a special board of arbitration known as the *Sālifat el-Ghaus*.

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## Recent History and Present Politics

Although the Sheikhs of the Khalīfah family had been in direct relations with us since 1805, and under treaty since 1820, another sixty years elapsed before the ruler of Bahrein entered into a binding

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## PASSPORT DEPARTMENT

Passport control by the Bahrain Government was begun in 1928, when a passport official was appointed whose duty was to register the names of all passengers landing from steamers in Bahrain. Soon afterwards all passports which were in order were stamped with the Bahrain passport control stamp. 486 647

In 1929 the Government began issuing its own passports to its subjects. The book passports are similar to those of other countries; the binding of the passports is scarlet. Passports are valid for two years, but can be renewed for eight more years. Application for passports is made on a printed form; the cost of a book passport is Rs 7/- and for each renewal Rs 5/-.

Soon after the introduction of book passports the Government began to issue travel documents for use within the Gulf, costing Rs 2/-, which are valid for one year only and are not renewable. The proposal that special travel documents should be issued for pilgrims to Mecca and the Shia holy cities in Iraq has not yet materialised.

For the last seven years the British Consular authorities abroad have, on behalf of the Bahrain Government, given visas to persons travelling to Bahrain, and to Bahrain subjects abroad.

Bahrain passports are not considered valid by the authorities in Persia. Persians living in Bahrain are given special exit and return passes, valid for twelve months, which enable them to go to Persia and return, and a special arrangement is made in the case of genuine Persian divers working in Bahrain boats. Other Persians who wish to visit Bahrain have to obtain special permission from the Bahrain Government, and such permission is only given on the written and stamped guarantee of a respectable local merchant, who assumes responsibility for the person returning and for his good conduct in Bahrain. Should occasion require it, these privileges could be cancelled, and no Persian would be entitled to visit Bahrain without the necessary visa on his passport.

Bahrain nationals travelling to any foreign countries outside the Gulf obtain a visa from the Political Agent, Bahrain. Travel documents issued by recognised authorities in other Gulf States to their own nationals are recognised by the Bahrain Government, and the holders are admitted without a visa.

Various fees and stamp duties are collected by the Passport Department, and at one time the collection from passport fees was the third largest item of revenue in the Budget. The Passport Officer, who has been the head of the department since it started, is Mr. Jalal-lu-din Ahmed. [651]

In spite of the vigilance of the passport officials, especially during the last year, great numbers of indigent Persians have entered Bahrain, illegally, at various points on the coast. Many of these people obtain work with the Bahrain Petroleum Company and fill posts which should be occupied by Bahrain subjects. The enormous increase in Persians, most of whom entered Bahrain without permission, is especially noticeable in Manamah, where almost every other person in the bazaar and nine out of ten of the beggars appear to be Persians. When once these highly undesirable aliens have entered the country it appears to be almost impossible to repatriate them. Being foreigners, they are not under the control of the Bahrain Government. [167]

## MUNICIPALITIES

**Constitution and History.** Manamah. Municipalities exist in Manamah and Muharraq. The Manamah municipality was founded in 1919, under the presidency of Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa. As in the case of almost every innovation in Bahrain, the first proposal to form a municipality met with open and hidden hostility, not from the small people, but from the important landowners in the town, who feared that their vested interests would be affected. In after years the people who objected most actively became strong supporters of the municipality. The ill-feeling soon subsided, and in 1927 another municipality was formed in Muharraq at the request of the people of that town. 632

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The Manamah municipality consisted originally of a council of eight members, with a president, vice-president, and secretary. Several of the councillors, as well as the vice-president and the secretary, were foreigners. Bahrain subjects were a minority, but at that time foreigners were more progressive than the people of the country. To-day, in municipal affairs, there is little difference between the two communities.

The municipality began by numbering all the houses in order to impose a house tax by which it could pay for cleaning the town and repairing streets and roads, and for some years it confined its activities to this work. Manamah used to be a filthy town. House refuse was thrown into the streets or on to mounds in open spaces, as is still done in the country villages. These refuse mounds in the villages have recently been discovered by cultivators as providing supplies of good manure. Vegetables, fish, and meat were sold under the most insanitary conditions, and the narrow lanes in the town and the bazaar were choked by leaking drains and open cesspits.

In 1920, Shaikh Hamad became President of the Council, with Khan Bahadur Mohammed Sherif, a Persian merchant, as Vice-President, and Haj Khalil Kanoo as Secretary. The members of the council continued to be appointed by the Government, but in 1926 the constitution of the council was changed. Ten members were appointed by the Government and ten were elected by the public. Every householder who paid a certain sum in house tax was eligible to vote. Each community was represented by one or two members, but elections were conducted in a casual way: there was no recording of votes, and persons wishing to sit on the council produced sheets of signatures, usually thumb-prints, which may or may not have been genuine. Usually the same persons were elected year after year, and a seat on the council came to be regarded as a family right. The permanent members became lethargic and took small interest in anything except opposing on principle any measures that might possibly affect their own pockets.

The last irregular election was in October, 1926. A year later it became necessary for the Government to intervene in the administration of municipal affairs. The council was dissolved, the Secretary and his assistant were dismissed, and a new election was held. A register of electors was published, the public recorded their votes in person, and for the first time a ballot-box was used. It was found at this election that the Jewish Hindu, and Moslem Indian communities did not conform to the regulations necessary to entitle them to representation; although their numbers were sufficient, the Indian owned hardly any property in Manamah. Each of these communities were invited by the Government to nominate a member, instead of electing one, who, if approved by the Government, would be given a seat on the council. The Jewish community agreed to the suggestion, but the Indians refused, and since then they have not been represented.

For the Ruler of the State to be President of the Municipal Council created a difficult position. When matters were discussed, voted upon and passed by the council, it was assumed that the presence of the Ruler during the debate signified the final acceptance of the measures by the Government. In 1929, Shaikh Hamad retired from the presidency of the council and appointed in his place Shaikh Mohammad bin Isa alKhalifah, who still continues to hold this office when he is in Bahrain. During the summers when he is away, Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa acts as President.

The council is elected for three years; the last election was in 1935, and the composition of the council was as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The President ... ... ... ... | | |
| The Secretary ... ... ... ... | | |
| Arab members ... ... ... ... | | 5 |
| Baharna ... ... ... ... ... | | 5 |
| Negdis ... ... ... ... ... | | 2 |
| Persian Sunnis ... ... ... ... | | 2 |
| Persian Shias ... ... ... ... | | 2 |
| Jews ... ... ... ... ... | | 1 |
| | | 19 |

632 **Muharraq.** The Muharraq Municipality, being a comparatively recent institution, has usually followed the lead of Manamah and has adopted most of its regulations. The election and composition of the council is similar to Manamah, but except two Persian members, all the councillors are Bahrain subjects. The Muharraq councillors are usually older men than those in Manamah and less enterprising and progressive. The activities of the municipality are restricted owing to its small income. During municipal elections in Manamah there is a great deal of excitement and canvassing, but in Muharraq very little interest is taken in municipal politics. The President of the Muharraq Municipal Council is Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa, who also acts as President of the Manamah Council during the lengthy yearly absences of Shaikh Mohammad bin Isa.

**Municipal Finance.** **Government Assistance.** Soon after the Manamah Municipality was instituted, a pier tax, known locally as the 'Biladya tax,' was imposed on imports into Bahrain, which was intended to provide the funds for municipal expenditure. Later this system was found to be unsatisfactory, and in place of the proceeds of the pier tax a regular subsidy of Rs 2,000/- per month was paid by the Government to the Manamah Municipality. The same amount was paid to the Muharraq Municipality when it started, but during the financial depression both these subsidies were reduced by 50%. When conditions improved the allowances were restored to the original amount.

Half of the vehicle tax which is collected by the Government is divided between the two municipalities and is spent by them on upkeep of roads in municipal area. The cost of repairing, widening, and making new roads inside the towns is now considerably more than this subsidy.

In addition to the regular payments by the Government to the municipalities during the last year or two, special grants have been made for specific purposes, such as for filling in the pits at the back of Manamah, for cutting a new road through Ras Romaan to connect the Muharraq causeway, etc., etc. Although it would be possible to increase the monthly subsidy to the municipalities, I think that it would be very unwise to do so, as this would have the immediate result of causing the council to reduce the municipal house tax, which has already been reduced several times during recent years and is now very low. Unfortunately, in financial matters, the members of the council, who are usually large property owners, are influenced more by personal interests than by civic spirit.

[651] **Municipal Taxation.** Apart from the Government's subsidy, the chief income of the municipalities is obtained from the house and shop tax. In addition to this, revenue is collected from fees on animals slaughtered in the municipal abbatoir, a tax on gramophone records, application fees for erecting new buildings, coolie licences, dog licences, and a few other local forms of taxation, all of which amount to a comparatively small sum. Shops, offices, and stores are assessed according to the rental value at the rate of two annas in the rupee; houses which are let pay Rs -/1/6 in the rupee, but houses which are occupied by their owners pay house tax according to an assessment, which is made by a committee who have no method or system and who consider the status of the individual more than the value of the property when deciding how much shall be paid. This last arrangement is open to much abuse.

MANAMAH MUNICIPALITY

| *Year.* | *Revenue.* Rs | *Expenditure.* Rs |
|---|---|---|
| 1344 | 1,19,600/- | 97,000/- |
| 1345 | 1,11,000/- | 90,000/- |
| 1346 | 1,17,300/- | 85,000/- |
| 1347 | 1,10,800/- | 1,03,000/- |
| 1348 | 1,06,000/- | 1,03,000/- |
| 1349 | 62,000/- | 68,600/- |
| 1350 | 62,300/- | 61,300/- |
| 1351 | 55,000/- | 60,900/- |
| 1352 | 55,600/- | 49,400/- |
| 1353 | 58,200/- | 35,900/- |
| 1354 | 57,300/- | 47,600/- |

632 Until 1348 the Government paid Rs 48,000/- per annum to municipal funds, and the municipality paid Rs 24,000/- to the Government towards public protection.

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**Municipal Achievement.**

**Manamah.** It is in Manamah that the work of the municipality is most conspicuous, partly because Manamah Municipality has had more money to spend and has existed for longer than the Muharraq Municipality.

**Roads.**

The most noticeable work in Manamah during the last ten years is the construction of roads and the widening of streets in the bazaar area. Ten years ago there were very few parts of the bazaar which could be reached in a car, and even the most important shops were situated in narrow lanes. Now most of the principal bazaars are accessible to cars. The wider streets, which are in some places permanently roofed, are more healthy and sanitary and are easier to keep clean. The style of building has changed: people are no longer contented with low, dark shops, but build high, airy showrooms with windows in which their goods can be displayed. Although the first people to set this fashion were foreign shop-keepers, their example was very soon followed by the local traders, especially as, during the last two years, rents of good shops and offices, as well as houses, have risen considerably.

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**Conservancy, Sanitation, Water Supply, Malaria.**

For many years a municipal contractor was employed to clean the town; his work was satisfactory in the conspicuous parts of the bazaar and town, but not satisfactory in the back quarters of Manamah. The municipality now does the work itself, with more successful results. On the whole, the town is very clean and free from smells. One of the greatest problems which the municipality has to deal with is the reclamation of low ground behind the town, where water lies stagnant after the rainy season for many months. Originally the people of Manamah dug mud from this site for building houses, and now a large area of ground is only a few feet above sea level, so low that all attempts to drain the water into the sea have proved unsuccessful. During the last two years, special grants of Rs 10,000/- have been made by the Government to the municipality for filling this ground. The work is not yet complete.

Until a few years ago sanitation in Manamah consisted of cesspits in every house, which were emptied once or twice a year. The system was satisfactory; the municipal inspectors reported any leaking drains or insufficiently covered cesspits. Lately, however, many householders have installed a water supply, and an attempt at modern sanitation. In the case of houses on reclaimed land and near the sea, the drains flow into the sea, but the drainage conditions of houses distant from the sea is not satisfactory. A sewer which was built from the Municipal Garden to the sea, at the cost of over Rs 7,000/-, has not proved a success owing to the small difference in level between the garden and the sea, and drains which empty into this sewer have flowed backwards. At the time of writing, work is being done on the sewer, and it is hoped that it will eventually serve its intended purpose.

The water supply in Manamah now consists of a number of artesian wells, some of which are private property, others having been made by the Government. The Government and the municipality have issued regulations to prevent waste of water and the collection of stagnant water where mosquitoes will breed; these regulations are effective in the town. During certain months of the year, in the spring and autumn, there are a great many mosquitoes in Manamah and Muharraq. It has, I think, been proved that the main mosquito-breeding place is inside houses in the large earthenware water jars which are kept in every compound, usually in a dark corner under a shed. They are never emptied, but are refilled when the supply gets low. Until now the municipal council and the public have strongly opposed all suggestions that the water jars should be inspected. In Rafaa and Sakhir there are always quantities of mosquitoes, and these places are many miles from any gardens or water, which is an additional proof that the mosquitoes breed inside the houses. The municipalities spray oil on all standing water and take all possible steps to deal with breeding places which are not inside houses, but their officials have no authority to enter houses and inspect them.

At a future time it will be necessary to consider installing a regular town water supply, and possibly a drainage system as well. It is possible that a water system with a tap in every house would obviate the need of water jars and reduce the number of mosquitoes.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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The municipalities are valuable vehicles for carrying out sanitary and health measures among the public. It is easier to introduce unpopular rules, such as anti-malaria regulations, through the municipalities than by direct Government action.

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**Fire Precautions, etc.** In several parts of the town there are quantities of barasti houses made of palm branches; these buildings are very inflammable. When fires occur in these neighbourhoods the flames spread rapidly. The Manamah Municipality some years ago built fire stations in various parts of the town, equipped with a fire bell and tins of sand for use in emergency. The storing of more than a certain number of tins of petrol and paraffin inside the town was also forbidden, and for this reason the Anglo-Persian Oil Company were given a piece of ground on the sea shore beyond Manamah, on which they built an oil and petrol store. The Government has now ordered a fire engine from England, and when this arrives, valves will be fitted on to the artesian wells in the town so that the engine can fill from any well. The fire engine will be in charge of the police, and will be kept at the Fort.

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**Markets and Food Regulations.** During the last ten years the municipality has greatly improved the conditions under which food is sold in the bazaars. Animals used to be slaughtered in the town opposite the Municipal Building, and the meat was sold under filthy conditions in a line of palm branch shops whose mud floors were never clean. The monopoly for the meat market and the slaughter-house was in the hands of Shaikh Sulman bin Shaikh Hamad. The municipality, in 1346, built a slaughter-house on the shore at Kozaibia, actually in the sea, connected to the shore by a pier; and by means of an arrangement with Shaikh Sulman a proper stone meat market was built adjoining the Municipal Building. The municipality eventually, with the assistance of the Government, purchased Shaikh Sulman's rights over the slaughter-house, which is now a municipal concern. The negotiations, unfortunately, caused considerable ill-feeling, but the final results were satisfactory.

In 1931 a fish market was built, and during the present year three large steel markets have been erected by His Highness on his own property in the Suk al Arba, which are to be used as vegetable, lucerne, and fruit markets. These buildings, and a number of new stone shops, occupy a site which previously contained barasti buildings. After a serious fire at the end of 1936, the whole of the area was laid bare, and it was then possible to rebuild the markets, replacing straw shelters with stone shops and steel buildings.

Many regulations have been passed by the municipality affecting foodstuffs; dried fish, which has an evil smell, can only be sold in a certain area; the food sold in the hotels and coffee shops is regularly examined by municipal inspectors, who are also responsible for the cleanliness of soda factories. Other matters affecting food in which the municipality has shown an interest—sometimes a rather officious interest—are prevention of short-weight bread, use of soda, adulteration of real ghee with cheap vegetable ghee, short-weight rice, and also standardisation of weights and measures. During Ramadhan, the municipality buys a quantity of sheep and sells meat at cost price in order to assist the poor. Other charitable work which is done by the municipality is the payment of compensation to poor persons whose houses are destroyed in fires, and the burial of paupers.

**Public Health Measures.** In 1931 the municipality opened a lunatic asylum, which was badly needed. It is under the supervision of the Quarantine Medical Officer. The inmates are men and women, and it usually contains about a dozen patients.

The need for a leper settlement has been often discussed by the council, but this has been postponed until the Government has its own medical officer. There are a number of lepers in Bahrain, especially in the country villages, and undoubtedly steps should be taken to segregate them. Foreign lepers, when they are discovered, are immediately sent home to their own countries.

Attempts to enforce compulsory vaccination have not yet succeeded, though the need for this is appreciated by many members of the council.

Both in Manamah and Muharraq there are municipal midwives—Indian—who also have free dispensaries and clinics for women and children. The Government has recently opened a second

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937),1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

632 744 women's dispensary in Manamah, which is in charge of a midwife who was trained in Iraq and was for some years in the Basra Civil Hospital. The work done among the women is much appreciated and is, in my opinion, very valuable. Bahrain is notorious as being the one place in the Gulf where local midwives still administer a certain sort of treatment to women after childbirth which has the most disastrous effects on ensuing childbirth. It is hoped that the work of trained midwives will combat the local practices.

All stagnant water inside the municipal area is sprayed regularly with crude oil, which is provided free for the purpose by the Bahrain Petroleum Company.

**Gardens, Cemeteries.** About thirteen years ago the Manamah municipality bought a large piece of ground inside the town for a municipal garden. Two years later an artesian well was drilled there and a quantity of trees, mostly obtained from Karachi, were planted in the garden. The trees are now very tall, and the garden is much frequented by the public, especially during the hot weather, when quantities of people go there in the afternoons and sit in the shade under the trees. Part of the ground has been made into a small zoological garden, and the Bahrain Sports Club, by arrangement with the municipality, has built two cement tennis courts, which are much used. It has been proposed regularly for the last four or five years in the municipal council that on one afternoon the garden should be set aside for women only. Every year the motion has been defeated, but each year by a smaller number of votes.

Two large cemeteries, formerly open on all sides, inside the town were surrounded by stone walls in 1930, which has done much to improve the appearance of the part of the town where they are situated. The tomb of Shaikh Ahmed, the first Khalifah Shaikh of Bahrain, on the southern edge of the town, was repaired and walled at the same time.

632 361 744 **Muharraq Municipality.** The work of the Muharraq municipality is less conspicuous than that of Manamah. The most important work after town cleaning and road widening has been the filling in of what used to be a noisome creek which reached from the shore almost to the entrance of the bazaar. The reclaimed ground is valuable, and is now occupied by stalls and the taxi stand. The sea road on the north of the customs office was built by the municipality about eight years ago, with assistance of a special grant from the Government. The question of extending this road is now under consideration.

Opportunity for town planning is almost non-existent in Muharraq, as the town is surrounded on three sides by the sea and on the north much of the shore has always been flooded during high tides. The municipality has made some effort to preserve the low-lying land outside the town by building a long, low wall on the shore which keeps back the sea.

During the last two years the Muharraq municipality has carried out work in Hedd, where no municipality exists, widening the main road and filling in a long and very insanitary sewer. The Government made a special grant for this work, which was outside the province of the Muharraq municipality.

The town of Muharraq is very congested; there are no open spaces or public gardens as in Manamah, and the streets are too narrow for trees to be planted in them. For this reason it is difficult to improve the appearance of the place. Houses in Muharraq are old-fashioned in style and, except on the sea road, few of them are detached; the bazaars do not contain any modern shops, and there are no public market buildings. For several years the commercial importance of Muharraq has been declining, though it is still a centre for pearl trading, as most of the biggest pearl merchants live there.

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**MUHARRAQ MUNICIPALITY**

| *Year.* | *Revenue.* Rs | *Expenditure.* Rs |
|---|---|---|
| 1346 ... | 46,000/- ... | 38,500/- |
| 1347 ... | 62,900/- ... | 59,600/- |
| 1348 ... | 95,600/- ... | 82,800/- |

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

632

MUHARRAQ MUNICIPALITY (*cont.*)

| | Revenue. Rs | Expenditure. Rs |
|---|---|---|
| 1349 ... | 52,000/- ... | 46,300/- |
| 1350 ... | 36,700/- ... | 28,900 - |
| 1351 ... | 33,900/- ... | 27,700/- |
| 1352 ... | 33,700/- ... | 30,400 - |
| 1353 ... | 32,800/- ... | 26,200/- |
| 1354 ... | 32,600/- ... | 23,300 - |

The Manamah municipality, after the Customs Department, is the longest-established public department in Bahrain. In the beginning its authority extended in various directions beyond the normal functions of a municipality: it controlled the police and it had some influence over customs matters. Owing to this reason, the municipality in the past has at times assumed rights over matters which do not concern it, such as objecting to the import of vegetable ghee on the grounds that the public could be cheated by its adulteration with real ghee; but during recent years the council has confined its work to legitimate municipal affairs.

The municipalities are encouraged as much as possible to manage their own affairs; they are not dominated by the Government, but they are given advice when they require it. The municipal officers and past and present members of councils have a certain civic pride, and they and the public, especially in Manamah, are proud of the work which the municipalities have done.

The community in Bahrain, especially the people in the capital, is passing through a period of transition. Manamah is no longer just a prosperous diving town depending almost entirely upon pearls; it is rapidly becoming the commercial centre of the Gulf and, in addition to this, Bahrain is now one of the important oil-producing countries of the world. These changes, which have been very rapid, produce many new problems, some of which have to be dealt with by the local municipalities, and so far, on the whole, they are dealing with them successfully. Among the possible developments for the future which have been considered at municipal meetings, apart from water supply and drainage system, which I have mentioned, are public libraries, public baths, hot and cold, and a workhouse for aged paupers.

## THE PEARL-DIVING INDUSTRY

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**General.** For many centuries pearl diving has been the sole industry in Bahrain, on which the prosperity and the existence of the people has depended. Ten years ago it was still a flourishing concern, although big profits were not so easily made as they were some years before. Then came the collapse of the pearl market in Europe, and within a few seasons the diving industry in Bahrain shrunk to a fraction of its former importance. The revenue of the Bahrain State depended, indirectly, on the pearl trade. It consisted chiefly of customs duties on imports, and when the pearl diving flourished, divers, merchants and boat-owners had money to spend in the bazaars and shop-keepers imported large quantities of goods to sell to the public. The slump in the pearl trade was reflected in the decline of the revenue. If oil had not been discovered in Bahrain the country would now be on the verge of bankruptcy.

**The Diving System.** Both the method of diving and the system of the industry are very ancient, as is shown by descriptions of Bahrain in books written by travellers many hundreds of years ago. Theoretically, the system is a fair one, the total profits of each boat, after deducting all expenses, are divided proportionately among the pullers, divers, and the nakuda, a puller receiving one share, a diver two shares, and the nakhuda the share of five divers. There are various modifications of this system applicable in special circumstances, all of them well known and recognised in the diving community. In course of time, however, changes and abuses crept into the system. Originally the boat-owners were rich enough to finance their own boats for the season; then came a time when many of them were unable to find the large sum of money which was necessary to buy the provisions and to pay the advances which were made to the divers.

132 siderable violence, particularly in June and July and in January and February.

## POPULATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### Population

161 464 At the time of the second census in 1950, the population of Bahrain numbered 109,650, with 91,179 Bahrain subjects and 18,471 foreigners. In addition, about 5,000 Bahrain nationals were believed to be working in other countries, chiefly in Saudi 162 Arabia. Among the foreign residents there were 6,934 Iranians, 3,043 Indians, Pakistanis and Goanese, 2,526 Saudi Arabians, 2,466 Omanis and Muscatis, and 2,208 British and other Europeans and Americans.

144 The Bahrainis represent a medley of Arab and Persian peoples, as well as various Negro admixtures, descendants of former slaves from Africa. The Baharna, the original inhabitants of the islands, are of mixed Arab-Persian origin, while the Arabs derive 795 chiefly from the mainland of Arabia. The population is almost exclusively Moslem: in 1950, only 4 per cent of the local residents belonged to other religious communities, with 2,348 Christians, 975 Hindus and 293 Jews. Both the Shia and the Sunni sects of Islam are prominent. The Baharna and the Iranians are Shiites, while most of the Arabs are Sunnites, including a small contingent which adheres to the Wahhabi 191 branch of central Arabia. Arabic is the national language. Other tongues are employed by the different racial groups, but most educated Bahrainis and town-dwelling laborers are familiar with English.

62 632 The returns of the 1950 census indicated that almost 62 per cent of the people lived in the 3 main towns of Manama, Muharraq and Hedd, and the remainder in some 80 rural villages and settlements. Manama, the seat of government and the largest town, located on the island of Bahrain, had a population of 39,648. Muharraq, the chief town on the adjacent island, numbered ap-

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East,
BAHRAIN M22

proximately 26,000 residents, and Hedd, a pearl fishing center, around 10,000. The population exceeded that of the 1941 census by almost 20,000: the increase was confined mainly to the towns of Manama and Muharraq, and was attributed in large part to immigration.

Since the organization of the first government school in 1919, education has made considerable progress, but expansion is handicapped by a shortage of trained teaching personnel. In 1950, the Bahrain government supported 13 primary schools for boys —8 in the towns and 5 in the villages. Educational facilities were made available to girls in 1928, and at present 6 primary schools are in operation. Of the 5,770 pupils registered in government schools in 1950-51, slightly over 1,700 were girls. A few private schools are established in Manama, while Koranic schools are found in most towns and villages. The government also maintains a secondary school, a technical school and a school hostel for boys, and provides scholarships for qualified students for advanced study at the American University of Beirut and in Great Britain. In the recent census, the literacy rate in the indigenous population was estimated at 10 per cent.

### Vital Statistics

The registration of births and deaths is not compulsory in Bahrain, and no data for the calculation of vital statistics are obtainable. Local medical authorities agree that the mortality rates in infancy and early childhood are uniformly high. Observations made by the census enumerators in 1950 suggest that the infant mortality is particularly serious in the rural villages, in contrast with the towns, where living conditions have improved within recent years. The maternal mortality rates are correspondingly high.

The size of the population remained practically stationary in the rural districts in the 9-year interval between the first and the second census surveys. The rate of increase in areas outside the towns of Ma-

p. 256 (B)

which opens at 11 a.m. and at midnight, for an hour, to allow the passage of vessels through the deep channel between the two islands. There is a toll gate at the bridge and cars coming from Muharraq to Manama are charged 4 annas. Beyond the bridge, around a group of white buildings, the Customs House, Police Station and Municipal Office, there is always a scene of much activity. Here boats unload their cargoes and buses fill with passengers bound for all parts of the Islands. The sea road continues along the water front until it turns inland towards the airport. Much of the ground inside the sea road has not yet been reclaimed and at high tide the sea forms little squares of still water where children sail home-made boats. On Muharraq sea front there are several important buildings, a government dispensary, a large school and, at the northern corner, a block of flats.

491 486 344 [857]

Another road, opposite the causeway, runs up into the town passing through the bazaars, which branch off to the north and south. The Muharraq shops are of the old fashioned type, with neither plate glass nor fixed prices. There are antique dealers and carpet sellers and all the usual traders found in Arab towns. Ships chandlers are numerous as Muharraq has always been a sea faring centre. Arab chests, carved or brass bound, carpets, worked leather sandals, divers' equipment and goods of interest to tourists can be bought here at prices lower after judicious bargaining, than those in Manama.

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Today Muharraq is still a typically Arab town, a fact of which its inhabitants are proud. Most of the shops are owned by Arabs and are not occupied by Indians or Persians as in Manama. The town, although it was once the capital of Bahrain, the centre of the pearl industry and the focus of trade (a fact that its inhabitants remember with pride) has developed more slowly than Manama. There are few modern buildings, only one cinema and no large European style shops, but its climate is said to be pleasanter than Manama and it is not so humid in the summer. Muharraq was once a walled town but no traces of the walls now remain. The high old houses which line the narrow streets have changed little during the last century, except where corners have been cut away to make passages for large American cars. Many of the larger houses belong to the Ruling Family. They are built around courtyards and in some cases a big house contains three or four such courtyards, surrounded by high walls with few outward-looking windows in them to screen the house from prying eyes.

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Muharraq has a telephone service, electric light, a Post Office and a filling station, but no main water supply, apart from artesian wells. As in the case of Manama, the affairs of the town are controlled by an elected Municipal Council presided over by a member of the Ruling Family.

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The sea surrounds the town on three sides but at the northern end a new residential area is developing on land which is being sold by the Municipality for building purposes. East of the town is the bay of Arad, the ancient name for Muharraq at the time of Alexander,

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361 and on the shore there is an old deserted fort which was built by the Omanis during a short period when they occupied the Islands. A [504] ferry service of small sailing boats plies between Muharraq and Arad fort, but to drive round the bay to the fort by car takes less time than crossing by boat.

396 Boat building is one of the few local industries of Muharraq and is carried out along the shores of the town, especially on the eastern coast. Carpenters and shipwrights are apt to extend their work half across the road and when driving a car one often has to avoid sails which are pegged out for joining or for repairs, rope winders, men mending nets or carpenters working on big wooden water tanks for the pearling dhows.

361 178 Many visitors to Bahrain never enter Muharraq and by failing to do so they miss the sight of a comparatively untouched Arab town, a sight that is rapidly becoming rarer in the oil rich Persian Gulf.

## HEDD

361 Bahrain's number three town is Hedd. Long and narrow, it is built on a strip of land which juts out into the sea at the south-east end of Muharraq Island. The houses are closely packed together and extend right to the edge of the sea, one road, only just wide enough for motor vehicles, runs through the centre of the town and on each side a labyrinth of narrow lanes leads down to the shore. There are few barastis in Hedd and most of the people live in stone houses ; some of them are large, built by pearl merchants in the days when the pearl industry of which Hedd was an important centre, was flourishing. The bazaar is in the main street and it contains many shops which sell all manner of goods. Water is supplied to the town by several artesian wells.

[162] The population of Hedd is entirely Sunni and predominantly Arab, although a few of the shopkeepers are Persians. It includes Arabs of the Bin Ali, Saada, Mesedem and Musallam tribes who used to be very influential in Bahrain ; the last were once the rulers of Qatar. Hedd was originally a diving town but although it still has much contact with the sea, many of its inhabitants work on shore. Its people have a reputation for intelligence and energy and this is shown by the fact that they have produced better results from their schools than any other community. The town is conspicuously clean, owing partly to the fact that it is surrounded by the sea on three sides.

368 633 Hedd has a handsome new police station, at the entrance to the town, which was completed in 1952, a Municipality and Boys' and Girls' Schools which were opened in 1937 and 1939 respectively. For some years the Muharraq Municipality included Hedd in its activities but in 1945 Hedd formed its own elected Municipal Council with four members. There is also in Hedd a dispensary and a small women's hospital with accommodation for a certain number of in-patients.

226 Hedd is famous for its prawns which are caught in special traps and sent to the fish markets of Manama and Muharraq.

## MUNICIPALITIES

### MANAMA MUNICIPALITY

(From the report of Mr. Mohamed Saleh Shater, Secretary of the Manama Municipality)

633 795 At the beginning of the year, owing to sectarian differences between Sunni and Shia members in 1371 A which caused the resignation of the Shia members, Municipal affairs were being dealt with by a committee of Sunnis. This was the situation until the middle of the year when the Government succeeded in persuading the Shia members to resume their duties on the Council. They returned on the understanding that they would serve for only one year after which an election should be held.

During the latter part of the year the Council functioned in a more or less normal manner; by shelving all matters which might cause controversy between the sects the Council succeeded in performing its duties without serious differences. The situation, however, was not satisfactory.

633 **Finance.** The Financial Committee which drew up the budget was formed from the temporary Sunni committee. Estimated revenue for 1372 was Rs. 7,04,000 and expenditure was assessed at the same figure. The actual revenue exceeded the estimate by Rs. 1,16,000, the expenditure was Rs. 61,000 more than was expected and at the end of the year a surplus of revenue over expenditure amounting to Rs. 61,000 was added to the Reserve which was then Rs. 2,83,000.

651 427 The increase in revenue was due to a great extent to higher receipts from house and shop taxes. There were many new buildings in the town and higher rents were charged for existing buildings, both for houses and shops. House taxes and shop taxes on buildings which are leased are charged on a percentage basis of the rent. Taxation on houses which are occupied by their owners is extremely low in comparison with that of rented premises. A large proportion of the rented houses are occupied by foreigners and most of the houses in which the owners live are occupied by people of the country.

425 653 368 During the year the Municipality sold land to the public at the price of Rs. 35,200 and it purchased a new fire engine for Rs. 48,000. The Government presented to the Municipality a motor-driven trailer fire pump and jeep, a rubbish carrying vehicle and a gully emptying vehicle.

364 **Municipal activities.** Town cleaning was effected during the year by two trucks and 30 donkey carts, town rubbish was utilised to reclaim a large portion of sea on the shore at Hora, opposite Cable and Wireless premises. The method of employing donkey carts to carry town refuse is not a satisfactory one. An order was placed in England during the summer for small rubbish-carrying vehicles which can be used in narrow streets.

363 A number of roads in the town were metalled, the area dealt with was about 380,000 square feet on which was used 480,000 cubic feet of stone and 105,000 cubic feet of sand, the whole costing approximately Rs. 1,76,000.

363 247 Some progress was made in widening streets in the bazaar area, 112 new street lights were installed and more trees were planted on the roads, unfortunately each year a number of trees are destroyed, by wind or sometimes by rain which when it falls strongly seems to kill both plants and trees.

362 427 There was much building activity both in the town and on the outskirts of the town, numbers of small houses were built for occupation by their owners and more European style bungalows and flats were built for letting. House rents are excessively high, landlords expect to recover the cost of their property in less than ten years, so building houses for letting is at present a profitable investment. However, so many houses are now being built that it seems possible that in a short time there may be more houses than tenants.

633 342 During the year permits for new buildings were issued by the Municipality for 144 stone houses and 100 barasti huts and permits for repairs and additions to 186 shops and 717 houses were also granted.

1 [A.D. 1951-52 -- Analyst]

[Manama Municipality 31]

368 The Municipal fire service was called out to deal with 34 fires, some of them occurring in Muharraq and in the villages. The incidence of serious fires was higher than it has ever been before.

633 Among the routine activities carried out by the Municipality was the inspection of 28,462 sheep and goats, 3446 head of cattle and 47 camels, which comprised the meat supply during the year. Pauper burials were provided for 48 persons; this in the past was a rare event, the increase in the number of cases is partly due to there being so many foreigners in Bahrain. Two pieces of low-lying land on the south of the town were raised by a filling of stone and sand, at the owner's expense. A stone wall 1,750 feet long and 5 feet high was built, in the sea, at Government expense, to surround an area of sea which is being reclaimed by filling with town rubbish covered with sand.

The Municipality issued 1,550 permits for building, 884 notices were sent out to people requiring them to repair drains and sewers and 23 cases were filed in the various courts. The temporary council met 21 times and there were 41 meetings of sub-committees.

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## STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE, 1372 *

| Revenue | | | Expenditure | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Shop Tax | Rs. 284,817 10 6 | | Staff Salaries P. Fund, etc. | Rs. 138,183 12 6 | |
| House Tax | 244,964 15 0 | | Office Expenses | 7,358 11 0 | |
| Government Grant | 100,000 0 0 | | Town Cleaning | 239,942 2 0 | |
| Local Cart Tax | 5,991 8 0 | | Town Lighting | 43,009 6 0 | |
| Slaughterhouse Fees | 27,015 0 0 | | Road Metalling and Repairing | 176,895 13 3 | |
| Rent of Municipal Property | 32,591 12 0 | | Widening Roads | 10,543 4 0 | |
| Miscellaneous taxes and fees | 116,652 2 6 | | Pauper Burials | 3,380 0 0 | |
| Licences of professional trades | 8,082 4 0 | | Upkeep of Municipal property | 9,642 8 0 | |
| | 820,115 4 0 | | Muharraq shares in certain taxes | 25,540 3 0 | |
| | | | Upkeep of Public W.C's and rubbish bins | 4,259 12 0 | |
| | | | Miscellaneous | 7,950 7 6 | |
| | | | Fire Service, Road Spraying and Trees Watering | 72,969 1 8 | |
| | | | Planting street trees and square gardens | 22,106 4 0 | |
| | | | Slaughterhouse expenses | 3,565 0 0 | |
| | | | | 765,146 4 11 | |
| | | | Surplus of Revenue | 54,968 15 1 | |
| Total Rs. | 820,115 4 0 | | Total Rs. | 820,115 4 0 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cash in Bank at the end of 1371 | Rs. | 255,997 5 0 |
| Cash in Bank at the end of 1372 | | 283,387 8 10 |

## MUHARRAQ MUNICIPALITY

(From the report of Mr. Ibrahim Khalfan, Municipal Secretary)

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652 **Finance.** When the 1372 budget was made a deficit of Rs. 1,59,000 was anticipated. As usual the Finance Committee of the Council planned to spend very much more than they could possibly hope to receive. This year, however, the reckless financial methods of the Council met with more success than they deserved as His Highness Shaikh Sulman made a special grant of 1 lakh from the Privy Purse to the Muharraq Municipal funds. Owing to this unexpected windfall instead of ending the year with a deficit of almost a lakh the revenue exceeded the expenditure by over Rs. 3,000/-.

* [A.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst]

[Muharraq Municipality]

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There was a small increase in house tax collections but the sum of Rs. 3,370/-, owing to the Municipality, was written off as most of the 853 persons who were indebted had left Bahrain, which suggests some laxity on the part of tax collectors. Shop taxes, including market tax, produced less than in 1371. Shops are divided into two categories and pay Rs. 2/- and Rs. 1/8 per month, which is a very low rate, they should be assessed according to the rentals.

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The total expenditure was Rs. 3,23,600, it was Rs. 66,000 less than the estimated expenditure but exceeded the previous year's expenditure by Rs. 83,000. The largest item of expenditure was on widening roads and most of this amount was spent on compensating house owners for cutting part of their property.

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Municipal Activities. Two roads were surfaced with cold patch and another road was metalled and surfaced by the P.W.D., 58 new street lights were installed. The usual town cleaning services were effectively carried out and Municipal Officials were active in supervising the sale of fresh fruit and in inspecting animals in the slaughterhouse.

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During the year 16 new stone houses were built and 1,500 permits were issued for repairing stone houses and shops. Only 53 permits were issued for building or repairing baristis, as against 200 in the previous year. There were 285 unoccupied houses and compounds.

There was some building activity on the northern edge of the town where building plots have been bought from the Government and from the Municipality by persons wishing to build stone houses.

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On his return from England His Highness decided that a public garden should be made on the north side of Muharraq on a large triangular piece of land which was reclaimed from the sea shore by being filled with town rubbish.

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The Finance Committee at the end of the year again submitted a budget showing an anticipated deficit of Rs. 86,000.

## STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE, 1372

| Revenue | | | | Expenditure | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| House Tax | Rs. 41,169 | 3 | 9 | Staff Salaries | Rs. 72,691 | 3 | 6 |
| Shop Tax | 23,860 | 9 | 0 | Office Expenditure | 3,450 | 0 | 0 |
| Government Grant | 1,00,000 | 0 | 0 | Transport | 41,010 | 0 | 6 |
| H.H. Grant* | 1,00,000 | 0 | 0 | Upkeep of Roads | 55,874 | 7 | 0 |
| Wood, Ghee and Sheep Tax | 26,673 | 3 | 6 | Widening of Roads | 91,834 | 4 | 0 |
| Rent of Municipal property | 20,731 | 5 | 0 | Town Cleaning | 43,050 | 8 | 6 |
| Building and Mason fees | 3,928 | 8 | 0 | Town Lighting | 4,531 | 1 | 0 |
| Miscellaneous Taxes and Fees | 9,248 | 7 | 0 | Upkeep of Public Wells | 2,180 | 6 | 0 |
| Water Rent | 1,699 | 0 | 0 | Pauper Burials | 5,104 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | Miscellaneous Fees | 3,190 | 3 | 0 |
| | | | | Upkeep of Municipal Property | 373 | 12 | 0 |
| | | | | Poor Relief | 381 | 2 | 0 |
| | | | | | Rs. 3,23,678 | 0 | 6 |
| | | | | Surplus of Revenue | 3,632 | 3 | 9 |
| | Rs. 3,27,310 | 4 | 3 | | Rs. 3,27,310 | 4 | 3 |

*Rs. 70,859/- was paid direct to the Government to settle its outstanding account.

## HIDD MUNICIPALITY

651 633 **Finance.** The total revenue was Rs. 28,739, slightly higher than in 1372. At the end of the year there was a surplus of Rs. 6,102. The amount expended was almost the same as in the previous year. At the end of the year His Highness granted Rs. 25,000 to the Municipal funds for building property to increase the Municipal revenue.

The town was clean and well kept and some progress was made in widening the one main street which passes through the length of the town.

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## RAFAA MUNICIPALITY

**which includes East, West and North Rafaa**

(From the report of Shaikh Abdulla bin Khalid, President of the Municipal Council)

651 633 363 This Municipality, the last one to be formed in Bahrain, having been established in 1371, carried out its duties successfully during the year. Its revenue was Rs. 37,000 of which Rs. 20,000 was a grant from the Government.

Houses were registered and numbered for the purpose of charging house tax and a piece of land below East Rafaa was laid out as a building area, in conjunction with the Land Department. The Municipality began work on widening the road which passes through East Rafaa and removed part of some houses in order to widen this road.

365 Repairs were carried out to Ain Hinainiyah, the old well on the plain below East Rafaa which provides fresh drinking water, which used to be sold in Manama at a high price, being of superior quality to the artesian well water.

364 Ancient rubbish heaps, which disfigured the edge of the town, were removed and the material was used to fill in deep pits, inside the town, where mud had been dug for building houses.

The Municipality began to establish a regular town cleaning service.

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## MINORS' ESTATES DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Mr. Mohammed Dowaiger, Superintendent of the Department)

471 657 The Department took over the administration of 18 new estates and dealt with 28 compensation cases relating to persons in the employment of the Bahrain Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The value of the estates was Rs. 131,000. Compensation paid by the Bahrain Petroleum Company in cases of death or disablement of employees is passed by the Government to the Minors' Estates Department which pays the persons who are entitled to receive compensation.

657 427 Rents of property administered by the Department produced almost 2 lakhs, the number of properties, including shops, houses, gardens, etc., was 530. The Department sold nine lots of property during the year, for approximately half a lakh and made purchases amounting to Rs. 9,000. The sum of Rs. 15,000 was recovered from divers who were in debt to various estates.

### *Muharraq Island*

101 This is the second largest island of the group and in all probability the "Aradus" of the classical writers. It is located northeast of Bahrein and is about five and a half square miles in area, horseshoe shaped and only a mile wide. It is separated [491] from Bahrein by a channel spanned by a causeway a mile and a half long with a motor road and by a swinging bridge which was completed in 1941.

361 The chief city is MUHURRAQ, on the western side, the sec-
162 ond largest city in the islands and the summer residence of the
633 Sheik. Its population is about 26,000. Muhurraq and Manama, on Bahrein Island, are each administered by a Municipal Committee which in addition to civic duties are jointly responsible for the upkeep of thirty per cent of the roads in the archipelago.

361 Other towns among the sixteen or more on Muhurraq which
162 should be mentioned are:

ARAD. This is an important date producing center with some sixteen thousand palm trees, on the southern shore of the Gulf of Arad. It is inhabited by the Baharinah.

HADD. Second in importance only to Muhurraq, Hadd is the leading pearl fishing center of the islands. It has a population of almost 10,000, consisting of Sādāt and Beni Yās. Since the English began to take a direct hand in the administration of the island it has become possibly the most modern of the cities, [242] with many up-to-date homes and an agricultural experiment [697] station as well as a modern penitentiary and the cottage of the British Financial Adviser.

The villages of Basatin, Qalali, Samahij and Dair, on the north and northeast coasts, are also important. Their population follows the Sunnite faith exclusively and those in Qalali belong to the Manani'a tribe.

508 Muhurraq Island has a military and civil airfield used by
712 the British Overseas Air Service. The field has limited fueling and repair facilities for normal traffic as well as minimum lighting, runway lights, and lighted wind indicators. There are hard surface, all weather runways with an elevation of two feet; the

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



Over 61 percent of this population lives in the three towns of Manamah, Muharraq, and Hedd;[5] the rest, 38.5 percent, is scattered about in 90 villages and hamlets concentrated mostly in the northern and northeastern tip of the largest island. In the 9-year period between the two censuses the population had increased 22 percent, mainly in the three towns mentioned. The village population remained almost stationary (actually an absolute increase of 3.5 percent and a relative decrease of 5.5 percent). The concentration of increase in the towns can be explained by the better sanitary conditions existing there and the influx of foreigners. Evidently there was little local migration during this period from village to town, although in some cases it was found that villages had been deserted or greatly reduced in size.[6] It is interesting to note that the only population movement took place in some of the Arab Sunni villages.[7]

Tables I and III are in a certain sense misleading, for they give a false picture of homogeneity in the population (84 percent Bahrain subjects, 96 percent Muslims) that does not exist. Society in Bahrain is divided into several groupings, in most cases distinct and recognizable. Association with one group in many instances implies a certain occupational specialization, but the main forces that have determined social division are religion, tribal loyalties, and nationality.

### *THE SHI'IS AND THE SUNNIS*

The Muslim Arab population of Bahrain is divided into Shi'is and Sunnis, who in almost all cases never live in the same village. The Shi'is live in their own tightly-knit communities and do not intermix with the rest of the population to any considerable degree. Fighting — especially in the larger towns, when the two communities do come into contact — frequently breaks out between the two groups, necessitating the intervention of the police and even the British navy.[8] A recent index of the feeling between the two groups is the fact that for the last several years there has been no municipal council for the capital city, Manamah, for the simple reason that no agreement could be reached on the number of seats to be allotted each of the two Muslim groups.

Aside from the small minority of Persians, the Shi'is are all Baharnah. There is no agreement as to the ethnic origin of these people; however, they now speak Arabic and are regarded as Arabs. They are the oldest group among the present inhabitants of the shaykhdom and have been subjected through the centuries to successive conquests, so that altho gh at present they equal or exceed the Sunnis in number — as the 1941 census

[5] See Table II.
[6] *Census 1950*, p. 6.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[8] Abbas Faroughly, *The Bahrain Islands* (New York, 1951), p. 99.

621/166 any exodus from the villages to the towns. It was found that there had been no movements from the villages to Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd. With a few exceptions the population of individual villages was the same as it was nine years ago. The only population movements which took place were among the Arab villages. In Dour, the last village on the eastern coast, which in 1941 contained 166 people only one house remained occupied; the population of Jow, a mile or two north of Dour, decreased from 427 in 1941 to 314 in 1950. Some of the people from these two places crossed to Qatar, others moved to Rafaa. The population of the two Rafaas, and Sakhir, was 2,929 in 1941, it is now over 4,000.

## NATIONALITY AND RELIGION

167 Assuming that the growth of Manamah's population was mainly due to more foreigners having settled in the town, which is very evident, it might be expected that the total number of foreigners in the country would be very much larger than the number which was recorded in 1941. In 1941 there were 15,930 foreigners. In 1950 the number was [563] 18,471. The largest foreign minority were, and still are, the Persians who in 1941 numbered 7,547 but in 1950 only 6,934 persons registered themselves as Persians. This ●[641] figure is open to doubt. For many reasons it is advantageous for Persians to acquire Bahrain nationality, if they are Bahrain subjects they can buy land and can travel to Persia on Bahrain passports. During the last year or two the Government has refused all applications by Persians for Bahrain nationality. It is probable therefore that a number of Persians described themselves as Bahrain subjects in the hope that they would be accepted as such./ As most foreigners in Bahrain carry no papers which could establish their nationality it was not possible for the census staff to verify the nationality of Persians.

486 167 186 **Abolition of visas.** An order was issued at the beginning of the year allowing nationals of Oman, the Trucial Coast, Muscat, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the Yemen to enter Bahrain without being in possession of visas for Bahrain, issued by the British Consular or other authorities, provided that they had valid national passports or travel documents endorsed for Bahrain. Unfortunately this arrangement enabled a large number of Persians to enter Bahrain carrying travel papers describing them as being subjects of Trucial Shaikhdoms. The Government has no wish to restrict Arabs from other parts of the Gulf from coming to work in Bahrain, where there is still a demand for unskilled labour, but it views with distaste any increase in the Persian minority which exists in Bahrain. When it became evident that a number of Persians were entering Bahrain under the guise of being permanent residents of Oman or the Trucial Coast the passport authorities were ordered to allow such persons to remain in Bahrain not longer than 15 days. It is estimated that during the year about 9,075 immigrants from Oman and the Trucial Coast entered Bahrain in order to find work, they were issued with permits to remain in Bahrain for one year, subject to renewal. In almost every case the immigrants were men.

486 687 696 167 **Illegal Entries.** The number of persons who were arrested and repatriated to their countries, having attempted to enter the country without travel documents, was 124, consisting of 68 Pakistanis, 23 Omanis and 33 Persians. The number of persons who succeeded in entering Bahrain without being caught is undoubtedly large. The Pakistanis crossed the Gulf to Muscat by dhows and continued their journey by foot up the coast to Doha, there they chartered a dhow to take them to the nearest port in Saudi Arabia, on their way to Mecca. The Nakhuda, however, landed them on the Bahrain coast, somewhere near Jaw, probably telling them that it was the coast of Arabia. These unfortunate pilgrims were eventually sent back by steamer to Karachi.

During the year the Bahrain courts heard four cases against Bahrain Nakhudas who had landed passengers in Bahrain knowing that they were illegal entrants. They were severely dealt with. Most of the passenger smuggling is done by Qatar Nakhudas who land the people on unfrequented stretches of coast or on shoals on the Eastern side of Bahrain. Two Persian Nakhudas were prosecuted in the Agency Courts and sentenced to imprisonment and fines for the same offence.

In January 1953 information was received that a certain Persian Nakhuda, Ghulam Reza, a naturalised Bahrain subject, had arranged to ship a number of Persians to Bahrain. His launch arrived with 63 Persians on board who were refused permission to land, not being in possession of papers. They were transferred to another launch bound for Kuwait. Later some of the same passengers were found in Manama and it was discovered that the Nakhuda had, after leaving Bahrain, transferred the passengers to another vessel and landed them on the coast where they were met by motor buses which conveyed them to Manama. Ghulam Reza was subsequently arrested, prosecuted, imprisoned for one year and fined Rs. 4,000. His charge was Rs. 150 a head for landing Persians in Bahrain.

641 **Bahrain Nationality.** During the year 31 applications were received from people of various nationalities applying for Bahrain nationality. Of these 19 were accepted, being from persons long resident in Bahrain and possessing immovable property ; three of these were Indian subjects and three were Pakistanis. The courts investigated 44 applications by Persians who claimed to have been born in Bahrain. Proof of birth, especially in the case of older people, cannot easily be produced. Only 9 of these applicants were able to prove that they were born in the country. At the beginning of the year an order was issued to the effect that no Persian whose application for Bahrain nationality was accepted would be issued with a passport until two years had elapsed from the date on which he was granted nationality. As a result of this order only a small number of Persians submitted applications. The main object of the Persians who applied for Bahrain nationality was to obtain passports with which to enter Saudi Arabia where their presence was not appreciated.

874 **Passport Official's Course.** Ali bin Abdulla, a clerk in the Passport Department, did a course in England studying and learning passport and immigration methods and procedure. The course was arranged by the British Government, the results appear to be satisfactory.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

August 2, 1928, which developed in detail the matters discussed in the preceding note and affirmed Persian sovereignty over Bahrein. England answered on February 18, 1929, developing the arguments in her first note and reiterating her previous contentions.

Meanwhile, the Bahrein Government instituted visa regulations and established a land registry office. Since the promulgation of the decree of December 21, 1927, all real properties had to be registered, but no one except "a subject of Bahrein" had right to own property in the island.

Obviously this was to deprive Persians of their rights of ownership in Bahrein. Many sold their land and migrated to Persia, and those who stayed behind had to accept Bahrein citizenship.[1]

Also, previously passports had not been required from Persians travelling to Bahrein, and Persia protested against the change. According to the Persian note, the change "was the explicit recognition by the English authorities of the indisputable right of Iran [Persia] over Bahrein."

Publication of the news of oil concessions obtained previously by Major Holmes from the Bahrein Government, provoked on July 23, 1930, another note from Persia, in which she declared the concession invalid and "reserved—the right to reclaim or to demand restitution of all profits resulting eventually from that concession, without prejudice of all damages relating to it." This strong protest did not deter the English syndicate from ceding its rights to the Standard Oil Company of California, which began systematic exploitation.

The concession to prospect and explore for oil in Bahrein had been obtained on December 2, 1925, to Major Frank Holmes, representing Eastern and General Syndicate, a British company headed by Edmond Davis. For two years, the syndicate tried without success, to interest first British, and later American concerns, in the development of the Bahrein concession. Finally, on

1. This decree was still stiffened by the decrees of 1930 and that of May 23, 1941.

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2nd, That without the assent of the British Government, I will not consent to the residence within my territory of the agent of any other Government.

3rd, That I will on no account cede, sell, mortgage, or otherwise give for occupation any part of my territory save to the British Government.
Dated Bahrein, 13 March 1892, corresponding with 14th Shaaban, 1309.

Esau bin Ali
Chief of Bahrein

A. C. Talbot, Lieut.-Col.
Resident, Persian Gulf

Lansdowne
Viceroy and Gov. Gl. of India

Ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India at Simla on the twelfth day of May, 1892.

H. M. Durand
Secretary to the Gov't. of India, Foreign Dept.

## III

### Undertaking by the Sheik of Bahrein, regarding oil, 1914. (Translation of a letter dated the 18th of Jamadi II, 1332 (May 14, 1914) from Sheik Isa Bin Ali Al Khalifah, Chief of Bahrein, to Major A. P. Trevor, C.I.E., Political Agent, Bahrein):

I have received your esteemed letter No. 531, dated the 18th Jamadi II 1332 (May 14, 1914), on the subject of the possibility of obtaining kerosene oil in Bahrein. Just as I informed your honor in my letter, dated the 17th Jamadi-us-sani 1332, when the time comes for obtaining it I will certainly consult the Political Agency. I do hereby repeat to you that if there is any prospect of obtaining kerosene oil in my territory, I will not embark on the exploitation of it myself and will not entertain overtures from any quarter regarding it without consulting the Political Agent in Bahrein and without the approval of the High Government.

This is what had to be said. May you be preserved and salams.

## IV

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### Bahrein Nationality Law

ARTICLE I.

The following are considered to be Bahrein nationals:

(a) All persons born in Bahrein before or after the date of this Law except as provided for in Article II.

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(b) Persons born abroad before or after the date of this Law whose fathers or paternal grandfathers were born in Bahrein, except persons whose fathers during the minority of such persons registered at the Political Agency in Bahrein in accordance with Article II or might have so registered if resident in Bahrein.

ARTICLE II.

Persons born in Bahrein before or after the date of this Law whose fathers at the time of those persons' birth possessed the nationality of another State shall not be considered to be Bahrein nationals:

(a) if they register at the Political Agency within one year of the date on which they attain the age of 18, if then resident in Bahrein, or within one year of the date of the commencement of the residence in Bahrein if not then resident in Bahrein; or

(b) if they register at the Political Agency within one year of the date of the Promulgation of this Law if they have already attained the age of 18 and are resident in Bahrein; or

(c) if they shall have been registered at the Political Agency within two years of their birth or if their birth shall have been registered within two years of its occurrence.

ARTICLE III.

A person who possesses Bahrein nationality shall lose it:

(a) if he voluntarily acquires by naturalization the nationality of another State, and an order cancelling his Bahrein nationality is given by the Ruler of Bahrein, either on application of that person or *proprio motu;*

(b) if he also possesses the nationality of another State, and an order cancelling his Bahrein nationality is given by the Ruler of Bahrein on the application of that person.

ARTICLE IV.

(1) A woman who marries a Bahrein national shall acquire Bahrein nationality and a woman of Bahrein nationality who marries a foreigner shall lose Bahrein nationality if and when she acquires the nationality of her husband but not otherwise.

(2) A woman who has acquired Bahrein nationality by marriage shall lose it when divorced or a widow if she acquires or possesses another nationality. Bahrein nationality may be restored to her by an order of the Ruler of Bahrein given on her application.

ARTICLE V.

The Ruler of Bahrein may grant Bahrein nationality to any person resident in Bahrein who applies for it and may subsequently cancel the grant if such persons ceases to reside in Bahrein.

Bahrein, 17 February, 1937

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641 563 The Jews have lived in the country in comparative peace and security for centuries. Their position was clear and definite. As non-Muslims they were outside the pale of the law and could not participate fully in the life of the community; but as "People of the Book" they were a *dhimma*, a protected community. In civil matters they enjoyed the same legal rights as all other Bahrain subjects. Here again social lines of demarcation were drawn on a religious basis.

563 578 798 With the appearance of the Palestine problem the position of this small minority became progressively more precarious. Today the Jews are socially ostracized and economically boycotted, and there have been instances where physical violence has been employed against them. The local press of Bahrain is replete with references to Bahraini Jews, the Jews in general, and to Israel. Such references include, among other things, threats to publish the names of those who associate with Jews in Bahrain or buy from them, references to the United Nations as a Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world, and editorial protests to the government against allowing allegedly Israeli airlines to land in Bahrain, or against radio-communications with Israel.[10]

648 439 The government of Bahrain has no official policy of enmity toward Israel as have the other Arab states. Commercial traffic is not prohibited with Israel or with the Jews as a whole, but in practice it is virtually so. This boycott is due in part to social pressure and in part to the fact that a large part of the goods imported into Bahrain is re-exported to Saudi Arabia, a country which has strict regulations against traffic with Jews.

167 563 Owing to their present position, the Jews are the only native community whose interests and aspirations are at complete variance with those of the native population. It is a matter of public knowledge that many of them have either left or are in the process of leaving the country to start a new life in Israel, the United States, or Europe.

### *THE PERSIANS AND THE INDIANS*

162 563 The two major foreign elements in the country are the Persians and the Indians.[11] Their social status and relations with the native population are determined primarily by psychological, political, and economic factors rather than by religion or tribal loyalties.

563 162 648 The Persians are the largest foreign group, but it should be noted that they are foreigners in the legal and political sense only, for they are as much a part of the scene as the legal citizens of the country. Iran has had a long and checkered association with the islands going back to pre-Islamic times. At one period, the islands were directly controlled by it, and as late

[10] See any number of *al-Qafilah*, a weekly newspaper, or *Sawt al-Bahrain*, a monthly magazine. Both are published in Bahrain in Arabic.

[11] As used in this paper, the term "Indians" includes Indians, Pakistanis, Anglo-Indians, and Goanese.

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as the 19th century even the British recognized that Iran had some rights in Bahrain. The Iranian government has never relinquished its claims to the islands, a fact which has had a direct bearing on the position of the Persian community.

Under these favorable circumstances, Persians have been able until recently to move in and out of Bahrain without hindrance or restriction. Over the centuries a prosperous community developed, made up mostly of merchants, so that today some of the wealthiest inhabitants of Manamah are Persians. Generally speaking, this community is more enterprising, better educated, and has a higher standard of living than the local inhabitants of the land. But although the Persians grew prosperous and acquired property in houses and some land, their hearts were never in Bahrain — they were across the Gulf in the mother country. Bahrain is regarded by the Persians as an outpost for commercial activity but not for permanent settlement.

The Persians are resented by both the Arab inhabitants and the British. They are resented by the Arabs because they constitute a foreign community which is somewhat aloof from the rest of the population; in part, also, because of envy of their general prosperity and because they are regarded as interlopers who are taking the wealth of the country away. Two other serious objections to them are that they are Shi'is by religion and tend to look toward Iran rather than the Arab world for political association.

As for the British, they resent them for numerous reasons. In almost every way they constitute a threat, minor and insignificant though it may be, to the consolidation of their position in the shaykhdom. This is especially true since Bahrain has become the chief base for British naval, air, and political activity in the Persian Gulf. Specifically, the British resent the Persian community because it has always opposed what it regards as the "Indianization" policies of the British in Bahrain. It has played the double role of an opposition party and a fifth column. The recent difficulties of the British government and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Iran brought the problem of Anglo-Iranian relations to a sharp focus. The situation has constituted a threat to British prestige in the Gulf. In Bahrain Mosaddaq was regarded as a liberator — in the early part of 1953 pictures of him could be seen in many shops in Manamah.

The policies of the government of Bahrain have been detrimental to the position of the Persian community. In 1927 visas for entry to Bahrain became required of Persian subjects. In December of the same year a land registry office was established and a decree passed requiring that all land be registered; it also stipulated that only Bahrain subjects could own real property. With the passage of the decree a good many Persians had only two alternatives: either to acquire Bahrain citizenship, which many of them

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



did, or sell out and return to the mother country. Those who remained are engaged either in trade or employed by the oil company or some other business establishment. In the last few years the government has been refusing to grant citizenship to Persian residents even though they may legally qualify.[12]

The Indians, the second largest foreign community, are in a certain sense in a position similar to that of the Persians. Bahrain, like other principalities in the Persian Gulf, has had a long association with the subcontinent through trade. In 1913, when the Bahrain Order-in-Council was passed, the country became administratively subject to the jurisdiction of the Governor-General of India.

The Indians constitute a prosperous and fairly well educated community. Some are engaged in trade on a big scale or as petty merchants. The rest — and they are the majority — are employed either by the government, the oil company, the British military and civil establishment, or other foreign business concerns in the country. They work mostly as clerks, foremen, cooks, waiters, and domestic servants.

Various explanations have been made as to why Indians are employed in such large numbers in preference to local Bahrainis or persons from other nationalities. In the first place, Bahrain does not have enough young men with a minimum of education and clerical or industrial training to fill these positions. Secondly, in view of British policy to tie Bahrain to India, it was only natural to look to it for the necessary labor supply. Furthermore, India could supply labor well trained by the British and used to their ways. Finally, Indian labor could be obtained at a lower rate than equally skilled labor from other countries.

The status of Indians is a rather peculiar one, for they live in a social zone all by themselves. They are resented by the native population and accepted only as subordinates by Westerners, with whom they would like to associate and with whom they would like to be classified. This is true especially of the clerical and professional group among them.

The causes of Bahraini resentment against them are psychological and economic in nature. In the first place, they constitute a community which is definitely foreign and makes a point of it, and in some respects looks down on the local population. This is especially the case among the white-collar workers.

Secondly, on the whole, the Indian community wields power far beyond its number. The people in Bahrain see Indians in government and business establishments and develop the feeling that they are being governed by them along with the British.

In the third place, clerical positions occupied by Indians and other for-

[12] *Census 1950*, p. 6.

8·Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



563 In the third place, clerical positions occupied by Indians and other
578 foreigners are highly coveted by the high-school graduates of Bahrain. This
554 must be understood within the context of traditional Arab respect for the scribe and the great power wielded until recent times by government employees: clerking represents a social position as well as a source of livelihood.

641 Finally, Indians are given privileges denied to Bahrainis. They are al-
273 lowed, for instance, a monthly allotment of alcoholic beverages and certain
563 public places are open to them and to Westerners only. The problem of
578 alcohol is a delicate one in Bahrain. In accordance with Muslim law it is prohibited to all Muslims. Foreigners and non-Muslims, however, can obtain a monthly allotment at specified prices through a permit from the British Residency. The only two groups that can benefit from such an arrangement are the Westerners and the Indians, since most other foreigners are Muslims.

563 An example of the resentment felt against the Indian clerks may be
578 seen in the following letter to the newspaper *al-Qafilah* from an indignant
191 Bahraini criticizing the Post Office Department:

> I came to the post office window with a large number of greeting cards which I wanted to send to friends outside Bahrain. I inquired from the clerk whether there were any special rates? Snatching the cards from my hands, he gave me an answer in a strange language, the only part of which I understood was "three annas and a half."
>
> It is strange that this department continues to employ clerks who do not understand the language of the country. In this connection, I remember that a short time ago I sent my manservant with a piece of paper on which I had written in Arabic the quantity of stamps I wanted of each denomination. Shortly afterwards he came back very angry. He told me that the clerk threw him out of the building and ordered him to "tell [your master] to write in Indian, Persian, or English. . . . We are not Arabs." [12]

609 A factor which also has considerable effect on the attitude of the native toward foreigners is the development of the oil industry in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. In Saudi Arabia the political climate has been such that the native is truly master of his house. The moment the foreigner, and particularly the Westerner, steps on Saudi Arabian soil, government officials and civilians alike do not hesitate to remind him in a thousand ways that he is in an independent country, that he is only a temporary guest, and that his sojourn in the country depends on good behavior. The Arabian American Oil Company, as part of its public relations policy, cooperates with the government fully in this respect and it is a well-known fact that a number of its American employees have been sent home for minor infractions of the local law or for being in some way rude to the native inhabitants.

Bahrain is only a few miles away from Saudi Arabia. Stories of how

[12] *al-Qafilah*, January 2, 1953.

The

young business men and merchants are proud of their country and are inclined to be annoyed by visitors who confine their attention to the antiques and "quaint" sights of Bahrain, ignoring modern buildings and new enterprises. Graduates of Bahrain and foreign schools are go-ahead in their outlook and are determined to modernise Bahrain as much as possible; for this purpose they are willing to break with many of the traditions of the past, which are so often of interest to Europeans and Americans. Despite this, the young men of Bahrain appreciate meeting the foreigners who live in or visit their country.

## CHAPTER III

## THE STATE

BAHRAIN has been in treaty relations with the British Government since 1820. Its relations with the British Government and with other foreign governments are conducted through the British Political Agent in Bahrain. Bahrain is also the headquarters of the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, who lives at Jufair.

The Head of the State is His Highness Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed al-Khalifah, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., who was born in 1894, the eldest son of the late Ruler, Shaikh Hamed bin' Isa al-Khalifah, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. He succeeded his father in 1942 and has three sons: Their Excellencies Shaikhs 'Isa, Khalifah and Muhammad, and seven brothers. Shaikh Sulman is the tenth Shaikh of the Khalifah family to rule in Bahrain since it was conquered by his ancestor Shaikh Ahmed bin Khalifah in 1782.

The form of government can be described as a benevolent autocracy; the Ruler governs his State through Arab and British officials, who are in charge of the various departments of State, and by means of councils and committees consisting of elected and nominated members representing the different communities. Shaikhs of the Ruling Family preside over many of the councils and hold posts in the administration.

The principal government departments are the Adviserate (The Secretariat), Customs, Education, Electricity, Finance, Judical, Lands, Police, Public Health, Public Works, Passports, Religious Endowments etc., etc. In the towns of Manama, Muharraq, Hedd and Rifaa there are municipalities; the first of these was established in Manama in 1920.

The revenue of the State is mainly derived from oil royalties, including payments on oil which is imported for refining, and from customs dues on imports. There is no income tax and no land tax but in the towns there is a small municipal tax on houses, shops and places of business. The revenue of the State for the year 1370 A.H. (October 1950—October 1951) was Rupees 25,155,700 (£1,866,000) and the estimated revenue for 1372 (September 1952—September 1953) is much greater owing to a revision of the oil payments by which the

S 648 with local rulers. These treaties place the native states virtually under British protection. The over-all direction of British relations with the various local countries is in the hands of the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, who has his seat in Bushire on the Persian side of the gulf, and fulfills also the function of British Consul General in Bushire. Under him serve so-called Political Agents who are stationed in the various states on the Arabian side of the gulf. Administratively, the Political Residency is subordinated to the Government of India and its officials belong to the Indian Political Service. The basic British policy with regard to the Persian Gulf states is therefore determined by the India Office and not by the Colonial Office.

2. Relations with the Individual States.

B 648 [12] a. Bahrein. The British position in Bahrein is stronger than anywhere else in the gulf area. After the abandonment of Basra, in Iraq, as a British naval base in 1935, a new base was established on Bahrein Island. From the British standpoint the island is thus the strategic center for their position in the gulf. Treaty relations with the Sheikh of Bahrein were first established by the East India Company in 1820. The present relationship is based upon agreements of 22 December 1880 and 13 March 1892. (18) By these instruments the

18. India, Foreign and Political Department, A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries, edited by C. U. Aitchison, vol. 11, Delhi, 1933 (quoted in the following as Aitchison), pp. 237-39.

Sheikh bound himself not to enter, without British consent, into any relationship with a foreign government other than the British. He further promised not to dispose of any part of his territory to anybody except the British government. As a result of these stipulations, which are very close to those contained in the treaties with Protectorate rulers, the foreign relations of Bahrein were brought under full British control. The treaties with Bahrein do not contain any clause expressly extending British protection to the country. Nevertheless, Bahrein can be regarded as a British-protected state enjoying a large degree of

B 648 642

648 internal autonomy. (19)
642

19. Cf. the note of Sir Austen Chamberlain to the Persian Minister in London, 15 January 1928, where Bahrein is referred to as being under British protection; League of Nations, Official Journal, 1928, p. 607.

It is further characteristic of the British relations with this and other Persian Gulf states that the British Government has reserved for itself by agreement the final decision with regard to the exploitation of the natural resources of the country, especially pearl
471 fisheries and oil. In a letter written in 1911 the Sheikh promised not
648 to give out any pearling concession without British consent. As far as oil deposits are concerned, the Sheikh undertook in a letter of 14 May 1914 not to exploit any possible oil deposits himself or to "entertain overtures from any quarter regarding the /i.e, the oil deposits/ without consulting the Political Agent in Bahrein and without approval of the High Government." With British consent a concession was actually granted to American oil interests in 1930. The Bahrein Petroleum Company was then formed which is at present owned by the Standard Oil Company of California and the Texas Oil Company.

Bahrein is the seat of the Political Agent for Bahrein, the
648 Assistant Political Agent, the Political Officer for the Trucial Coast, and the Publicity Officer in the Persian Gulf. From these British officials one has to distinguish the technical advisers of the Sheikh who are also British subjects but are not subordinated to the Persian Gulf Residency. They are state servants of Bahrein. Chief among them are the Political Adviser to the Government of Bahrein, the Collector of Customs, the State Engineer, and the Superintendent of Schools.

The position of Bahrein as an independent sheikdom under British protection has been challenged repeatedly by the Iranian government which claims sovereignty over the islands on historical grounds. Protests have been made to the British government intermittently since 1820. A lengthy exchange of notes between the two governments took place when in 1927 Iran protested against Article 6 of the Treaty of Jidda of 1927. There Bahrein had been referred to as a state in special treaty relations with the British government. Great Britain rejected Iran's claim and repudiated also the contention that Iranian sovereignty over the islands had been conceded by Lord Clarendon in

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H.H. SHAIKH SULMAN BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., Ruler of Bahrain.

Photo : National Art Studio

The
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Bahrain Government receives 50% of the profits of the oil industry. 652
The Eastern Bank, since it was established in 1919, has served as the State's Treasury and a Budget is published every year showing the revenue and expenditure of the State.

The Customs Directorate is in the centre of the Manama sea front 651
and there are subsidiary offices in Muharraq Town, at the Airport 439
and at Sitra. All goods of any kind which are imported or exported 504
must pass through the customs. The Customs Pier at Manama, which was originally built in 1917, has frequently been lengthened and enlarged and now extends for a quarter of a mile out to sea. Owing to shallow water, vessels in the Manama harbour have to anchor some three miles from the shore and passengers and cargo are conveyed to and from the steamers by launches, barges and sailing dhows. The port and storage facilities in Bahrain are better than elsewhere in the Gulf and importers are allowed to retain their goods in the customs premises for ninety days before re-exporting them. There are usually about 90-100 sailing vessels and launches alongside and anchored off the pier, these come from other Gulf ports, from the west coast of India and from the Red Sea. Walking down the customs pier one sees many interesting types of vessels and sea-faring Arabs from all parts of the Gulf and beyond it.

On the west of the entrance to the Pier is the Passport Office. 486
Passport Officials go aboard all passenger vessels and are present at the Airport when aircraft arrive. Bahrain has had its own passports since 1929.

On the south side of the Square, which has a little garden in the 344
centre of it, is the "Bab al-Bahrain," the Gateway of Bahrain, consisting of two large blocks of office buildings with an archway in the centre. On the south side of the western block there is a fine old Arab door and on the balconies of the buildings as well as around the garden in the Square there are cement panels containing Arabesque patterns copied from old buildings in Bahrain.

The Bab al-Bahrain contains the finance and accounts department 344
where all payments to the Government for electricity, water, etc., etc., 655
are made, the Land Department which deals with sales and registration 423
of property and questions about boundaries and ownership of land, the registration of sales being compulsory, and several other government offices. His Highness has a reception room overlooking the 643
square on the first floor of the building where he sits on Wednesday mornings. Here he receives any visitors who wish to call on him and sees people who present petitions. On Monday mornings he visits the Municipal Buildings at Muharraq where he holds a similar reception.

East of the Customs, on the sea front, is the Law Courts Building 692
which contains a number of different courts including religious courts presided over by the Qadis of the Sunni and Shia sects. Certain foreigners, including British, Americans, Pakistanis and Indians are under the judicial authority of H.B.M.'s Political Agent. In mixed

The people of Bahrain are extremely law abiding and there is very little crime. A force of 300 uniformed police and 200 armed watchmen is responsible for the maintenance of law and order. The Police headquarters is the Fort to the south-west of Manama, this also contains the Traffic Department, the jail for short term convicts and the police barracks. There are police stations in various districts of Manama and Muharraq and in Hedd, Budaiya, Jaw, Sitra and elsewhere in Bahrain.

Most of the Government buildings in Bahrain are constructed by the Public Works Department whose offices and yards are on the northern shore of Manama south of the Manama-Muharraq Causeway. This department is also responsible for the Manama town water supply and the upkeep of roads and bridges. Close to the Public Works Department, on the opposite side of the Causeway, is the power house and office of the State Engineer. Electricity was first installed in Manama in 1929, later it was extended to Muharraq. The Power Station now generates about 7½ million Kw. per annum.

In addition to these departments there are others including the Transport Section, near the Police Fort, and the Agricultural Department which runs experimental gardens in Budiaya and Manama and gives advice to Bahrain agriculturalists.

## THE RULING FAMILY OF BAHRAIN

*The Ruler* :

HIS HIGHNESS SHAIKH SULMAN BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E.

*Sons of the Ruler* :

HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH ISA BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH KHALIFAH BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH MUHAMMAD BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.

*Uncles of the Ruler* :

HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH ABDULLA BIN ISA AL-KHALIFAH, C.I.E.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH MUHAMMAD BIN ISA AL-KHALIFAH, C.B.E.

*Brothers of the Ruler* :

SHAIKH MUBARAK BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ABDULLA BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ALI BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH IBRAHIM BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH KHALIFAH BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH DAU BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH AHMED BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.

*Sons of Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa* :

SHAIKH RASHID BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ALI BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH HAMED BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.

1; Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

first payments of oil royalities came at a critical time in Bahrain's history, when it was suffering from the effects of a slump in the pearling industry, and they enabled the State to continue its public works and social services. Apart from increasing the cost of living and causing a shortage of foods, the 1939-45 war had no direct effect on Bahrain, with the exception of a long-range bomber raid carried out by the Italian Air Force on the oil installations of Bahrain, and this attempt failed.

On February 20, 1942, Shaikh Hamed died, and was succeeded by his son, Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed al-Khalifah, the present ruler, under whom the march of progress in Bahrain has continued. The story of modern Bahrain and the activities of the Bahrain Government are described in Chapter III of the First Part of this book.

## NOTES

[1] Durand, "Extracts from Report on the Islands and Antiques of Bahrain," with notes by H. C. Rawlinson, in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1880.

[2] de Goeje, M. J., *Memoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrain et les Fatimides*, 1886.

[3] Idrisi, *Troisieme Climat-Sixieme Section*, translated by P. A. Jaubert, p. 373.

[4] Belgrave, C. D., "The Portuguese in the Bahrain Islands," *Journal Royal Central Asian Society*, 1935.

[5] Whose work is in the possession of a Bahraini historian.

[6] An-Nabhani, Muhammad, *Tarikh al-Jazirat al-Arabiya*, 1923, p. 125.

[7] Kennier, J. M., *Memoire on the Persian Empire*.

[8] For details of this and subsequent treaties between the Bahrain rulers and the British *see* Aitcheson, *Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and neighbouring countries*, vol. xi, 1933.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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The financial progress of Bahrain during these years has been briefly as follows: five years of prosperity during which the State depended upon the diving industry, two lean years when the pearl market began to droop, two years of crisis during which the revenue did not cover the expenditure, one year of slight recovery followed by a sudden large increase of revenue from oil. It is likely that during the present year the revenue from oil alone will amount to more than double the total revenue of any previous year.

A detailed report on the revenue of these years is not necessary as it has been dealt with minutely in annual reports, but the accompanying figures show the annual income with explanations of any unusual rise or fall. The subject of this report is the last ten years, and it is not proposed in this report to deal with the future, but it may be stated that, in my opinion, the most urgent need for the State is to provide itself with a solid Reserve Fund which will assure it a regular income which can be depended upon even when oil begins to run dry. Unfortunately it is the nature of Arabs to be over-optimistic and to pay small heed to the future, so the need for building up this reserve will not be generally appreciated.

| *Year.* | *Customs Revenue.* | *Other Revenue.* | *Oil Royalty.* | *Total.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs | Rs | Rs | Rs | |
| 1344 | 8,82,000 | 1,80,000 | — | 10,62,000 | |
| 1345 | 10,68,000 | 3,37,000 | — | 14,05,000 | |
| 1346 | 11,43,000 | 97,000 | — | 12,40,000 | |
| 1347 | 11,24,000 | 91,000 | — | 12,15,000 | |
| 1348 | 9,98,000 | 1,36,000 | — | 11,34,000 | |
| 1349 | 6,89,000 | 1,28,000 | — | 8,17,000 | |
| 1350 | 6,85,000 | 1,19,000 | — | 8,04,000 | |
| 1351 | 6,00,000 | 84,000 | — | 6,84,000 | |
| 1352 | 6,08,000 | 89,000 | 29,000 | 7,26,000 | |
| 1353 | 6,57,000 | 1,63,000 | 67,000 | 8,87,000 | |
| 1354 | 6,91,000 | 83,000 | 5,68,000 | 13,42,000 | |
| 1355 | 8,74,000 | 81,000 | 6,92,000 | 16,47,000 | |

## THE STATE POLICE AND PUBLIC SECURITY.

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**The Levy Corps.**

In 1926 the armed forces of Bahrain consisted of a Levy Corps, a few Persian police who were originally enlisted by the Municipality, and a body of 'Nasurs,' armed watchmen who patrolled the town at night. The Levy Corps provided a guard at the Political Agency and posts at Rafaa and Sitra. The Levy Corps, which consisted of so-called Baluchis recruited in Muscat, was commanded by a British Officer seconded from the Indian Army, assisted by an Indian Officer and several Indian N.C.O.'s from Punjabi regiments. In 1926 the Levy Corps was commanded by Captain Geake, who had succeeded Captain Campbell. The Levy Corps was intended mainly as a defence force in case of any serious disturbance or an attack on Bahrain by the Dawasir Arabs, who once lived at Budeya but left Bahrain in anger soon after Shaikh Hamad assumed control.

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In the spring of 1926 it was decided that the Indian Army officer should be replaced by a British official, who would act as assistant Adviser and Commandant of the Levy Corps. Captain L. S. Parke was appointed in this capacity in place of Captain Geake, who returned to his regiment.

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**Political Disturbances.**

There was a general feeling of nervousness and unrest in Bahrain in 1926. Many people were afraid that the Dawasir would make a descent on the coast and a series of armed attacks on Shia villages, organised by disaffected members of the Ruling Family, were still fresh in the public mind. The present Ruler was not yet firmly established, many people were opposed to him, and in certain communities there was a feeling of bitter resentment against the new regime and the various reforms which had been introduced. Conditions were very different to what they are to-day: in the country few people would venture out unarmed at night, and in the towns there were frequent scares of armed attacks.

5: Bahrain G-5 (192_-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

On 3rd August, Haji Sulman, the Chief of the police, was shot at in Manamah; this caused great excitement; on the next day the 'shooting' occurred. Major, now Colonel, Daly, who was then Political Agent, was in the office at the Fort, seated at a table, talking to the Indian officer who stood in front of him. One of the Levy Corps men, who thought he had been badly treated by the Subedar, came outside the window and shot the Subedar from behind. The shot went through the Subedar, who died later in the day, and carried off a piece of Major Daly's ear. The man shot and killed one of the Indian Havildars and, when pursued by Major Daly, attacked him with a bayonet and wounded him in several places. Finally he surrendered himself.

There was an immediate panic in the town, crowds of people hurried into boats and set off for Muharraq, and shopkeepers closed their shops, thinking that the Dawasir were coming. Finally calm was restored. The affair was the action of a single individual who 'ran amok,' and it had no political significance; this opinion was not, however, shared by everybody. For about two months after the incident Bahrain was virtually under martial law. One, or sometimes two, of the sloops of the Persian Gulf Division were anchored in the harbour, and British naval guards were stationed at the Fort and at the Agency. The Levy Corps was disbanded and the men were sent back to Muscat, from whence many of them gradually returned to Bahrain as at that time there was no passport system and no check was kept on persons arriving in the country.

In the middle of October a detachment from one of the Punjabi regiments, commanded by a British officer, arrived in Bahrain and was stationed at the Fort. Shortly after their arrival the Baluchi Levy Corps man who had been the cause of all the trouble was tried, sentenced, and shot.

**Attempt to assassinate the Shaikh.**

About a month later Shaikh Hamad narrowly escaped assassination. He was driving out to one of his country houses after dinner, as was his custom, when he was shot at by four men at close range from behind a hedge at a bend in the road. The sudden glare of the car's powerful headlights evidently dazzled the men and their shots went low, hitting the car and missing the Shaikh, who at that time used always to sit in front next to the driver. Though the place of the ambush was only a mile or two from Manamah, no news of the attempt was received until next morning, and consequently the criminals escaped.

In 1930, through the combined efforts of Haji Sulman, the local police officer and Shaikh Mohomed bin Jabr, who is now the Amir of Muharraq, the men who attempted to assassinate Shaikh Hamad were arrested. It was proved that they were some of the same men who had taken part in attacks on Shia villages, where they murdered and robbed men, women, and children. Their final arrest was the result of long and complicated investigations extending over several years, and the result of this work reflected great credit on the police who dealt with the case. The men were a gang of Hassawis who were employed by certain members of the Ruling Family as 'gunmen.' For a price they would shoot anybody. The complicity of their masters was proved in the Bahrain courts and the Shaikhs who were concerned were heavily fined and deprived of their offices. One of them, when the murderers were convicted, was acting as the President of one of the Bahrain courts. Shaikh Ibrahim bin Khalid, who was one of the principal persons concerned, has since died. The Hassawis being foreigners were tried in the Agency court and sentenced not to death but to imprisonment.

On November 3rd, 1926, the village of Senobis, about three miles from Manamah, was attacked by armed robbers, several of the villagers were killed, and one of the attackers was shot while carrying away plunder.

**Indian Levy Corps.**

After these various events it was decided that a regular and efficient force was needed to preserve law and order. A force consisting of ex-Indian Army Punjabi Moslems was enlisted by me in India, with the help of the Indian Army recruiting authorities. Captain L. S. Parke arrived at the end of 1926 and took over command of the new Levy Corps; he held the post of Commandant of Police and assistant Adviser until 1932 when, owing to the need for economy, his agreement was not renewed.

The Indians, on the whole, were not a success, though they worked and behaved well, but they filled a gap at a time when a force of trained men was very necessary. The climate did not

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Ruler's house at Sakhir with the exchange by means of a line from Manamah through the Bahrain Petroleum Company's exchange. Telephonic communication now exists over a great part of the islands; from the aerodrome in Muharraq it is possible to talk to steamers lying off Sitra, as a submarine cable was laid by the Bahrain Petroleum Company to the Sitra anchorage, or to distant points on the oil field far down at the south end of the island. 206

At the end of 1355 (1936-37) there were 40 telephone subscribers, and it is expected that during the next year this number will increase to 60. The trunk line to the Bahrain Petroleum Company's Camp was duplicated in order to deal with the increased traffic. The possibility of installing an automatic switchboard (100 lines) is now under consideration. The advantages would be the elimination of operators and the language difficulties and the prevention of listening-in.

SUMMARY OF SEVEN YEARS' WORKING

| *Year.* | *Units Generated.* | *Units Sold.* | *Revenue Rs* | *Connected Load in Kw.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1349 (1930-31) ... | 88,080 ... | 47,340 ... | 20,750/- ... | 102 |
| 1350 (1931-32) ... | 111,367 ... | 65,813 ... | 22,486/- ... | 46 |
| 1351 (1932-33) ... | 120,629 ... | 79,550 ... | 27,463/- ... | 23 |
| 1352 (1933-34) ... | 134,744 ... | 83,241 ... | 30,987/- ... | 9 |
| 1353 (1934-35) ... | 147,050 ... | 100,449 ... | 36,797/- ... | 16 |
| 1354 (1935-36) ... | 163,751 ... | 116,440 ... | 43,828/- ... | 27 |
| 1355 (1936-37) ... | 232,320 ... | 151,255 ... | 60,108/- ... | 58 |

The revenue figures are shown to the nearest rupee.

## AGRICULTURE

Until a few years ago agriculture in Bahrain consisted of cultivating dates and lucerne fairly extensively and growing citrus fruit and a few poor vegetables such as onions, tomatoes, radishes, and melons. In 1930 the Government attempted to encourage agriculture by employing an agricultural expert from Iraq, but owing to lack of funds his services were dispensed with before he could make much progress. 241

The encouragement of agriculture presents many difficulties. Bahrain Arabs regard all agricultural work as derogatory; I have never met one who worked in a garden or a date grove. All the cultivators are Shia aboriginals or Hasawis imported from the mainland as labourers. This feeling against working on the land, and also the question of land tenure have, I believe, restricted the increase of agriculture during the last century. There is ample evidence to show that in the past a great deal more land was cultivated than is to-day. The people who do work on the land are intensely conservative and view all methods except their own with dislike and suspicion. 461

**Land Tenure.** Most of the open cultivatable land, which is along the coast, is claimed by the Ruling Family, who make no use of it themselves, but prevent the Baharna from extending their existing gardens. In the past, Shaikh Sir Isa was in the habit of issuing papers to various of his relations, gifting to them whole districts of Bahrain. These 'hiba' documents, which were often written on scraps of paper, included large areas described as 'sehar,' containing roads, villages, springs, privately owned property as well as open land. The Shaikhs who acquired 'hibas' enjoyed feudal rights over the territories which were mentioned in their documents, and in the past they were allowed to make what they could out of them by independent taxation of the people living in the villages, by employing forced labour and by using open land as grazing grounds for the animals which they used to own before the days of motor cars. When the 'hiba' system began, long before the introduction of artesian wells, the possibility of increased cultivation was not visualised, but now the holders of 'hibas' 471 643 423

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

4/11 ● 6/13 4/23 245

have interpreted them as giving actual and exclusive ownership of all land which is not privately owned which is really State land. As a result of this condition, nearly all the land from Manamah to beyond Zellaq, along the coast, is claimed by various members of the Ruling Family.

**Date Cultivation.**

Dates are the most important crop in Bahrain; though not as good as the Hassa dates, they are said to be more lasting. Most gardens contain a large proportion of inferior species which are used only for feeding animals. Few gardens are well kept. More than half of the gardens belong to the Khalifah, who for years have spent no money on improving them, but in spite of this they complain incessantly that the rents have fallen off, which is owing to the decrease in the market price of dates by over 60%, and the deterioration of the gardens from lack of care and expenditure on improvements. Dates form part of the staple diet in Bahrain and are much used for provisioning the pearl fleet, but the home-grown crop is not enough to meet the local demand, and every year about six lacs' worth of dates are imported from Hassa and Iraq. There is no land tax and no tax on date trees in Bahrain, so it is impossible to give an estimate of the number of date palms, but the whole area under cultivation is very small, perhaps one-fiftieth of the total area of the islands. Recently the number of date gardens has been slightly increased, as a few people, notably the Ruler himself, have sunk artesian wells and planted land with trees. The date crop could undoubtedly be improved if more care was taken over the cultivation. In Bahrain, date cultivation is a casual affair, trees are never manured, and there is no regular system of planting. In one of the Ruler's gardens the experiment was made some years ago of manuring the roots of the trees, and the result of this was that the trees produced better crops than those which had not been manured. The use of any form of fertiliser, either decayed leaves and camel thorn or animal manure, was unknown a few years ago, but it is now being used in gardens, but not for date trees.

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**Lucerne.**

Lucerne is used extensively as fodder for cows and donkeys. It grows rapidly and is easily cultivated on poor soil. Both Hassa and Bahrain seeds are used, the latter being more expensive, and when once established it will grow for as long as ten years and will give a crop every month. It is very hardy in growth, but is liable to attacks by a kind of small caterpillar which appears once or twice every year and destroys all the lucerne in whole districts of the country. Experiments have been made by the camel section of the police in drying lucerne and using it as dry fodder when out on patrol; this has been found very successful.

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**Cereals.**

At one time it was the custom of the people of Rafsa to sow barley before the rainy season on the plain below the town, and for many years successful crops were harvested, but the crop occasionally failed owing to lack of rain. For some years now this practice has ceased, partly because the people of Rafsa are more prosperous than before, as almost all the able-bodied men of the town have obtained employment with the Bahrain Petroleum Company.

An experiment was made in growing California barley by the Government some years ago on irrigated land, and this was found to be a success.

Last year, millet was raised in the Fort garden. It sprang from the camel manure which was used in the soil. It grew sufficiently well to show that there were possibilities of its being grown on a large scale. Maize or Indian corn has also been grown in small quantities.

Three years ago a crop of rice was grown by Khan Bahadur Abdul Aziz Gozaibi, who is a large landowner and interested in agriculture. The rice was grown in rich, well-watered land near Sehlah; the seed was from Hassa, where it is cultivated extensively, and the crop yielded a small profit.

A little maize or Indian corn is grown in some gardens, and finds a ready sale in the bazaar; the quality is poor, probably because no care is taken to procure good seed.

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**Cotton.**

In the time of the Caliphs, cotton from Bahrain used to be sent to Baghdad, but it is not certain that this cotton was grown in the islands, as at that time much of the mainland was also known as Bahrain. In 1930 an experiment was made in growing

5: Bahrain G-5 (192[illegible]-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

## SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

**Arabs and Baharna.** There is a sharply defined difference in Bahrain between the urban and the rural population. The people of the towns, Manamah, Muharraq, and Hedd, are mostly Arabs and foreigners, traders, shop-keepers, pearl merchants, and landowners. The villagers, who are said to form about two-thirds of the total population, although there has never been a census in Bahrain, are the aboriginal Shia inhabitants of the islands, cultivators and fishermen, many of whom dive during the pearling season. There is a racial and religious difference between the two which is outwardly apparent in the appearance, the dress, and the speech of the people, especially in the case of the women. The Baharna, who used to own Bahrain, are now the tenants and servants of the Arab landowners and the Ruling Family, and there is no sympathy between them.

**The Baharna.** During the last ten years the life of the country people has altered very little, but their outlook has changed considerably. Though still suffering acutely from an inferiority complex, they have become more independent. They have learnt to resort to the Government when they consider themselves aggrieved, and they have shaken off the remnants of feudal obligation to individual members of the Ruling Family which they unwillingly bore in the past. They recognise and appreciate the advantages of a central government which has made it impossible for individual landlords to take the law into their own hands or to unduly oppress their tenants.

Another important political change is the marked decrease in the influence of the Shia religious leaders. The Shia Qadis used to be regarded, especially in the villages, as almost divine, but to-day their power has dwindled. This is mainly owing to the undignified dissentions among the religious leaders and the public exposure, after criminal proceedings, for misappropriation of trust money, of two Shia Qadis during recent years. The transfer of the wakf administration from the control of the Qadis to a council elected by the Shia community has also contributed towards the lessening of the influence of the Qadis. Instead of depending on the advice of the Qadis in all important and political matters, the country people now follow the lead or two or three politically minded merchants of Manamah whose ideas, though progressive, are not free from self-interest.

Living conditions among the Baharna have changed very little. They are still the poorest element in the community. Their villages are dirty, unhealthy, and insanitary, and physically they are below the standard of the Arabs. Although no statistics are available, it seems evident that there is a very high death rate among young children in the villages owing to unhealthy conditions and lack of medical attention. The diet of the people is mainly vegetables, fish, and a little rice and dates, but they spend more money on their clothes, because they need no longer fear that, if they are decently dressed, they will attract the cupidity of the local overlord. Although the average amount which they spend on marriage-money has decreased by over 50% in ten years, yet they still spend large sums on making the pilgrimage to the sacred cities of Iraq, which they regard as being as important as the pilgrimage to Mecca. In spite of the obvious poverty of the Baharna, the Ruling Family still believe that their tenants, when they fail to pay their rent, have large sums of money hoarded in their houses. This belief, in the past, was one of the reasons for the frequent attacks on Baharna houses and villages by armed followers of Khalifah landlords. For some years, however, crimes of this type have ceased to take place.

The Baharna take more interest in the doings of the outer world. Although most of them are illiterate when they come into Manamah or to the weekly markets, they listen to people discussing the news in the papers or what they have heard on the 'radios,' and they carry distorted and very inaccurate stories back to their houses and villages. In their general outlook the baharna are many years behind the town dwellers.

**The Townsfolk.** Among the townspeople, particularly in the capital, there have been startling changes during the last ten years, both in the style of living and the outlook of the people. These changes have come from the people themselves and have not been forced upon them by the Government. This is especially noticeable

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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THE SHEIK OF BAHREIN

[facing page 3]

Crown, and the King of England wrote to each to thank him for his generous offer. A typical gesture, announced proudly by BBC, was that of the Sheik of Bahrein, who declared that, although he had no men whom he could put in the service of the British, he was able to send a gift of money. This gift, which amounted to £30,000, was added to a pool organized to buy a Spitfire which was to be named *Bahrein.* In addition to the monetary gift, the Government put at the disposal of the British Admiralty "for the duration of the war", the entire pearl fishing fleet of the island, estimated at more than 3,000 units. 648

Meanwhile, by a Supplementary Agreement dated June 19, 1940, the Bahrein Petroleum Company received an extension of its concession, to include the area covering all lands, shoals, reefs, waters, and submerged lands of "the present and future domains" of the Sheik of Bahrein. The new concession supplants the mining lease of 1934, and the revised agreement with the Bahrein Petroleum Company covers a period of fifty-five years, dating from June 19, 1940. The present area of the concession is given as approximately 1,664,000 acres, with a proved reserve of about 200 million barrels. 471

The refineries and oil depots of the Bahrein Islands were bombed in October 1940 by three Italian heavy bombers—with "satisfactory results", according to a communiqué of the Italian High Command of October 20, 1940. The planes had taken off from Dodecanese bases, and the 2,500 mile raid was the longest then on record by any of the belligerents. 471 648

The results were not, according to Allied sources, as satisfactory as the Italians claimed. The planes which dropped about fifty bombs, caused very little damage to the main part of the refinery.

According to *Middle East Journal,* the Persian Government protested to Italy for this violation of its national territory.

On February 20, 1942, at the age of 70, Sheik Hamed died of a stroke and his eldest son, Salman, the Governor of Manama, succeeded him. British recognition was announced by the 648 [643]

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



## Government and Administration

The rule of the Sheikh, which is personal, is directly exerted over the part of Bahrein adjacent to Manāmah, and over the island of Muharraq, where he resides except during the four hottest months of the year. His authority over the rest of the principality is little more than nominal, for the land is divided among various relatives of his own, who hold it as almost independent fiefs, collecting their own taxes, and administering their own justice. Thus the islands of Sitrah and Nebi Sālih, with all the villages on the E. side of Bahrein to the S. of Khōr el-Kabb, and the inland villages of Rifā' esh-Sharqi and Rifā' el-Gharbi, are held by the Sheikh's brother Khālid. The subtraction of all this territory considerably reduces the Sheikh's revenue, which is derived not only from customs, but also from agricultural duties, taxes on pearl-boats, judicial fees, and rent of town lands, shops, or *khāns*. The Sheikh is assisted in the government by a *wazīr*, whose aid is all the more necessary, as the ruler is frequently absent on the mainland, chiefly for sporting purposes. In the towns of Manāmah and Muharraq there are deputy governors with the title of *emīr*.

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Justice, in criminal cases and important civil cases, is administered on behalf of the Sheikh by a chief qādhi. The treatment of minor cases depends upon the religious belief of the parties: if both are Sunnis, they go before the (Sunni) Sheikh of Muharraq: if both are Shiahs, before the (Shiah) Sheikh of Manāmah. There are, in addition, seven other qādhis permitted to adjudicate upon cases referred to them by agreement.

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Mercantile cases, especially those in which foreigners are concerned, are decided by a tribunal variously called *Mejlis el-'Urfi* or *Mejlis et-Tijārah*, a Customary or Commercial Court, with permanent members nominated by the Sheikh in consultation with the British Political Agent. When one or more of the parties to a case is a British subject, or when none of them are Bahrein subjects, the Mejlis is usually convoked by the Agent, and sits at the Agency, a representative of the Sheikh being permitted to attend. Cases arising out of pearl-diving operations are settled by a special board of arbitration known as the *Sālifat el-Ghaus*.

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## Recent History and Present Politics

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Although the Sheikhs of the Khalīfah family had been in direct relations with us since 1805, and under treaty since 1820, another sixty years elapsed before the ruler of Bahrein entered into a binding

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



643 agreement similar to that accepted by the Sultan of Oman. By this
648 treaty he undertakes, in return for a subsidy, to alienate no part of his territory except to the British, to conform to British policy, and to accept no help, pecuniary or other, from any foreign power. A British Political Agent, under the Resident at Bushire, is stationed at Manāmah.

The present ruler, Sheikh 'Īsa ibn 'Ali el-Khalīfah, now an old man, owed his accession in 1867 to our influence, and has been supported by us against other claimants of his family, notably Khalīfah ibn Hamed ibn Mohammed el-Khalīfah, who has intrigued with the Porte. Although Sheikh 'Īsa is not without natural sagacity, he has proved to be lacking in the force of character and practical ability which distinguished his contemporary, Sheikh Mubārak of Koweit. In addition, he has sometimes shown himself sensitive of control, even to the point of obstructing reforms, encouraged in such courses, perhaps, by a certain impatience of foreign influence prevalent in Bahrein; he has thus on at least one occasion incurred the censure of the Indian Government. But in spite of these shortcomings, he has avoided serious complications; in the difficult times which began with the crisis in the pearl industry in 1913, and have been aggravated by the war, he has shown ability and reasonable goodwill. His heir, Sheikh Hāmid, is described as a man holding moderate views.

## Islands

### 1. *Bahrein*

361 The general nature of Bahrein Island has been described in a
438 previous section (p. 311). In the present place the chief centres of population may be noticed. The island has nearly 100 villages and hamlets, of which the following are the most important:

*Hālah Bin Anas*, a short distance E. of Manāmah, with 85 huts of Sunnis, who are pearl-divers and fishermen.

*'Askar*, on the E. coast, 4½ miles ENE. of Jebel Dukhān. 75 stone houses and reed-huts of Āl Bu 'Ainein, pearl-divers, owning about 20 boats; 1,500 date-palms; a little live stock.

*Bilād el-Qadīm*, about 1½ mile SW. of Manāmah fort; about 350 mud and reed huts. The inhabitants are *Bahārinah*, who gain a livelihood as pearl-merchants, cultivators, or tailors; many ruined stone houses. It has a suburb to the SW. called *Bilād er-Rāfi'*, and on the NW. side the *Sūq el-Khamīs*, where a large market is held on Thursdays. About ½ mile to the W. are the ruins of the Madrasat Abu Zeidān, the minarets of which, in combination with Jebel

1; Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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H.E. SHAIKH ISA BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH,
eldest son of the Ruler of Bahrain.

*Photo :*
*National Art Studio.*

In complexion the people vary greatly, some, especially those who work in offices, are very fair, while the African element in the population has produced the opposite colouring. During the past ten years the fashion among the men of Bahrain for wearing partly European dress has developed rapidly, mainly due to the operations of the oil company, where long flowing robes are not only a nuisance but often dangerous. The older men, however, and the members of the Ruling Family still wear the traditional Arab dress which can be seen in its full glory in the picture of H.H. The Ruler. The basic garment is the "thobe," a long shirt fastened up to the neck, above it comes a cloak of brown, white or black wool, with gold braided edges, the "bisht" or "aba". On the head is a small skull cap, not usually visible, over which is a white or coloured headcloth "gutra' held in place by means of a black or white wool ring, called "agal." The last was originally a camel hobble which the bedouin in the desert used to wear on their heads when travelling, removing it when in camp, but today it has lost its original use and is just an article of attire. Members of the Ruling Family, all of whom use the title "Shaikh," wear gold head-rings on formal occasions, while H.H. The Ruler and the senior members of the family wear swords and daggers in gold scabbards.

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The purdah system still exists in Bahrain, although it is gradually being modified, and women are veiled when they appear in public; the more old fashioned wearing black masks concealing the upper part of the face, the younger contenting themselves with veils of black net. Although many women in the towns wear European clothes, nylons and cosmetics, they never appear outside their houses without a voluminious black cloak which covers them from the tops of their heads to the ground. In the country the Baharna women wear a large square shawl, black, blue or sometimes brightly covered, which conceals the clothes they wear. Despite the impression which may have been given by this description of veiling still current in Bahrain, the women of the country are now living a much wider life than formerly. Many girls go to the schools where as well as doing lessons they play games and do gymnastics, and what they learn at school gives them more interests at home when they marry. Family parties are commoner and husbands will now allow themselves to be seen driving with their wives in cars, which some years ago was almost unknown. In many ways the life of the women of Bahrain is improving. However, a fact that visitors to Bahrain should remember is that attempts to take photographs of women are usually strongly resented though the ordinary Arab male is fairly immune to the photographic enthusiasm of visiting Europeans.

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In Bahrain, unlike most other parts of the Arab World, the upper classes of Arab society have retained their traditional dress, while the working classes have adopted shirts and trousers. A result of this is that one should not be surprised if young men dressed in Arab clothes speak excellent English, know much about European history, French cooking and American enterprise, for they have probably been educated at the American University of Beirut or in Egypt or England. The

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The people of Bahrain are extremely law abiding and there is very little crime. A force of 300 uniformed police and 200 armed watchmen is responsible for the maintenance of law and order. The Police headquarters is the Fort to the south-west of Manama, this also contains the Traffic Department, the jail for short term convicts and the police barracks. There are police stations in various districts of Manama and Muharraq and in Hedd, Budaiya, Jaw, Sitra and elsewhere in Bahrain.

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Most of the Government buildings in Bahrain are constructed by the Public Works Department whose offices and yards are on the northern shore of Manama south of the Manama-Muharraq Causeway. This department is also responsible for the Manama town water supply and the upkeep of roads and bridges. Close to the Public Works Department, on the opposite side of the Causeway, is the power house and office of the State Engineer. Electricity was first installed in Manama in 1929, later it was extended to Muharraq. The Power Station now generates about 7½ million Kw. per annum.

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In addition to these departments there are others including the Transport Section, near the Police Fort, and the Agricultural Department which runs experimental gardens in Budiaya and Manama and gives advice to Bahrain agriculturalists.

## THE RULING FAMILY OF BAHRAIN

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*The Ruler* :

HIS HIGHNESS SHAIKH SULMAN BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E.

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*Sons of the Ruler* :

HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH ISA BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH KHALIFAH BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH MUHAMMAD BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.

*Uncles of the Ruler* :

HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH ABDULLA BIN ISA AL-KHALIFAH, C.I.E.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH MUHAMMAD BIN ISA AL-KHALIFAH, C.B.E.

*Brothers of the Ruler* :

SHAIKH MUBARAK BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ABDULLA BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ALI BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH IBRAHIM BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH KHALIFAH BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH DAIJ BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH AHMED BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.

*Sons of Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa* :

SHAIKH RASHID BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ALI BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH HAMED BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.

644 *Sons of Shaikh Muhammad bin Isa* :

SHAIKH AHMED BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ALI BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH KHALIFAH BIN MUHAMMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH IBRAHIM BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH SULMAN BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH HAMED BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ABD AL-AZIZ BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ISA BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.

647 HEADS OF GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

*Adviser to the Government and Commandant State Police* : SIR CHARLES BELGRAVE, K.B.E.
*Director of Customs* : MR. G. W. R. SMITH, M.B.E.
*Minister of Education* : H.E. SHAIKH ABDULLA BIN ISA AL-KHALIFAH, C.I.E.
*Director of Education* : MR. AHMED AL-UMRAN.
*Directoress of Female Education* : LADY BELGRAVE.
*Officer in Charge Finance Department* : MR. SAYED MAHMOUD ALAWI.
*Officer in Charge Judicial Department* : MR. SALIM AL-ARAYEDH.
*Superintendent State Police* : SHAIKH KHALIFAH BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.
*State Medical Officer* : DR. R. H. B. SNOW, M.B.E.
*State Engineer* : MR. D. BRAMMER.
*Superintendent Minors' Estates Department* : MR. MUHAMMAD DOWAIGER.
*Superintendent of the Land Department* : KHAN SAHIB MUHAMMAD KHALIL MENON.
*Officer in Charge Passport and Emigration Department* : MR. KADHIM ASFOUR.
*Officer in Charge Public Works Department* : MAJOR S. HILLS.
*President of the Religious Endowments Committee* :
*Shia* : HAJ MOHSEN AT-TAJIR.
*Sunni* : SHAIKH ATIYYATALLAH AL-KHALIFAH.
*Officer in Charge Transport Department* : MR. J. L. MORRIS.
*Director of Agriculture* : MR. W. W. VAN OLLENBACH.
*Secretaries of the Municipalities* :
*Manama* : MR. MUHAMMAD SALIH SHATR.
*Muharraq and Hedd* : MR. IBRAHIM KHALFAN.
*Rifaa (East and West) President* : SHAIKH ABDULLA BIN KHALID AL-KHALIFAH
*Secretary Bahrain Chamber of Commerce* : MR. RASHID ZAYANI.

## CHAPTER IV

## COMMUNICATIONS

508 BAHRAIN, owing to its central position in the Persian Gulf, is the natural stopping place for air services between the Middle East and the Far East and for this reason it is a port of call for many air companies. Bahrain's Airport is on Muharraq Island, a short drive from the town, and is sufficiently large to take the newest types of aircraft including the B.O.A.C. Comet which started services through Bahrain in August, 1952. There is in addition a Persian Gulf air service, Gulf Aviation Company Ltd., in which the Bahrain Government has an important interest and whose headquarters is at Muharraq.

509 Air travel is very popular in the Persian Gulf and there has been a great increase in the air traffic to and from Bahrain. In the twelve

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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The Ruler's Palace at Rifaa al-Gharbi. Photo : *National Art Studio.*

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An Asli potter making jar tops.

A hunting falcon on the hand of one of the Ruler's retainers. Photo . *Sir Charles Belgrave.*

361 when the date pickers descend on the village and put up their barastis.
245 Lower Sehlah is reached by a bridge across the water channel that borders the Manama-Awali Road. This village is surrounded by date gardens and can also be reached by a footpath from Adari. The gardens in the neighbourhood of the two villages are among the best and most thriving in Bahrain, and the date groves are locally described as the hump of Bahrain, not because they rise above the surrounding lands but on account of their being the richest and most fertile in the islands.

AALI

361 After leaving the palm belt and entering the plain north of Rifaa, thick smoke can usually be seen rising from among some date gardens to the west, this is the village of Aali, one of the largest in Bahrain. It lies on the western edge of the plain which extends from the end of the date gardens at the bridge of Radhm al-Qawari to the Rifaa hills, and is close to a group of the largest tumuli in Bahrain which are a conspicuous feature of the landscape of Bahrain island. The largest mounds in the Aali group are over 80 feet high and 100 feet in diameter.
[491] The best road to Aali is the one indicated by the sign-post on Awal
[342] Road, a short distance from Radhm al-Qawari. The houses of this village are better than in most of the Bahrain villages; they are large and airy and some of them have blocks of stone from the tombs in their walls. As in the case of so many Bahrain villages, Aali stands on a slight elevation surrounded by date gardens.

RIFAA AL-GHARBI

644 Straddling Awal Road on the edge of the rim-rock is the town of
361 West Rifaa, the winter residence of H.H. The Ruler of Bahrain as well as of many of his family and retainers. This settlement is comparatively modern, having been built by the present Ruler before he succeeded in 1942. Constructed in the traditional Arab pattern, the Palace is in the centre of the town and the other houses are widely scattered about it. The Ruler's love of gardens has caused the road to be lined with trees, and it is a pleasant surprise on coming across the desert surrounding the town to pass through a shady green avenue. During the three months of the Summer the Ruler lives in Manama, but as soon as the cool weather returns a long procession of cars and lorries moves slowly out of Rifaa, the lights go on, and overnight the appearance of West Rifaa is changed from a deserted town to a scene of much activity.

RIFAA ASH-SHARQI

361 This is the fourth largest town in Bahrain and has a population
712 of about 3,000. East Rifaa is without doubt the most picturesque of Bahrain's towns and villages. When approached from the west, from the plain near Awali, the fortress, which dominates the valley, presents a most romantic appearance and carries one's thoughts back

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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which caused considerable resentment among the Shias, although at that time the proportion of Shias at the Government schools was much lower than it is now. If more care had been given to the selection of the candidates, this experiment would have been more successful. The boys remained at Beyrout for two years; a longer course would have been more useful to them but, mainly owing to financial reasons, the Government decided not to extend their time.

Some years have now passed since these boys returned to Bahrain, and the result of their education can now be seen. In my opinion, it was successful in the case of three of the boys, moderately successful in the case of three, and a complete failure in the case of one boy. If the boys had been younger when they left Bahrain, I believe that the experiment would have been a complete success.

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**Education of the Ruling Family.**

In 1925, Shaikh Hamad allowed two of his sons to go as boarders to the American Mission school in Basrah. They stayed there for one term and did not return to school.

In 1930 a tutor was obtained from India to teach Shaikh Hamad's younger sons. He was well recommended and highly qualified and had previously been in charge of an Indian princeling. Although the tutor worked hard under difficult conditions and did his best to teach his pupils, it was soon apparent that his employment was a waste of his time and of the Government's money. The tutor lived in Shaikh Hamad's house, but the boys were disinclined to work and so did nothing. It was impossible to bring any compulsion on them to do their lessons. The experiment was a complete failure and, after completing one year, the tutor's agreement was not renewed.

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**Future Development of Education.**

There is danger in the creation of a class of semi-educated young men in Bahrain who, because they have a little learning, regard themselves as too superior to do manual work and who will become too many to find employment of a clerical nature. The people, however, especially the Shias, are urgent in their demands for increased education, and more schools, and in reply to this the Government intends to open more small country schools in the villages. A knowledge of reading, writing, and simple arithmetic is all that is needed by boys from the villages, most of whom will eventually become divers, cultivators, and fishermen. In these occupations, school education is unnecessary, though for divers and fishermen a knowledge of figures is some assurance against being swindled.

Boys who attend the town schools in Manamah and Muharraq are mostly sons of shopkeepers, merchants, and pearl traders, and many of them enter their fathers' shops and offices, where they benefit from a knowledge of accounts, book-keeping, and the more advanced education which is given at the two big schools.

If the newly started technical classes are successful, the Government will develop this experiment and, if possible, introduce more subjects which will provide lucrative employment for trained boys when they leave school. It should be possible for boys who have learned carpentry, etc., at school to secure employment with the Bahrain Petroleum Company in place of some of the many foreign artisans who are now employed by the Company.

## ELECTRIC DEPARTMENT

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**Original Installation.**

The possibility of introducing electricity in Manamah was first considered over ten years ago, and for some time funds were set aside for the purpose; it was not, however, till 1928 that any action was taken by the Government. That year the services of Mr. Stevenson, electrical inspector in Sind, were obtained in an advisory capacity and a scheme was prepared by him in Bahrain, together with plans for the layout and a rough specification. Bahrain was then in a prosperous condition, and it was estimated that the initial load would be not less than 2,000 lamps and 200 fans. The people in Manamah were anxious to form a public company, but after consideration this suggestion was dropped, and eventually it was decided that the scheme was to be undertaken by the Government and the Manamah Municipality.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

are chairs, tables, window curtains, often framed pictures and photographs, and usually a gramophone; in the houses of the wealthier people there is often a wireless set. Coffee shops reflect the change in ways of living. They are important institutions in Bahrain and take the place of clubs or cafes in Europe. Each has its regular clientele, but the popularity of individual coffee shops varies according to fashion. Ten years ago, coffee shops were usually small shops inside the bazaar, furnished with a few rough benches, where little else than coffee could be obtained. To-day, most of the coffee shops are elaborately decorated and illuminated, provided with little tables and chairs, and a gramophone or a wireless set which plays loudly and incessantly, relaying Arabic programmes to the customers. Some of the coffee shops are divided into two parts: in one part only coffee and drinks are served, and in the other part regular meals can be obtained, including Indian and Persian dishes, bread, cakes, and ices in the summer. Most of the proprietors are foreigners—Indians, Persians, and Iraqi, who are more enterprising in these matters than the local people. The bigger coffee shops are now referred to by the public as 'otels.'

**Games.** The popularity of games is another recent development during the last ten years. Before this, nobody played games except the men of the Levy Corps, who were made to do so, which was regarded as a peculiarity of the Commanding Officer. To-day, there are half-a-dozen local football teams and several hockey teams, who play against each other or against teams of sailors or Europeans from the Bahrain Petroleum Company. They play well, and are very keen, and every match attracts a large and interested audience from the town. Many of the parents of the young men who play disapprove of hockey and football, which they consider dangerous and unnecessary, chiefly because they did not play themselves when they were young. There is an entire lack of class distinction in these games: the sons of shaikhs play side-by-side with policemen, clerks, and taxi drivers. Although games have improved the physique of those who play them, the use of motor cars instead of horses or donkeys has caused a great many people to become soft and flabby. Sons of wealthy fathers, especially the young members of the Ruling Family, have entirely left off taking any exercise. They use a car to go a few yards; they never walk, and the only occasion on which they ride a horse is during marriage celebration or on public holidays, such as the annual accession celebrations.

**Class Changes.** The depression in the pearl trade and the recent improvement in the bazaars has caused an upheaval in financial positions, and with it a certain change in the political importance of classes. This change is gradually, though unwillingly, being appreciated by the Ruling Family. In the days when the pearl trade was flourishing, pearl merchants and nakhudas were the monied classes, and their money gave them great power, which they did not scruple to use for their own benefit. To-day, the men who used to be worth lacs of rupees are, in many cases, almost bankrupt, and petty traders, shop-keepers, and men who happen to own property in Manamah, are becoming the monied class. The old powerful pearl merchants were, in many cases, self-made men who started life as divers, but their wealth made them important and, though most of them could neither read or write, they were the people who mattered in Bahrain. Many of these men have lost all their influence because their money has gone. The class which is now becoming prosperous is more progressive, more mixed, and better educated, but as a community it does not hang together because, unlike the case of the pearl industry, its prosperity does not depend upon one trade alone. One of the serious disadvantages of the change is that the pearl industry provided work, during part of the year, for many thousands of men, but the people who are now making money provide little employment for the people. At present, about five thousand divers are working in the oil field. They are making a great deal more money than they would normally make from diving and, besides earning money, they are paying back their debts to the nakhudas by regular monthly instalments, so both parties are satisfied; but this employment is not permanent and, when present construction work at the oil field is finished, there will be a sudden increase in unemployment which will have to be dealt with by the Government.

**The Ruling Family.** The life and outlook of the members of the Ruling Family, with a few notable exceptions, has changed less than that of any other community. Although there is a great difference between the outlook of the older men and those who have grown up during the last ten years, the attitude of the family as a whole is

●644 461 471 still that of feudal chiefs, though the feudal feeling no longer exists among the people of Bahrain. They consider it their right that they should be well provided for financially by the State, and they resent any suggestion that they should add to their incomes by doing work. They are still the biggest landowners in Bahrain, but by draining their property dry, and not spending any money on improvements, their property has deteriorated in value. They regard any real work as degrading, and only accept posts on courts or councils for the sake of obtaining more money, not because it is incumbent on them, as members of the Ruling Family, to occupy public positions. Their attitude in this respect is a contrast to that of the merchant class in Bahrain, who are unusually public minded and who freely give up much of their time to sit on courts and committees and councils.

562 178 185 **The Women.** Among the women, too, there have been changes, but they are more gradual than among the men. Every step towards emancipation is firmly resisted by the older female members of the households, but in spite of this there is a definite feeling among the younger women that they should have more freedom. Their ambition, at present, is not to take any part in public matters, but to be able to go out more frequently. They are becoming restive of the restrictions of the purdah system. Some are now educated, and a few have travelled abroad in Syria, Persia, India, and Iraq, and there they have seen the changes which are taking place in the life of the women of those countries. Many who have never been out of Bahrain read newspapers and listen to news on wireless sets, and frequently meet Indian and Syrian women in Bahrain. All this causes them to feel unsettled.

[595] One of the notable recent changes is that nowadays a great many young men only marry one wife, not because they cannot afford to support more wives, but because they prefer monogamy. The younger men are no longer ashamed of mentioning their wives and talking about their families, and many of them take their wives out with them in cars. A few years ago, if a man was seen with a woman in his car, one could be quite sure that she was not his wife. The modern young men look for wives who are educated, and frequently marry Persian or Iraqi girls because they received better education. One of the effects of education among the women in Bahrain is that they learn to keep their houses clean and they appreciate the value of hygiene, which is taught at school. Education also makes them willing to employ qualified doctors, especially at childbirth, when, in the past, they would have been treated by local Arab untrained midwives who are dirty and dangerous, and whose use of the notorious salt method is undoubtedly responsible for an enormous number of casualties among children and pregnant women.

Changes are taking place all over the Gulf, but of the Arab States, Bahrain is changing most rapidly. The most conspicuous visible changes in comparing Bahrain to-day and ten years ago are in the capital, where a person returning to the country would notice the wider streets, better buildings, and a decrease in straw huts, trees, gardens and more vegetation, large shops selling European goods, motor traffic, European dress worn by natives, increasing use of machinery, partly owing to installation of electric power, knowledge of English language, and far greater interest being taken in outside world affairs.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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PALACE OF THE SHEIK OF BAHREIN

[facing page 95]

The

186 young business men and merchants are proud of their country and are
177 inclined to be annoyed by visitors who confine their attention to the antiques and "quaint" sights of Bahrain, ignoring modern buildings and new enterprises. Graduates of Bahrain and foreign schools are go-ahead in their outlook and are determined to modernise Bahrain as much as possible; for this purpose they are willing to break with many of the traditions of the past, which are so often of interest to Europeans and Americans. Despite this, the young men of Bahrain appreciate meeting the foreigners who live in or visit their country.

## CHAPTER III

## THE STATE

648 BAHRAIN has been in treaty relations with the British Government since 1820. Its relations with the British Government and with other foreign governments are conducted through the British Political Agent in Bahrain. Bahrain is also the headquarters of the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, who lives at Jufair.

643 The Head of the State is His Highness Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed al-Khalifah, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., who was born in 1894, the eldest son of the late Ruler, Shaikh Hamed bin' Isa al-Khalifah, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. He succeeded his father in 1942 and has three sons: Their Excellencies Shaikhs 'Isa, Khalifah and Muhammad, and seven brothers. Shaikh Sulman is the tenth Shaikh of the Khalifah family to rule in Bahrain since it was conquered by his ancestor Shaikh Ahmed bin Khalifah in 1782.

642 The form of government can be described as a benevolent autocracy; the Ruler governs his State through Arab and British officials, who are in charge of the various departments of State, and by means of councils and committees consisting of elected and nominated members representing the different communities. Shaikhs of the Ruling Family preside over many of the councils and hold posts in the administration.

[647] The principal government departments are the Adviserate (The Secretariat), Customs, Education, Electricity, Finance, Judical, Lands, Police, Public Health, Public Works, Passports, Religious Endowments etc., etc. In the towns of Manama, Muharraq, Hedd and Rifaa there are municipalities; the first of these was established in Manama in 1920.

651 The revenue of the State is mainly derived from oil royalties, including payments on oil which is imported for refining, and from customs dues on imports. There is no income tax and no land tax but in the towns there is a small municipal tax on houses, shops and places
652 of business. The revenue of the State for the year 1370 A.H. (October 1950—October 1951) was Rupees 25,155,700 (£1,866,000) and the estimated revenue for 1372 (September 1952—September 1953) is much greater owing to a revision of the oil payments by which the

692 cases if the defendant is a Bahrain citizen and the plaintiff is a foreigner the case is heard in a Joint Court. The language of the Bahrain Courts is Arabic and no barristers or wakils who are not Bahrainis are allowed to appear in them.

647 At the eastern end of the sea road[1] is the Adviserate, the Ruler deals with affairs of State in this office on Tuesdays and Saturdays. Beyond the Adviserate is H.B.M.'s Political Agency which was built early in the century.

743 At the western end of the Sea Road is the Government Hospital. It includes a men's and women's hospital, administrative offices, X-Ray, laboratories, operating theatres and out-patients' rooms. There are beds for men and for women, with a few private rooms in each section. The Indian Staff occupy a large three storied building close to the hospital and behind the Women's Hospital is the house of the British nursing sisters. On Awal Road there is a large Public Health Office and beyond it a T.B. Sanatorium and a Mental Hospital. Opposite the Police Fort there are also two small isolation hospitals. In Muharraq there is a maternity hospital in the centre of the town and a clinic on the sea front. In Hedd and in some of the villages there are also small clinics. The Government Medical Staff includes a number of British and Indian doctors and nurses.

871 Education in Bahrain is not, at present, compulsory, but every year the number of boys' and girls' schools increases. The oldest school 658 in Bahrain is the Muharraq Boys' School in North Muharraq town, which was built in 1919, and there are now 28 government schools including village schools, town schools, a boys' secondary school, and a technical school where carpentry and engineering are taught. At the beginning of the 1952-53 term there were 4000 boys and 2,500 girls attending government schools. Except in the secondary school, education is free and every year scholarships are given by the Government and BAPCO to enable students to obtain advanced education at the American University of Beirut. There is a students' hostel in Manama which accommodates about 100 boys, here students from the villages and other towns are housed while they attend the more advanced town schools.

[875] Most of the teachers are Bahrainis though there are a certain number of teachers from neighbouring Arab countries. English is taught in the higher classes as well as the usual subjects. All the schools close during the summer from about the middle of June till the end of September. Some of the government schools are among the most noticeable of the modern buildings in Manama.

871 In addition to the Government schools there are a number of private schools including a European day school at Awali, Catholic, Persian and Indian schools in Manama and a girls school run by the mission of the Dutch reformed Church of America. The Oil Company also has a trade school for its Arab employees.

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[1] [at Manama -- Analyst]

The people of Bahrain are extremely law abiding and there is very little crime. A force of 300 uniformed police and 200 armed watchmen is responsible for the maintenance of law and order. The Police headquarters is the Fort to the south-west of Manama, this also contains the Traffic Department, the jail for short term convicts and the police barracks. There are police stations in various districts of Manama and Muharraq and in Hedd, Budaiya, Jaw, Sitra and elsewhere in Bahrain.

Most of the Government buildings in Bahrain are constructed by the Public Works Department whose offices and yards are on the northern shore of Manama south of the Manama-Muharraq Causeway. This department is also responsible for the Manama town water supply and the upkeep of roads and bridges. Close to the Public Works Department, on the opposite side of the Causeway, is the power house and office of the State Engineer. Electricity was first installed in Manama in 1929, later it was extended to Muharraq. The Power Station now generates about 7½ million Kw. per annum.

In addition to these departments there are others including the Transport Section, near the Police Fort, and the Agricultural Department which runs experimental gardens in Budiaya and Manama and gives advice to Bahrain agriculturalists.

## THE RULING FAMILY OF BAHRAIN

*The Ruler* :

HIS HIGHNESS SHAIKH SULMAN BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E.

*Sons of the Ruler* :

HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH ISA BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH KHALIFAH BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH MUHAMMAD BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.

*Uncles of the Ruler* :

HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH ABDULLA BIN ISA AL-KHALIFAH, C.I.E.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH MUHAMMAD BIN ISA AL-KHALIFAH, C.B.E.

*Brothers of the Ruler* :

SHAIKH MUBARAK BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ABDULLA BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ALI BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH IBRAHIM BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH KHALIFAH BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH DAIJ BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH AHMED BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.

*Sons of Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa* :

SHAIKH RASHID BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ALI BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH HAMED BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.

644 *Sons of Shaikh Muhammad bin Isa* :

SHAIKH AHMED BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ALI BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH KHALIFAH BIN MUHAMMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH IBRAHIM BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH SULMAN BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH HAMED BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ABD AL-AZIZ BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ISA BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.

## HEADS OF GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

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*Adviser to the Government and Commandant State Police* : SIR CHARLES BELGRAVE, K.B.E.
*Director of Customs* : MR. G. W. R. SMITH, M.B.E.
*Minister of Education* : H.E. SHAIKH ABDULLA BIN ISA AL-KHALIFAH, C.I.E.
*Director of Education* : MR. AHMED AL-UMRAN.
*Directoress of Female Education* : LADY BELGRAVE.
*Officer in Charge Finance Department* : MR. SAYED MAHMOUD ALAWI.
*Officer in Charge Judicial Department* : MR. SALIM AL-ARAYEDH.
*Superintendent State Police* : SHAIKH KHALIFAH BIN MUHAMMAD AL-KHALIFAH.
*State Medical Officer* : DR. R. H. B. SNOW, M.B.E.
*State Engineer* : MR. D. BRAMMER.
*Superintendent Minors' Estates Department* : MR. MUHAMMAD DOWAIGER.
*Superintendent of the Land Department* : KHAN SAHIB MUHAMMAD KHALIL MENON.
*Officer in Charge Passport and Emigration Department* : MR. KADHIM ASFOUR.
*Officer in Charge Public Works Department* : MAJOR S. HILLS.
*President of the Religious Endowments Committee* :
*Shia* : HAJ MOHSEN AT-TAJIR.
*Sunni* : SHAIKH ATIYYATALLAH AL-KHALIFAH.
*Officer in Charge Transport Department* : MR. J. L. MORRIS.
*Director of Agriculture* : MR. W. W. VAN OLLENBACH.
*Secretaries of the Municipalities* :
*Manama* : MR. MUHAMMAD SALIH SHATR.
*Muharraq and Hedd* : MR. IBRAHIM KHALFAN.
*Rifaa (East and West) President* : SHAIKH ABDULLA BIN KHALID AL-KHALIFAH
*Secretary Bahrain Chamber of Commerce* : MR. RASHID ZAYANI.

## CHAPTER IV

## COMMUNICATIONS

508 BAHRAIN, owing to its central position in the Persian Gulf, is the natural stopping place for air services between the Middle East and the Far East and for this reason it is a port of call for many air companies. Bahrain's Airport is on Muharraq Island, a short drive from the town, and is sufficiently large to take the newest types of aircraft including the B.O.A.C. Comet which started services through Bahrain in August, 1952. There is in addition a Persian Gulf air service, Gulf Aviation Company Ltd., in which the Bahrain Government has an important interest and whose headquarters is at Muharraq.

509 Air travel is very popular in the Persian Gulf and there has been a great increase in the air traffic to and from Bahrain. In the twelve

Some twenty years ago a Danish scientific expedition paid two visits to the Persian Gulf to report on the fish found in it. They discovered that there were over 400 species.

## AGRICULTURE

Parts of Bahrain have always been fertile and very probably in ancient times more land was under cultivation than is being used today. The gardens of Bahrain are mentioned by many ancient visitors to the islands. The captains of Alexander's ships described Tylos, the ancient name of Bahrain, as "well-wooded and productive" while Idrisi, writing in the 12th century, says that the "capital of Awal (Bahrain Island) is Bahrain; this is a town well populated whose environs are fertile and produce corn and dates in abundance." It could be that the capital of Bahrain mentioned by Idrisi was Bilad al-Qadim, the description would seem to imply this.

Formerly the Bahrain gardens were irrigated from natural springs and surface wells, the water either flowing from the springs into the gardens or being lifted from wells to the level of the land by various forms of water scoops. The most commonly used is the Shaduf. A man stands near the edge of the well and draws up the water in a sheep skin bag attached by ropes to a counter-balanced pole. In larger wells donkeys or oxen are used, walking endlessly up and down a ramp pulling the water to the surface from where it runs down into irrigation channels. As the rainfall in Bahrain is almost negligible all agriculture depends upon irrigation.

In the 20's and 30's Major Frank Holmes drilled many artesian wells in Bahrain which completely changed Bahrain's system of irrigation. By introducing these wells into the island Major Holmes did much to increase the area of land which could be cultivated, but artesian wells turned out to be a mixed blessing, for in the following years so many wells were drilled that the water head went down and some of the gardens in the south of Bahrain dried up. Today this problem is being met by a government Water Committee which decides whether and under what conditions new wells may be drilled, it tries to ensure that the water resources of the islands are maintained at their present level or even increased by the utilisation of the many large springs of fresh water which lie under the sea around the shores of Bahrain.

The two commonest crops in Bahrain are dates and lucerne (alfalfa). the latter is often grown in the shade of the date palms where its vivid greenness provides a contrast to the brown and grey-green of the date palms. There is little good fruit in Bahrain although a certain number of fruit trees are cultivated, these include citrus, tamarind, pomegranate, fig, guava, terminalia (indian almond) mango, bananas, grapes and kanard (a small apple-like fruit). European vegetables are grown in the cold weather and other ground crops include sweet potatoes, melons, tomatoes, ladies fingers, egg plants, onions, garlic and pumpkins.

659 133 **Aerial Survey.** One of the most important items in general use is a map, and throughout history it has been found that the mapping of new areas has been among the first of man's activities.

114 The first reliable maps of Bahrain was produced in 1905, following a survey of the island which was carried out under the direction of Lieut. Colonel F. B. Longe, R.E., Surveyor-General of India. This map, copies of which can still be obtained in the Land Department, is a very good map and shows towns, villages, tracks, mounds and contours. but as it was produced many years ago, since when there have been many changes in the towns and villages and in the area under cultivation, it was thought desirable to carry out a new survey. Messrs. Hunting Aerosurveys Ltd., were commissioned to make an aerial survey of Muharraq Island, Manama town and the area south of Manama as far as the coast. This work was carried out in December 1951. In May 1952 the survey was extended by arrangement with the Bahrain Petroleum Company to cover the whole of Bahrain Island and the neighbouring islands.

During the first survey both vertical and oblique photographs were taken and by the end of 1952 a considerable amount of interesting material had arrived in Bahrain. It consisted of 51 oblique photographs produced in two sizes, 10-*in.* × 12-in. and 5-in. × 5 in. The series of vertical photographs covered the whole of the area which had been included in the survey.

From the vertical photographs maps were produced, one covering the whole of Muharraq Island, Muharraq town in seven sections at a scale of 200 feet to an inch, the area south east of Manama as far as Jufair, also in seven sections, on a scale of 200 feet to an inch and the town of Manama in thirteen sections, one for each district, a scale of 100 feet to an inch. In addition, mosaics of Manama and Muharraq were produced. All these photographs and mosaics are on sale to the public and can be obtained from the Land Department.

Following the first survey, the Bahrain Petroleum Company made available to the Government all the material which they had obtained from the aerial survey which had been carried out on their behalf and they also provided valuable information from their land surveys which included an initial survey of the town of Manama which was done some months before the aerial work. Last year all the available information was collected and a map was hand-drawn on the basis of this information. Hunting Aerosurveys was instructed to produce a map of Bahrain, in four colours, on the scale of 1 inch to the mile. The map is now in the hands of the printers. It will cover the whole of Bahrain and Muharraq islands as well as the nearby smaller islands, but not the Hawar group. It will contain inserts showing the town areas of Manama, Muharraq and Awali. This map will be on sale in London and New York, as well as in Bahrain, on plain paper or mounted on linen or folded on linen. To produce this map information has been obtained from the Survey of India Office, the Royal Geographical Society and the Bahrain Petroleum Company and from the War Office map of 1939 and with the information now available it will be a reasonable task to revise the map, in future, should it require again bringing up to date after some years have passed.

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## SUNNI WAQF DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Shaikh Atiyyatallah bin Abdurrehman AlKhalifah, Superintendent of the Department)

647 871 795 The Department is controlled by a committee of Sunni merchants and by a Superintendent and clerical staff, the latter are paid by the Government. All Waqf property is administered by the Department which pays out of the revenue collected from the property the salaries and emoluments of mosque officials, it also contributes towards the cost of the religious school in Manama and towards the expenses of some young men who are studying religion abroad.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

## THE NATURS

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The naturs consist of about 150 men who are employed in Manamah and Muharraq as town watchmen. Although they are armed with rifles, they do no drill and are not instructed in musketry or shooting. They are under the command of the Amirs of Manamah and Muharraq. Their chief duty is to patrol the bazaars and streets of the two towns during the night and to assist the police in any emergency. They are a cheap and useful force and an effective preventative against theft. They are paid Rs 25/- per month and they receive no rations or clothing except a white shirt and a headdress which they wear on official occasions. Men who are likely candidates for the police are frequently posted to the natur force until a vacancy occurs in the police; in this way they get some training before becoming policemen. The naturs are especially useful for investigation work and are frequently used in liquor and opium cases. In spite of occasional friction between the Amirs and the police N.C.O.'s, the naturs and the police work well together.

## CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT AND REVENUE

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**Organisation and Establishment.** The Customs Department in its present form has existed for about fourteen years. Before then the late Ruler was in the habit of farming out the customs to certain Hindu merchants, which was unsatisfactory both to the State and to the mercantile community. In 1923 the Government of India lent to the Bahrain Government a special officer to organise a regular customs department which was based on Indian methods and the Bill of Entry system. In 1924, Mr. C. L. deGrenier was appointed Director of Customs, and he continues to hold the post. The institution of a regular customs system and department was appreciated by the public.

The customs was the first organised department of the Government, and in the beginning it acted as a general revenue department and dealt with many other matters besides customs; even now the collection of pearling and boat licences and registration of craft is done through the customs department.

The customs staff consists of the Director of Customs and nine senior Indian clerks, mostly men of long service, and about a dozen local clerks, of whom eight joined the department from the Government schools. In addition to the clerical staff there are about twenty-five naturs, many of whom are Bahrain-born Baluchis, the descendants of the Baluchi bodyguard who have been attached to the Khalifah shaikhs for many years. Customs officials are posted at Muharraq and at Sitra. There is no regular preventive service, as the local police and naturs are employed to detect cases of smuggling.

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**Revenue.** 1. **Customs Duty.** Customs revenue is obtained from customs duties and Import Yard charges. Duty is assessed *ad valorem*, according to the local market value, but in practice the invoice price of goods is normally accepted for assessment of duty.

Until 1351 (1932-33), customs duty on goods of every kind was 5%; liquor was imported free of customs duty as it was regarded as an immoral import. In 1351 the duty on certain luxury articles was raised to 7½% and then to 10%, and the duty on tobacco and its products was raised to 15%, and 15% was charged on liquor.

**2. Import Yard charges. Khanchieh.** There is no demurrage or bonded warehouse system in Bahrain. Khanchieh, which is a ground rent for space in the customs premises occupied by imported goods, is charged according to a scale of fixed charges based, not upon value, but roughly on the size of packets. Nothing is charged for the first ten days, but after ten days a charge is made, and also every ensuing ten days.

3. **Porterage.** Porterage is charged for moving cargo from the pier to the sheds.

4. **Pier Fees.** Wharfage is charged according to a fixed tariff and includes 'Biladiya,' or municipal tax, which has now been abolished as a separate charge.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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Manamah in shops and offices who had to leave their houses in Muharraq and live in Manamah owing to the difficulty of crossing to and fro are now able to live in Muharraq and to cross the channel and come into Manamah by bus.

In addition to the convenience of the road, it has provided work for thousands of men, who cut stone from the sea and bring it ashore in boats during times of unemployment. Everything in the road, except the cement in the parapet and the wooden beams in the culverts, is produced locally. In my opinion, it can be reasonably supposed that not less than 75% of the money expended has been spent in the Bahrain bazaars by the labourers who earned the money and has stimulated local trade.

## LAND REGISTRATION

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**Survey.** This department began its work about twelve years ago, and for the first six years it was mainly occupied in making a survey of the villages and cultivated area in Bahrain. The work, with the exception of two small areas, was completed before the financial depression necessitated reduction of the staff of the Land Department, which put an end to the survey.

When the survey first began it met with considerable opposition from the Shia villagers, who were suspicious of the Government's intentions, but after a short time the object of the work was appreciated by the people and no further difficulties were made.

The results of the work are contained in a quantity of maps showing gardens with their boundaries with reference numbers to registers which contain particulars of owners, water rights, and details about the property. At the time of the survey, information about boundaries, water rights, etc., was obtained from the landlords and from their tenants. Usually in Bahrain the landlords know very little about their gardens and rely almost entirely on the tenants for information about boundaries and water rights. In cases where original documents existed these were examined and checked, but in a great many cases property owners have no title deeds. Before completing the records, the Land Registration Department published a proclamation calling on the public to notify the department if the particulars for registration were not correct.

In addition to the survey of villages and gardens, the department made a survey and a large scale map of Manamah town, and also Hedd and Muharraq; the work in the case of these towns did not include registration of rights. The map of Manamah was made when the electric scheme was first considered and the map was used for planning the layout.

**Reports on Land Cases.** In addition to general survey work, every year the department provides plans and reports to the courts on cases of land disputes. During some years several hundreds of reports have been made, and these reports are usually the decisive factor in settling cases. The Land Department deals with cases in the Bahrain courts and also in the Agency courts.

**Registration of Sales and Titles.** The registration of property in Bahrain is not compulsory, but every year there is an increase in the number of people who apply for the registration of their houses or gardens. The public now realise the value of a Government title deed, and they appreciate the fact that when the title deed has been issued nobody can contest it. The only people who during the last ten years have attempted to set aside a Government title deed are certain members of the Ruling Family. Their claims failed, but if they had succeeded the valuable work of the Land Registration Department over many years would have been seriously affected.

**Mortgages.** The registration of sales of property was made compulsory in 1929, and in 1931 a proclamation was issued to the effect that no claim for foreclosure of a mortgage on immovable property would be heard in the courts unless the property had been previously registered on a Government title deed. The result of this is that nobody can mortgage property unless he holds a Government title deed for it. The actual transaction of the mortgage

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

need not be registered, but the existence of a Government title deed ensures that the property is free from claims. Before this rule was made, cases frequently occured in the courts in which the same property was mortgaged to two different people.

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**Government Title Deeds.** Government title deeds are hand-written documents in Arabic, describing the property with all measurements, boundaries, water rights, and particulars, and on the reverse of each title deed there is a plan of the property with measurements shown in feet and inches. The documents are signed on both sides by the Ruler, the Adviser, and the Superintendent of the Land Department. A person wishing to register his property makes a written application to the Land Registration Department. The property is surveyed by the Land Department surveyors in the presence of the owner or his agent, or, in the case of a sale, in the presence of both parties; if necessary, boundary pillars are erected. A proclamation is then issued, calling on all persons having any claim on the property to submit claims in writing within fifteen to thirty days in the case of a sale, and ninety days in the case of registration of ownership. Claims are forwarded to the Bahrain Court by the Land Department and are decided by the court, which also examines all applications for titles before the final documents are issued. The procedure is somewhat slow, but it is effective, and since it has been in force the number of disputes about land, boundaries, water rights, and fish-traps is gradually declining. Fees are charged for registration of sales according to a sliding scale in the case of sales, depending upon the sale price, and at a fixed rate in the case of registration of ownership. The fees in the latter case are low and do not cover in some cases the cost of the work, but it is to the advantage of the public and the Government that as much property as possible should be registered and, to encourage registration, fees are small. Between 400 and 500 title deeds have been issued by the department every year during the last ten years, and each year there has been a gradual but steady increase in applications for registration of ownership.

**Fish-Traps.** In 1353 (1934) all fish-traps round the coast of Bahrain and the various islands were registered, and rules were laid down with the object of preventing people from erecting and then claiming ownership to fish-traps on Government property. It was enacted that the owners of fish-traps had no rights over the boundaries mentioned in their title deeds, except as far as protection from other persons who might wish to erect fish-traps within the area described. In many cases great pieces of the sea were described in old documents as being the boundaries of a certain fish-trap, and if full ownership to these areas was admitted, valuable land along the foreshore would be lost to the Government if the owners chose to reclaim it. The department dealt with the question of a batch of very valuable traps close to the Bahrain Petroleum Company's pier at Sitrah, and was mainly responsible for arranging a settlement between the Bahrain Petroleum Company and the owners of the traps.

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**Land Leases and Government Forms.** In addition to survey and registration work, the Land Department is responsible for leasing Government land, mostly in the neighbourhood of Manamah, to persons who live upon it in Barastis. The rents are very low, but the existence of a regular agreement between the Government and the occupier of the ground ensures that the Government retains its ownership of the land. In Bahrain, ten years' undisputed and uninterrupted occupation is sufficient to establish the ownership of the ground. Printed Government forms, the use of which is compulsory in the case of senads, powers of attorney, and diving 'barwas,' etc., are sold by the Land Department, and every year over 15,000 of these forms are purchased by the public.

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The revenue collected by the Land Department does not cover the cost of the department, but the value of land registration to the Government and to the public is very great. The continued success of the registration work can only be ensured as long as the principle that Government title deeds, when once issued, cannot be contested is maintained. Frequent attempts have been made, usually by influential personages, to set aside title deeds, but so far without success. If one case of this kind should meet with success, the whole system would be seriously affected.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

## PASSPORT DEPARTMENT

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Passport control by the Bahrain Government was begun in 1928, when a passport official was appointed whose duty was to register the names of all passengers landing from steamers in Bahrain. Soon afterwards all passports which were in order were stamped with the Bahrain passport control stamp.

In 1929 the Government began issuing its own passports to its subjects. The book passports are similar to those of other countries; the binding of the passports is scarlet. Passports are valid for two years, but can be renewed for eight more years. Application for passports is made on a printed form; the cost of a book passport is Rs 7/- and for each renewal Rs 5/-.

Soon after the introduction of book passports the Government began to issue travel documents for use within the Gulf, costing Rs 2/-, which are valid for one year only and are not renewable. The proposal that special travel documents should be issued for pilgrims to Mecca and the Shia holy cities in Iraq has not yet materialised.

For the last seven years the British Consular authorities abroad have, on behalf of the Bahrain Government, given visas to persons travelling to Bahrain, and to Bahrain subjects abroad.

Bahrain passports are not considered valid by the authorities in Persia. Persians living in Bahrain are given special exit and return passes, valid for twelve months, which enable them to go to Persia and return, and a special arrangement is made in the case of genuine Persian divers working in Bahrain boats. Other Persians who wish to visit Bahrain have to obtain special permission from the Bahrain Government, and such permission is only given on the written and stamped guarantee of a respectable local merchant, who assumes responsibility for the person returning and for his good conduct in Bahrain. Should occasion require it, these privileges could be cancelled, and no Persian would be entitled to visit Bahrain without the necessary visa on his passport.

Bahrain nationals travelling to any foreign countries outside the Gulf obtain a visa from the Political Agent, Bahrain. Travel documents issued by recognised authorities in other Gulf States to their own nationals are recognised by the Bahrain Government, and the holders are admitted without a visa.

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Various fees and stamp duties are collected by the Passport Department, and at one time the collection from passport fees was the third largest item of revenue in the Budget. The Passport Officer, who has been the head of the department since it started, is Mr. Jalal-lu-din Ahmed.

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In spite of the vigilance of the passport officials, especially during the last year, great numbers of indigent Persians have entered Bahrain, illegally, at various points on the coast. Many of these people obtain work with the Bahrain Petroleum Company and fill posts which should be occupied by Bahrain subjects. The enormous increase in Persians, most of whom entered Bahrain without permission, is especially noticeable in Manamah, where almost every other person in the bazaar and nine out of ten of the beggars appear to be Persians. When once these highly undesirable aliens have entered the country it appears to be almost impossible to repatriate them. Being foreigners, they are not under the control of the Bahrain Government.

## MUNICIPALITIES

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**Constitution and History.**

**Manamah.** Municipalities exist in Manamah and Muharraq. The Manamah municipality was founded in 1919, under the presidency of Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa. As in the case of almost every innovation in Bahrain, the first proposal to form a municipality met with open and hidden hostility, not from the small people, but from the important landowners in the town, who feared that their vested interests would be affected. In after years the people who objected most actively became strong supporters of the municipality. The ill-feeling soon subsided, and in 1927 another municipality was formed in Muharraq at the request of the people of that town.

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
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Responsibility for the protection of the health of the people resides in the Public Health Department of the Bahrain government. It has curative and preventive divisions, and is administered by a Chief Medical Officer with headquarters in Manama. Four general hospitals—government, mission and industrial—with an aggregate capacity of 324 beds were functioning in 1951. In addition, the government services operated 5 special hospitals with 86 beds, maternity clinics and scattered dispensaries for men and women. Water supplies are obtained from large numbers of artesian wells, as well as from springs and shallow wells. The town of Manama has a piped artesian supply which serves over 70 per cent of the houses. Sewage is disposed of by primitive methods, and most well and spring water sources are polluted.

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186 young business men and merchants are proud of their country and are
177 inclined to be annoyed by visitors who confine their attention to the antiques and "quaint" sights of Bahrain, ignoring modern buildings and new enterprises. Graduates of Bahrain and foreign schools are go-ahead in their outlook and are determined to modernise Bahrain as much as possible; for this purpose they are willing to break with many of the traditions of the past, which are so often of interest to Europeans and Americans. Despite this, the young men of Bahrain appreciate meeting the foreigners who live in or visit their country.

## CHAPTER III

## THE STATE

● 648 BAHRAIN has been in treaty relations with the British Government since 1820. Its relations with the British Government and with other foreign governments are conducted through the British Political Agent in Bahrain. Bahrain is also the headquarters of the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, who lives at Jufair.

643 The Head of the State is His Highness Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed al-Khalifah, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., who was born in 1894, the eldest son of the late Ruler, Shaikh Hamed bin' Isa al-Khalifah, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. He succeeded his father in 1942 and has three sons: Their Excellencies Shaikhs 'Isa, Khalifah and Muhammad, and seven brothers. Shaikh Sulman is the tenth Shaikh of the Khalifah family to rule in Bahrain since it was conquered by his ancestor Shaikh Ahmed bin Khalifah in 1782.

642 The form of government can be described as a benevolent autocracy; the Ruler governs his State through Arab and British officials, who are in charge of the various departments of State, and by means of councils and committees consisting of elected and nominated members representing the different communities. Shaikhs of the Ruling Family preside over many of the councils and hold posts in the administration.

[647] The principal government departments are the Adviserate (The Secretariat), Customs, Education, Electricity, Finance, Judical, Lands, Police, Public Health, Public Works, Passports, Religious Endowments etc., etc. In the towns of Manama, Muharraq, Hedd and Rifaa there are municipalities; the first of these was established in Manama in 1920.

651 The revenue of the State is mainly derived from oil royalties, including payments on oil which is imported for refining, and from customs dues on imports. There is no income tax and no land tax but in the towns there is a small municipal tax on houses, shops and places
652 of business. The revenue of the State for the year 1370 A.H. (October 1950—October 1951) was Rupees 25,155,700 (£1,866,000) and the estimated revenue for 1372 (September 1952—September 1953) is much greater owing to a revision of the oil payments by which the

## REVIEW OF 1372

000 The two most important events during the year were the conclusion of a new oil agreement between the Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company and His Highness Shaikh Sulman's first visit to Europe to attend the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth.

471 651 439 The new oil agreement was on a 50—50 basis on the same lines as other agreements which have recently been made between governments and oil companies in the Middle East, it also provided for a payment to the State on oil imported into Bahrain for refining. As a result of this agreement the total revenue for the year under review was 373½ lakhs of rupees, approximately £2,800,000, though the new scale of payments was not in operation throughout the whole of 1372.

652 657 Expenditure was higher than in 1371. Excluding the one third of the oil revenue, which is paid to the Privy Purse, 48 per cent. of the State's expenditure was on social and public services; Education, Public Health, Public Protection and grants to Municipalities absorbed 18½ per cent., 15-3/8 per cent., 10-4/5 per cent., and 3 per cent. respectively, including capital expenditure on new schools, dispensaries and police quarters. The demand for more schools and hospitals is continuous and insistent but few Bahrain people realise the heavy recurrent cost of medical and education services which can be maintained on the present scale only as long as the present revenue continues.

651 511 342 471 Trade flourished and the revenue from customs was higher than in the previous year; during recent years customs collections have risen annually. Local prosperity was apparent from what might be described as a building boom. Many new houses and shops were built in the towns and suburbs by private enterprise. The type of house varied from European style bungalows and blocks of flats, built by merchants and shaikhs for letting, to small stone houses which are gradully replacing barastis, palm branch huts. Several serious fires in barasti areas, which destroyed many dwellings, gave an impetus to building. Working men who owned pieces of ground built small houses and the Government received hundreds of applications from people who wished to buy building plots. Unfortunately the Government owns very little land in and around the towns, much of it having been given away or sold cheaply many years ago.

511 167 161 The standard of living in Bahrain is very much higher than it was a few years ago and the health of the people is noticeably better than it used to be. For these reasons and owing to a steady influx of foreigners, mostly from Oman and the Trucial Coast, who come to Bahrain to work, it is believed that there has been a substantial increase in the population which at the time of the last census, in 1950, was found to be 110,000.

578 The state of public security was good in spite of the presence of large a number of foreigners who are not as naturally law abiding as the people of Bahrain. There were no political or labour disturbances.

● 648 439 Relations with Quatar deteriorated owing to incidents connected with the visit of a party of Bahrain schoolboys and school teachers to Zubara during the Spring holiday. The commercial development of Qatar tended to reduce Bahrain's transit trade and deprived some of the Bahrain merchants of agencies which used to include both Bahrain and Qatar. Relations with Saudi Arabia and Iraq were friendly, a deputation headed by Shaikh Isa bin Sulman, His Highness's eldest son, represented Bahrain at the coronation of King Faisal in Baghdad.

During the year the Department sent a deputation consisting of one of the members of the committee and the Superintendent to Kuwait to make a claim for the Waqf funds from the large and very valuable building on the Sea Road west of the Customs pier. This building was acquired by one Hilal Al Materi a Kuwaiti pearl merchant. He dedicated it as a Waqf for charitable purposes, not specifying whether the funds should be spent in Bahrain or in Kuwait. The Sunni Waqf Department obtained an opinion on the case from Al Azhar in Cairo supporting their claim that the Waqf should be spent in the country where the property was situated. The Deputation was not received with any enthusiasm in Kuwait, some sort of compromise was arrived at but at the end of the year the Department had not received any contribution from the Waqf towards charitable objects in Bahrain.

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## PASSPORT DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Mr. Kadhim Al Asfoor, Passport Officer)

**Revenue.** The total revenue was Rs. 53,789/-, about Rs. 19,000 less than was collected in 1371. This decrease was due to a shortage of book passports which were being printed in England. Some changes were made in the new passports which now contain the name of the holder on the outside of the cover as well as inside it. A further change in the wording is "date of birth" instead of "age," though at present very few of the people who use the passports know either the date of their birth or their age. Revenue from Travel Passes was Rs. 22,339, from entry forms, Rs. 8,236 and from miscellaneous forms Rs. 5,041.

**Pilgrims.** Only 280 persons did the Pilgrimage to Mecca, this number included 19 Persians, long resident in Bahrain who were granted passport facilities to perform the pilgrimage. Over 3,500 Shia pilgrims visited the Holy Cities of Iraq, an increase of about 500 over the previous year's number. These pilgrims included many people from the villages. Some of them crossed from Iraq to Persia and visited the Shia shrines of Persia. Such journeys are lengthy and expensive and the increase in the number of Shia pilgrims every year is an indication of prosperity among the working classes.

About 200 Arabs from Bahrain went to the Lebanon, mostly during the summer, this was about half the number who travelled there last year. In spite of inducements by the Government of the Lebanon to encourage tourists from the Gulf the people of Bahrain are beginning to find that they cannot afford to pay the excessively high prices which prevail in Beirut and in mountain resorts. The much advertised wealth of certain Gulf states seems to have caused the people of the Lebanon to regard any Arab from the Gulf as a rich traveller and a potential spender.

| | | *Arrivals.* | *Departures.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Passengers.** | By Air .. .. .. | 22,542 .. | 23,758 |
| | By steamers .. .. | *13,206* .. | *13,136* |
| | By Country Craft .. .. | 34,220 .. | 35,228 |

Number of dhows and launches visiting Bahrain : 4,958.

During the year 1,077 gratis passes were issued to Shaikhs, their followers, teachers and students. Numerous members of the Ruling Family with their followers went on hunting trips to Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Kuwait.

During the diving season 496 Persian divers were allowed to land in Bahrain and to return to Persia after the diving season.

## GENERAL

648 **Distinguished Visitors.** Among the many notable persons who visited Bahrain during the year were H.R.H. The Duchess of Kent and H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, who were on their way to the Far East. H.H. Shaikh Abdulla As Salim, Ruler of Kuwait paid his usual visit to the country; H.E. Ghulam Mohammed, Governor General of Pakistan, stayed for a night on his way to Saudi Arabia. Other visitors were H.E. Dr. Mohammed Fadhel Al Jamali, Prime Minister of Iraq; Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck; His Eminence Jirgis, Daoud Kandila, Metropolitan of the Syrian Catholic Church; a group of British Members of Parliament; numerous rulers of the Shaikhdoms of the Trucial Coast; foreign diplomats; journalists of many nationalities and senior British and American Army, Navy and Air Force Officers.

**Coronation of King Faisal.** H.E. Shaikh Isa, the eldestson of His Highness, represented his father at the coronation in Baghdad in June of H.M. King Faisal II. He was accompanied by several of his relations. The Bahrain delegation travelled to and from Baghdad by air.

655 **Postage Stamps.** A Bahrain 1½ Anna stamp, for internal postage, bearing a portrait of His Highness Shaikh Sulman, was brought into circulation during the year. Some progress was made in the process of the Government gradually taking over the administration of the postal services.

000 **"Caltex Bahrain."** The new oil tanker, *Caltex Bahrain*, was launched in December, in England. The launching ceremony was performed by Lady Belgrave.

471 **Pepsi Cola Factory.** Mr. Husain Ahmedi, a local merchant, built a factory on the south-
274 west of Manama for making Pepsi Cola. This is the first enterprise of this type which has been undertaken in Bahrain.

423 **Stamped Paper and Title Deeds.** The Government adopted a new design of stamped
656 paper, which is used for agreements, receipts, powers of attorney, etc. New forms were also introduced for title deeds.

717 **Anglican Church.** The building of an Anglican Church was completed on a site east of the Fort which was presented to the Anglican Community by His Highness Shaikh Sulman.

000 **Agriculture.** No report on agriculture has been included this year as Mr. J. Edmond, the Agricultural Officer, completed his period of contract with the Government and proceeded on leave, pending retirement, on 15th September, 1952.

Mr. Van Ollenbach was appointed Agricultural Officer and began his duties on 5th January, 1953.

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## HIS HIGHNESS SHAIKH SULMAN'S VISIT TO ENGLAND

648 His Highness Shaikh Sulman left Bahrain, by air, on 13th May and arrived back in his country on June 26th. His party consisted of his youngest son, Shaikh Mohammed bin Sulman, Sir Charles and Lady Belgrave, Mr. Husain Yateem and two secretaries.

He travelled by air to Beirut where he stayed for one night; by sea, in S.S. *Esperia*, to Venice where he stayed for three days; by train to Montreux, on the Lake of Geneva, where he spent four days, and on by train to Paris where he stayed for two nights. He reached London on May 28th.

648 In Beirut the President of the Lebanese Republic gave a luncheon party for His Highness ; in Venice he was entertained by representatives of the Italian Government ; in Switzerland the local authorities gave a party for him in the castle of Chillon and in Paris he was the guest at a reception at the Quay d'Orsay. In addition to official occasions he was entertained by friends in all the countries through which he travelled and by the Bahrain Petroleum Company in Paris who arranged for him a visit to the stables of M. de Boussac at Chantilly. While in Switzerland he visited Geneva and heard a debate on Human Rights in the Palace of Nations.

His Highness was met on his arrival in London by H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh. During his stay he and his party occupied rooms at the Mayfair Hotel ; until June 6th he was the guest of H.M. Government ; from June 6th until he left London on June 18th, he was the guest of the Bahrain Petroleum Company.

During the first part of his visit in addition to being present in Westminster Abbey at the Coronation he attended many official functions, banquets and receptions. During the latter part of his stay he was the guest at many official and unofficial occasions. Although most of his time was spent in London he was able to see something of the country. He visited Oxford and had luncheon at Lincoln College, he went to Brighton, to Three Bridges in Sussex to see Lady Wentworth's Arab Stud ; to garden parties at Blenheim Palace and Hatfield House, and to Epsom for the Derby. He was present at a garden party given by the Archbishop of Canterbury, he attended the Naval Review at Portsmouth and the Trooping of the Colour ; he was entertained by the Bahrain students in England and visited Richmond Horse Show. He spent most of one day on the River Thames as the guest of the Port of London Authority and visited the Bank of England and the Mansion House. Shortly before the end of his visit he gave an evening party at Claridges Hotel which was attended by over 300 guests, including people who had showed hospitality to him during his stay, and many people who in the past had been connected with Bahrain and the Persian Gulf.

He travelled back to Venice by train and by sea in S.S. *Esperia* to Beirut and flew from there to Bahrain where he arrived on 26th June.

On his return he was given an outstanding reception, the festivities lasted for three days. Apart from one short visit to Kuwait this was the first time he had been away from Bahrain since his accession in 1942 and the first occasion on which he had visited Europe.

603 **Obituary.** In the Spring of 1953 Abdul Aziz Al Gozaibi died in Beirut from the results of an accident. It seems that he fell from the edge of the road on to some rocks and so lost his life. He was ill when he went to Beirut and it was known that he was liable to attacks of giddiness.

Abdul Aziz was the eldest of four brothers who came originally from Saudi Arabia. During and after the first war they were among the leading merchants of Bahrain, besides trading pearls they had an extensive business with Saudi Arabia and acted in Bahrain as unofficial agents of His Majesty King Ibn Saud. Abdul Aziz, who received the title of Khan Bahadur from the Government of India, took a leading part in local affairs. He was one of the pearl merchants who supported the Government in its original efforts to improve conditions among the pearl divers. He sat for many years on the Manama Municipal Council and was a member of many committees. His level-headedness and realistic outlook made him a valuable member of the community. He represented a man of the older generation whose views were not incompatible with modern conditions. His death is a loss to Bahrain.

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## INTRODUCTION

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About midway of the Persian Gulf and some fifteen miles off the coast of Arabia, lie the Bahrein Islands at the mouth of the Gulf of Bahrein, of which the Qatar Peninsula forms the western side. There are five principal islands, only two of which are of real consequence. The largest and by far the most important is variously called Awal, Al Manāmah after the principal city, or more commonly just Bahrein. The last is the modern designation.

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In ancient times, the name "Bahrein" was applied to a larger area which included the Arabian mainland of Qatar and Hajar and the land situated between Mesopotamia and the Gulf of Oman (the Indian Ocean); this area took in the entire southern coast of the Persian Gulf. This has caused widespread misinterpretation of much of the writings of pre-Islamic and Medieval historians. Throughout this book we shall use the term "Bahrein" in its modern sense to refer to the archipelago of Bahrein proper or to the central island, except where the mainland province is clearly indicated.

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Bahrein today has few attractions. There is not much to recommend it as a place of residence, as it is intensely hot for about seven months of the year, and for many of the native inhabitants lacking in comfortable living conditions. For tourists it is rather off the beaten track. Nevertheless, through the centuries these bits of land have been considered well worth fighting for by both European and Asiatic empires.

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The reason for Bahrein's unusual and enduring importance can be summed up in two words—pearls and strategy. The pearl fisheries of Bahrein have been known all over the world since the dawn of history and, thanks to an abundance of fresh water springs, the island was a frequent stopping place for ships on the trade routes to India and the Far East.

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The Portuguese, the first European power to have an Asiatic colonial empire, fought hard for possession of the islands.

● 618 175 They held them for some time, but finally lost them to the Persians, who with the help of the British, put an end to Portuguese domination of the Persian Gulf.

One generation passeth away and another generation cometh; but the earth abideth forever. Hardly had the Persians rid the Gulf of the Portuguese than they had to face British naval supremacy. At first the British did not seem to realize the importance of Bahrein and did not intervene actively until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Since then, however, they have made up for lost time and Bahrein has become, to borrow Byron's picturesque expression, "a bundle of hay" with Persia trying to hold it and John Bull tugging "a different way." This diplomatic tug of war has continued ever since, and very recently the Persian government was directed by the Parliament to "take effective measures with a view toward implementing the Persian sovereignty over the islands."

In olden times Bahrein was a center of religious studies and produced great religious philosophers and mystics, as well as students of mathematics and the Arabic languages; but the general public was content with the Koran texts and Moslem catechism. The majority of the schools were part of the mosques and other religious foundations and were under their supervision. The beginning of the modern schools in Bahrein dates from the first World War. Among them were Persian schools supported by Persian merchants for the education of Persian children, but open also to the children of other communities. However, the Anglo-Persian controversy of 1930 over Bahrein resulted in the decision of the local government, encouraged by the British Ambassador, to create its own system of education independent of Persian influence. In the schools, as in other things, Bahrein followed the general pattern of Arabization of the Persian Gulf, and to this end adopted the Iraqi system of education.

The discovery of oil in 1930, and the granting of concessions to American interests, has singularly enhanced the historic importance of Bahrein and created a complicated international

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problem. The protestations of the Persian Government and its view of the concession as null and void, have broadened the Anglo-Persian controversy to include the United States, and as a side issue have created an Irano-American dispute. Considering the location and the nature of the countries involved, this has dangerous potentialities, especially in the present state of international relations.

With the above in mind, the present book was written to provide the reader with the minimum of facts essential to an understanding of the problems in this part of the world.

The author wishes to express his gratitude to Ali Aghassi for his scholarly suggestions and sincere and friendly encouragements, without which this work would have been impossible.

A. FAROUGHY.

New York, August 1950.

804 The Chow is also used as the nominal weight in Bombay by the pearl traders, but the Bombay Chow weighs only one-fourth the Bahrein.

## CURRENCY

436 Indian money is the national currency. The rupee, a silver coin about the size of a United States half-dollar, is the basic unit and is worth about thirty cents, its sterling equivalent being ls. 6d. The rupee is divided into 16 *annas* (sing., *anna*).

Other silver coins are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Half rupee | — 8 annas |
| Quarter rupee | — 4 annas |
| Eighth rupee | — 2 annas |
| Pice | — ¼ anna |
| ½ Pice | — ⅛ anna |

Copper coins less than one anna in value are also in circulation. There are 12 pies to an anna, or 192 pies to a rupee.

Indian paper currency is also in general use.[1] Besides the rupee the Persian *rial*[2]; (about $0.29), the Saudi Arabian *riyal*,[3] the Maria Theresa Thaler, (about $.45), and the Turkish pound, or *lira*, (about $3.60), are also in limited use.

## STAMPS

205 Up to 1947, the stamps of Bahrein were the old stamps of British India, with the word "Bahrain" over-printed across in black ink.[4] However, since the division of Indian colony into Dominions of India and Pakistan, the stamps used in Bahrein are those of United Kingdom with the word "BAHRAIN" and values in rupees over-printed in black ink. The Sheikdom has adhered to the International Postal Union and its membership in that organization is the only international agreement signed by Bahrein.

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1. One hundred thousand rupees is called a *lakh*, and is written Rs. 1,00,000.
2. The Persian rial is fixed by the law of 1932 at a value of 0.07322382 grammes of gold.
3. The Saudi Arabian riyal was declared in 1940 to be equivalent to the Indian rupee.
4. The British and American differ in spelling the name of the island. Throughout the book we have followed the American use.

175 mitted to his murderers, crossed over to Qatar, where they joined Ali at Qarya. They subsequently attacked and plundered a Bahrein boat, carrying off pearls and monies amounting to over 1,000 rupees. Sheik Isa accepted the accomplished fact, and consented to the departure of the disaffected elements, later on authorizing the families of the men to join them on the mainland.

To prevent the local Sheik from disturbing the peace of the Gulf, the Persian and British Governments had recently signed the International Convention on traffic of arms. The two Governments in their partnership of policing the Gulf, had instructed their Navy to cooperate by tracking down the smuggling of arms between their respective territories. Consequently, the following proclamation was published by the Sheik of Bahrein:

"Be it known to all who see this that British and Persian vessels of war have permission to search vessels carrying their and our flags in Bahrein territorial waters, and to confiscate all arms and ammunition (weapons of war) in them, if those arms and ammunitions are intended for Indian or Persian ports or the Island of Bahrein. . . ."

## 20th CENTURY

648 At the end of the 19th century and the opening of the 20th, the Persian Gulf became the main center of international intrigue. The Russians opened a series of consulates, and organized and subsidized steamer services.

In 1901, the German firm of Prins und Sturken, of Hamburg, opened a branch in Bahrein. In February 1902, two Frenchmen, Dumas and Castelin, arrived in Bahrein to open a business, and a German assistant to Woenkhaus and Company, of Hamburg, arrived later in the same year.

[22?] Three years later, Woenkhaus who was already dealing in mother-of-pearl, transferred their main center of business from Lingah to Bahrein, where they asked a concession from the Sheik for the exploitation of pearl fisheries.

Prevented by the British, they then applied to Constantinople

• 648 for a lease over the island of Halul. With commercial competition, came political rivalry which caused Britain to hasten her Indianization of Bahrein.

The first step had already been taken after the incidents resulting from the departure of Al-i-'Ali, when as the price for their aid, the British established in Bahrein a Political Agent, subordinate to the Persian Gulf Political Resident at Bushir. The Bahrein Agent obtained jurisdiction over British subjects in the island, and the right to supervise their claims.

The second step occurred in 1903. Some German and Persian subjects were maltreated and beaten by the nephew of the Sheik. The Germans complained to Bushir and demanded retribution. This necessitated intervention by the Political Agent, and the Sheik's nephew was deported to Bombay for five years. To avoid a repetition of the incident, the Political Agent at Bahrein was charged with jurisdiction over all foreigners. To compensate the Sheik for the loss of prestige, his personal salute was increased from five to seven guns.

The measures taken by the British in Bahrein provoked strong protests from the Persian Government, which in a note to the British Minister, affirmed their sovereignty over the islands. The note was answered in 1906 by the English Minister in Teheran, and declared:

His Majesty's Government consider the Island of Bahrein and its inhabitants under British protection and they refuse to accept any new representations on this subject.

In answer to this, an official protest was sent by the Persian Government declaring that the claims were based on the Agreement of October 30, 1822, between Captain William Bruce, "special commissioner of the British Government," and the Prince Governor of Shiraz. The British Government, in its answer of January 2, 1907, and again on February 23, of the same year, maintained that that Agreement had been filed without the necessary authorization and had been immediately "disavowed by competent representatives of His Britannic Majesty." The English note maintained that, since "His Majesty Fath Ali

Shah has equally refused the stipulation of this accord, and has manifested his displeasure that the Prince of Shiraz had taken engagements with the British Government without previous approval of His Majesty, and without receiving specific instructions . . . that Agreement could not be considered as ever having been binding."

However, due to the internal situation in Persia — the Revolution of 1906, followed by Civil War and the intervention of British and Russians acting after the Agreement of 1907 —claim over Bahrein was momentarily forgotton.

However, the position of the British in Bahrein was challenged by the Turks, who, in 1909, occupied the island of Zakhnuniyeh which belonged to the Dawāsīr tribe, subject of Sheik Isa.

The British Ambassador protested to the Porte, and the Turks answered that the presence of their gendarmes was necessary to maintain order among the Dawasīr fishermen from Bahrein who frequented the island. In the spring of 1910, however, the Turkish soldiers returned, and the Turkish flag was hoisted every Friday.

Soon the situation in Europe necessitated an attempt by Turks and British to settle their differences, and in a confidential memorandum to the Turkish Government on July 29, 1911, Sir Edward Gray wrote that in the opinion of his Government "any lasting settlement between the two Powers [Great Britain and Turkey] must provide for the definite renunciation by the Ottoman Government of Bahrein and adjacent islands and of the whole of the Peninsula of Qatar (including El-Bidā) where the Sheik of Bahrein has important rights."

On this basis, negotiations took place between the two Powers, and finally a Convention was concluded on July 29, 1913. The outstanding provisions of the Convention were:

1. The Ottoman Imperial Government renounces to all claims concerning the Bahrein Islands, including the two islets, Lubainat-al-Aliya and Lubainat-es-Safliya, and recognizes the independence of that country. In turn, the Government of His Britannic Majesty declares that they have no intention of annexing the Bahrein Island to their territories. (Article 13.)

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2. The British Government guaranteed to the Turks that the Sheik of Bahrein would not perceive from the Ottoman subjects engaged in pearl fishing, taxes higher than those perceived from interested persons of the most favored nations. (Article 14.) 648

3. The subjects of the Sheik of Bahrein would be considered aliens in Ottoman territories and could claim the protections of the British consuls. This protection, however, should be exercised in conformity with the general rules of European international law, excluding the subjects of Bahrein from the privileges accorded by the capitulations to subjects of specific powers. (Article 15.)

4. Turkey also renounced sovereignty over the Qatar Peninsula, which "Would be ruled as in the past by the Sheik Qasim ibn Thāni and his successors." (Article 11.)

5. The British Government declared that it "would not permit the Sheik of Bahrein to interfere in the internal affairs of Qatar, to jeopardize the autonomy of the country, or to annex it." In return, however, Turkey wanted the island of Zakhnuniyeh, opposite the coast of Nejd, but was ready to compensate the Sheik of Bahrein for its loss. The British government "takes notice of the decision of the Imperial Ottoman Government to pay the sum of 1,000 British sterling to the Sheik of Bahrein in compensation for renunciation of all its claims over the Island of Zakhnuniyeh situated near the littoral of Ottoman Nejd and belonging to that Sanjak, and offer their good offices to remit that sum to the Sheik against written renunciation which would be sent to the Ottoman Imperial Government."

This last was a secret clause, and the Turks, as it turned out, had not driven a good bargain, for they soon had to give up the whole of the Nejd to Ibn Saud, who had occupied the coast of Hasa in May 1913.

As far as the guarantee for pearl fishing was concerned, (Article 5), neither the British Government nor the Sheikdom of Bahrein had the right to grant preferential position to the Turks, or forbid their subjects to use the fruit of the seabeds, as the pearl banks of the Gulf have always been open to all the inhabitants of the littoral.

The eclipse of the Turks permitted Great Britain to expand its power over Qatar and Trucial Oman. On December 26, 1916, a treaty was signed by Ibn Saud and the British Resident in the Persian Gulf, acting for the Government of India, by which Great Britain recognized Ibn Saud and his successors—so long

648 as they were not antagonistic to Great Britain—as independent ruler of his territories, dependencies, ports, and coasts, and absolute chief of the tribes inhabiting them. (Article 1.)

Other provisions were:

1. Ibn Saud agreed to refrain from aggression against the territories of Koweit, Bahrein, and the Sheiks of the Oman Coast who were in treaty relations with the British Government. (Article 6.)
2. The limits of the other independent Arab principalities (Mentioned in Article 6), as well as those of Ibn Saud's own territories and dependencies (Article 1), would be discussed and determined at a later date, and that the two parties at that time would conclude a further and more detailed treaty. (Article 7.)

This agreement constituted no departure from traditional British policy in the Gulf, but rather confirmed their position in maintaining the status quo against internal disorder or foreign menace.

At the end of the World War, Britain decided to strengthen the ties which already connected Bahrein with her Indian Empire.

In 1913, the Bahrein Order in Council establishing the civil and criminal laws of British India, had been promulgated, but because of the outbreak of war, its application had been postponed.

Now Britain decided to put it in execution. However, they met with opposition, and this created a tension which was to disturb Bahrein for many years to come.

The main opposition to this third and last step in Indianization of Bahrein, came from the Persian elements of the population. The party of liberation of Bahrein, which was a branch of the Persian Democratic party, carried its activities against the British intervention; meetings were organized, and cables sent to Persian Parliament requesting the intervention of the Majlis for holding elections in Bahrein and admission of Bahrein deputy to Persian Parliament.

The tension grew between the Persians and the Arabs, encouraged by the British, and from the beginning of 1922, a series of minor clashes took place between the two elements.

Little by little, the clashes became more frequent, and from the end of April 1923, fighting took place almost every day. 648

On the fourth of May, a regular fight took place between the inhabitants of the two villages of Badaiya' (populated by the Arabs of Nedj and Sunni), and that of Ali (inhabited by Persians of Shiah creed).

On the 9th of May, a band of armed Arabs attacked the Persians, killing three and wounding thirty-seven. Persian houses were sacked and occupants maltreated. The local government was unable to cope with the situation, and again the Arabs from Nedj received reinforcements from the mainland, and attacked Persian houses, stores, and villages. In this act of vandalism, 10 Persians were killed again, but the intervention of the local police, who were under the authority of the Persian Major, Muhammad Sharif, prevented further disaster by shooting on the assailants.

To reestablish order, the Political Agent had to call on British naval units which arrived on May 12th and 13th. Sheik Isa was held responsible and was asked to abdicate, but he convoked the council of his family, and they decided to refuse the demand. Confronted by the threats of the British Resident, however, he was "persuaded" to relegate his power to his son Sheik Hamed, who was declared Lieutenant of the Realm.

After his forced abdication, Isa, as a protest against the action which violated the rule of friendship, refused for more than five years to receive his son. Eventually, however, a reconciliation took place.

The Persian Mayor was sacrificed and his office suspended. 648
The national and foreign tribunals gave way to a Divan 652
formed by the Sheik and the Political Agent. An office of Ad- [692]
ministration of Finance was created, with a Briton at its head. Civil and military lists were established for the Sheik and his family. The English Bank of Manama, the Eastern Bank, was assigned to function as the Government Treasury. The legal provisions of the Bahrein Order in Council of 1913 were enforced.

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Since the Order in Council is so important as to have changed the social as well as the political status of Bahrein, it is worth while here to give a summary:

In matters relating to criminal and civil cases, the laws of British India and the United Kingdom are applied. By provision of Article 12, "the enactments described in the first schedule to the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890 shall apply to Bahrein, as if it were a British Colony or Possession, with the difference that the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf is substituted for the Governor of a Colony or Possession, the Chief Court for a Superior Court or Supreme Court, and the District Court for a Magistrate or Justice of the Peace of a Colony or Possession. In criminal matters, the laws of British India are applied, and the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf shall form a Chief Court with power invested in a High Court of Judicature; the Political Agent at Bahrein is the equivalent of the District Magistrate and Sessions Judge. The Judicial Assistant to the Political Resident corresponds to the Additional District Magistrate and Additional Sessions Judge.

If both plaintiff and defendant are Moslem and agree to such procedure, the Political Agent may order the case to be tried by a Qazi (a Moslem judge having both civil and criminal jurisdiction). But his verdict must be ratified by the Political Agent, who is empowered to revise the findings and sentence "as if the Qazi were a Subordinate Magistrate."

The powers of the Court (that is, of the Political Resident, the Political Agent, or the Judicial Assistant) are almost unlimited. The Political Agent can condemn to exile or jail any person under his jurisdiction or can "require him to give security to the satisfaction of the Court for his future good behavior." (Article 20.)

Articles 21 and 22 are still more restrictive in spirit. Limited at first to British subjects, the provisions of these articles, by the Amendment of 1924, were extended to "any person to whom this Order applies"—that is to say, to all British subjects, all foreign subjects who by virtue of an accord with the Sheik are under British jurisdiction, and finally all subjects of Bahrein who are listed on the Register of the Political Agency. These articles, therefore, place in the hands of the Political Agent a powerful weapon.

In fact, the Political Agent as District Court, can "under its seal exile any person who has committed or is about to commit any offense against the Order, or otherwise is conducting himself so as to be dangerous to peace and good order," during a time not exceeding two years.

In civil matters, the Code of Civil Procedure and other

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Indian enactments relating to the administration of civil justice, and so on, are applied "as if Bahrein were a district in the Presidency of Bombay."

However, if the two parties accept "a question of local custom," they can be sent to the Majlis of Urf for consideration or report, and a dispute over accounts between pearling masters and divers may be sent to the Salefah Court for adjustment. Finally, Article 70 gives to the Political Resident the power of issuing regulations (called King's Regulations), having for their object "the peace, order, and good government of persons to whom this Order applies," and relating "to any native or local law or custom, whether relating to trade, commerce, revenue, or any other matter."

To summarize, any difficulty of a civil or criminal nature arising between a subject of Bahrein and a person to whom the Order applies, is regulated by a kind of collaboration between the Political Agent and the Sheik of Bahrein. The Political Agent, according to the nature of the case, can judge it himself with the help of the Sheik, or send it to a Joint Court, submit criminal cases to the Qazi, if the two parties are Moslem, refer civil cases to the Majlis of Urf, or submit cases relating to pearl fishing to a Salefah Tribunal.

The application of these measures provoked a local spirit of nationalism. Protests were organized in many places. The principal of Bahrein adopted the following resolutions and urged twelve of their number to try to enforce them by use of "all legal means".

1. Continuation, as before, of local government without intervention by the Political Agent;
2. Re-establishment of the laws based on religious principles (*Shar'*) and in conformity with their instructions;
3. Election of a representative chamber to insure the rights of the people;
4. Creation of a tribunal for pearl fishing (*Qaus*) composed of persons familiar with the problems relating to the industry;

5. Efforts to bring the Political Agent into conformity with the treaty between England and Bahrein, and to prevent his intervention in the internal affairs of the island.

The British considered the resolutions to be an act of rebellion against Sheik Hamad, and acted vigorously. Several people, among whom, Ali, nephew of the Sheik of Bahrein, and Ziani, the leader of the liberation party, were exiled to India, and coercive measures were taken against the others. The insurrection was put down, and the nationalist movement strangled. Since then, a number of the measures called for have been put into practice, but Bahrein, *de facto* if not *de jure*, has become a British Crown Colony.

Differences between Persia and England, regarding Persian sovereignty over Bahrein arose in the same year. The pretext was a clause in the Treaty of Jaddah signed May 20, 1927, between England and Ibn Saud, which read as follows: "Ibn Saud undertakes to maintain friendly and peaceful relations with—Bahrein, who is in special treaty relations with His Britannic Majesty's Government."

Persia, in a note addressed on November 22, 1927 to the British Minister at Teheran, affirmed her rights over Bahrein, declared that "the article is contrary to the territorial integrity of Persia," and asked that the British Government "promptly take necessary measures to relieve its implications."

In a note sent the following day to the General Secretary of the League of Nations, she invoked Article 10 of the Covenant, guaranteeing the territorial integrity of all member states. Persia asked the League to "guarantee her undisputed rights over Bahrein."

In a reply dated January 18, 1928, England tried to repudiate the Persian claim, and confirmed her own position, which was "to insure that the pacific development of the island and the prosperity of its Arab inhabitants are not troubled by unjustified advances coming from her neighbors and having in view the subordination of the inhabitants to foreign domination."

The British reply was followed by a new Persian note on

August 2, 1928, which developed in detail the matters discussed in the preceding note and affirmed Persian sovereignty over Bahrein. England answered on February 18, 1929, developing the arguments in her first note and reiterating her previous contentions.

Meanwhile, the Bahrein Government instituted visa regulations and established a land registry office. Since the promulgation of the decree of December 21, 1927, all real properties had to be registered, but no one except "a subject of Bahrein" had right to own property in the island.

Obviously this was to deprive Persians of their rights of ownership in Bahrein. Many sold their land and migrated to Persia, and those who stayed behind had to accept Bahrein citizenship.[1]

Also, previously passports had not been required from Persians travelling to Bahrein, and Persia protested against the change. According to the Persian note, the change "was the explicit recognition by the English authorities of the indisputable right of Iran [Persia] over Bahrein."

Publication of the news of oil concessions obtained previously by Major Holmes from the Bahrein Government, provoked on July 23, 1930, another note from Persia, in which she declared the concession invalid and "reserved—the right to reclaim or to demand restitution of all profits resulting eventually from that concession, without prejudice of all damages relating to it." This strong protest did not deter the English syndicate from ceding its rights to the Standard Oil Company of California, which began systematic exploitation.

The concession to prospect and explore for oil in Bahrein had been obtained on December 2, 1925, to Major Frank Holmes, representing Eastern and General Syndicate, a British company headed by Edmond Davis. For two years, the syndicate tried without success, to interest first British, and later American concerns, in the development of the Bahrein concession. Finally, on

1. This decree was still stiffened by the decrees of 1930 and that of May 23, 1941.

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November 30, 1927, an American corporation, the Eastern Gulf Company,[1] acquired the option which was scheduled to expire January 1, 1929. Under the terms of the option, Eastern Gulf started preparatory work and made a surface geological map of Bahrein Island.

Gulf, however, which at that time was a member of the American Group[2] of the Turkish Petroleum Company,[3] signed the Group Agreement of July 31, 1928. This Agreement incorporated the restrictive clause of the Foreign Office Agreement of 1914, which prohibited the signatories from acting independently "directly or indirectly in the production or manufacture of crude oil" in an area bounded on the map by a red line.[4] In order to hold on to its interests in Iraq Petroleum, and also because it held an option on a concession for Koweit, Eastern Gulf, with the consent of the Syndicate,[5] on December 28, 1928, assigned its Bahrein option to the Standard Oil Company of California for the sum of $50,000. Under the terms of the option, the syndicate was to secure from the British Colonial Office a one-year renewal of the concession, due to expire December 2, 1928.

In the meantime, after the payment of the rent due in October 1928, the Colonial Office, now aware of the transaction, made the renewal of the lease "contingent upon insertion in the agreement of a clause providing, among other things, that the managing director and a majority of the other directors should be British subjects, that the Concessionaire Company should be

1. A subsidiary of the Gulf Oil Corporation of Pennsylvania, which was controlled by Andrew Mellon.
2. This group owned 23.75% of Turkish Petroleum. The other four members of the American Group were: Atlantic Refining Company, Pan-American Petroleum and Transport Company, Standard Oil Company of New York (since 1931, Socony Vacuum Oil Company), and Standard Oil of New Jersey.
3. Iraq Petroleum Company since 1929.
4. For this reason, the Group Agreement is commonly referred to as the "Red Line Agreement." The restricted area includes most of the pre-World War I territory of the Ottoman Empire, the islands of Rhodes, Cyprus, Kamaran, and Bahrein, excluding Farsan Island and the Sheikdom of Koweit.
5. After consultation with its partners in Iraq Petroleum.

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British registered, and none of the rights and privileges which the Sheik had granted in the Concession would be controlled directly or indirectly by foreigners." 471 648

These conditions seemed contrary to the Open Door policy and to the equality of commercial opportunity advocated by the United States since the first World War. Secretary of State Kellogg, on March 28, 1929, instructed the American Chargé d'Affaires "to discuss this case informally" with the British Government.

The British, in their answer declared themselves to be "prepared in principle to consent to the participation of United States interests in [the Bahrein] concession, subject to [their] being satisfied as to the conditions on which U. S. capital will participate and in particular as to the nationality of the operating company, of its chairman and directors, and of the personnel who will be employed in the Islands." The note suggested "direct discussions between representatives of the Eastern and General Syndicate, as the existing Concessionaire, and the Colonial Office."

The negotiations which took place in London were successful, and Standard Oil of California nominated its fully-owned subsidiary, the Bahrein Petroleum Company,[1] as the company to which the concession should be transferred. On August 1, 1930, in agreement with the Sheik of Bahrein, formal assignment of the concession to the Bahrein Petroleum Company was concluded.

September 19, 1930, British authorities had arrested a number of important Persian residents in the island who had been accused of inviting the Bahreinis to send a petition to the League of Nations against the projected union of the Arab Principalities of the Persian Gulf, a movement patronized by the British Government. After some disturbances, calm was restored when units of the British fleet started "maneuvers" in plain view of the island.

By now, the Bahrein oil companies had started their exploita-

1. Incorporated in Canada (Ottawa, January 11, 1929).

471 tion of the island, and in a note to the United States Minister at
618 Teheran dated May 22, 1934, Persia denounced the concession as having been granted by "legally incompetent authorities," thus rendering it null and void. As in the British note, she "reserved all . . . rights . . . to all profits realized by the said concessions", and stated that she regarded the United States liable for all damages sustained by the Persian Government.

The American Department of State was reluctant to recognize Persia's claim over the Bahrein Island. It should be recalled, that the Reservation sponsored by Senator King of Utah, and approved to the Convention for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War, which the Senate passed on June 15, 1934, was strongly opposed by the Administration. This Reservation was to prevent the United States Government undertaking steps which would "deny any right of sovereignty which Persia might have, in, and to, the Persian Gulf." Finally the Senate approved the Convention without the King Reservation.

Soon these exchanges of diplomatic correspondences were terminated by Sir John Simon, the British Foreign Secretary, who in a note addressed on July 23, 1934 to the General Secretary of the League of Nations, declared that his Government "did not intend for the moment to add anything to her former notes." This was a dead end, and the "Bahrein Affair" became another of the forgotten cases of the League.

The Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs prepared yet another note, but for some reason it was not sent.

On December 29, 1934, the Sheik of Bahrein granted the Bahrein Petroleum Company a mining lease to extend for fifty-five years from January 1, 1935. This lease covered approximately 100,000 acres selected by the company in one block on the main island of Bahrein.

The Bahrein Petroleum Company, however, did not have facilities to market its production. The Texas Corporation, on the other hand, had extensive marketing facilities, both direct and through agents, in the areas east of Suez. Therefore, Stan-

dard Oil of California and the Texas Company therefore, 471
consolidated their interests "east of Suez", and in July 1936 648
created Caltex (the California-Texas Oil Company, Ltd.), incorporating in the Bahamas. The Texas Company transferred to the Bahrein Petroleum Company, (sole owner of Caltex), its five wholly-owned subsidiaries with marketing facilities in eastern and southern Africa, eastern and southern Asia, the Philippine Islands, the East Indies, Australia, and New Zealand. In turn, the Texas Company acquired a 50% interest in Bahrein which doubled its capitalization, and issued the newly created shares to The Texas Company. Standard Oil of California continued to hold the remaining 50%.

The rivalry between Britain and Italy, and the Italo-Ethiopian 648
War, motivated Great Britain to strengthen her defenses in the Persian Gulf. Since 1930, the Baghdad-Karachi route, which had passed over the Persian mainland, had been detoured southward to pass over Koweit, Bahrein, and Sharjah (in Oman), then follow the coast to the Persian Gulf to Gwadar, in English Baluchistan, and thence to Karachi.

The British Government purchased from the Sheik of Bahrein, the vast promontory on the northeastern point of the island at Manama, in order to transfer their naval base from Henjam and Basidu, to Bahrein. The Bahrein Government agreed to undertake the construction there of the necessary buildings for lodging officers and men, and a military airport was built for the R. A. F., as well as a base for hydro-planes.

The British Naval base at Basra was abandoned, and Bahrein became the strategic center for Britain in the Gulf. It is the seat not only of the Political Resident, but also of the Political Agent for Bahrein, the Assistant Political Agent, the Political Officer for the Trucial Coast, and the Publicity Officer for the Persian Gulf. These officials are to be distinguished from the technical advisers to the Sheik, who, although they are also British subjects, are state servants of Bahrein, and thus not subordinate to the Persian Gulf Residency. Chief among these are: the Political Adviser to the Government of Bahrein, the

Collector of Customs, the State Engineer, and the Superintendent of Schools.

On November 16, 1935, the Governments of Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom, acting on behalf of the Bahrein Government, entered into an Agreement regarding the "treatment of goods destined for or exported from ports in Saudi Arabia and carried in ships calling at Bahrein." The economic provisions were as follows:

1. Duty at the rate of 2% ad valorem shall continue to be levied on goods consigned to ports in Saudi Arabia or exported from ports in Saudi Arabia, which are landed at Bahrein in order to be re-exported.
2. Duty at the rate of 1-¾% ad valorem shall be levied on goods consigned to ports in Saudi Arabia, or exported from ports in Saudi Arabia, which are trans-shipped (that is, loaded and unloaded direct from ships into dhows and dhows into ships anchoring off Bahrein) without being landed.
3. In consideration of the reduction in the ordinary rate of 2%, which is provided for in the preceding paragraphs, the Saudi Government will not make any request for exemption from the above-mentioned duties in the case of goods consigned to H. M. the King of Saudi Arabia or to his Government.
4. Customs duty at the rate of not more than 5% ad valorem shall be levied on dates imported into Bahrein from the ports of Saudi Arabia, but the rate provided for in Paragraph 2 above shall be levied on dates transshipped without being landed. The above mentioned duties shall be continued on the basis of wholesale price of dates of similar quality in Bahrein market on the day on which the consignment is cleared through customs.

After the signing of this Treaty of Commerce, the eldest son of Ibn Saud, newly elected the heir apparent of Saudi Arabia, visited Bahrein, and the Sheik of Bahrein participated in the

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pilgrimage to Mecca, where he was officially received by Ibn Saud. The latter returned the visit in 1938 and stayed in Bahrein from May 2 to 7. 648

During the grandiose ceremonies at Bahrein, Sheik Hamed and his sons Abdallah (Governor of Muharraq), and Salman (Governor of Manama, and the present Sheik), pronounced speeches of welcome, sang Arabian poetry in honor of Ibn Saud, and exalted his visit as a sign of existing fraternity between Arab and Mussulman.

All this was part of a general pattern to favor the Arab unity. This unification of Arab lands which started after the first World War, was favored by the foreign office, and some quarters were favoring the unification of the Sheikdom of the Persian Gulf.

Beginning in 1937, the project of unification took on a more concrete form, especially after the journey to London of the Sheik of Bahrein and the still more noteworthy visit to Bahrein of the eldest son of Ibn Saud. (December 14-31, 1937). The final outcome was the adherence of these Sheikdoms to the much discussed Pact of Arab Alliance that had been signed by Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Iraq.

The British Consuls in the Middle East, met in 1938 to discuss the project of unification, but decided to wait for a "more propitious time." The reasons for this decision, were the difficulties between Koweit and Bahrein, the very cool reception accorded by Ibn Saud, who had always had an eye on Bahrein, and the opposition of the Colonial Office, which feared that the allegiance of the English protectorates to the Pact of Arab Alliance (the signatories to which were supposedly free countries), might diminish its value in the eyes of the public.

According to some Arab sources, the proposed unification consisted of:

1. Unification of the programs of studies in the schools;
2. Unification of postal and telegraph systems;
3. Institution of a common regular army, independent in each Sheikdom, but with a single General Staff;

648 4. Unification of judicial systems and the formation of a High Council in which each Sheikdom should be represented;

5. A Chamber whose membership would be elective or nominative by each Sheik (or having both elective and nominative members) in charge of establishing financial laws and approving the laws proposed by the High Council. The Government of each Sheik must submit to the chamber, whose members would be responsible to their respective rulers.

In the meantime, a law of citizenship hostile to Persian elements was promulgated in Bahrein.

Persia once again addressed a note to the General Secretariat of the League of Nation, protesting the intervention of British advisers in the internal affairs of the islands. Persia condemned the laws as "contempt of the right of the sovereignty of Persia over the island."

648 The arbitrary measures adopted by the Political Resident in
648 Bahrein provoked a new series of writings.

From the fifth to the seventh of November, 1938, the merchants of Manama closed their shops as a sign of protest against the Political Agent, Belgrave, who had arrested three Bahreini notables. The demonstrators advocated the formation of a native committee to direct education; the administration of justice by native Bahreinis; the creation of trade unions; formation of a Legislative Council; replacement of the British Political Agent; expulsion of unskilled foreign workers in the service of the oil companies and their replacement by subjects of Bahrein. The English declared martial law, and many persons were arrested and a few exiled. A group of these refugees, with the help of sympathizers, formed at Basra, in Iraq, in 1939, an "association to Help the Arab of the Gulf" for the purpose of propagandizing in favor of the Arabs oppressed by the British.

648 However, at the outbreak of the second World War, each of the Sheiks of the Gulf sent messages of fidelity to the British

Crown, and the King of England wrote to each to thank him for his generous offer. A typical gesture, announced proudly by BBC, was that of the Sheik of Bahrein, who declared that, although he had no men whom he could put in the service of the British, he was able to send a gift of money. This gift, which amounted to £30,000, was added to a pool organized to buy a Spitfire which was to be named *Bahrein*. In addition to the monetary gift, the Government put at the disposal of the British Admiralty "for the duration of the war", the entire pearl fishing fleet of the island, estimated at more than 3,000 units.

Meanwhile, by a Supplementary Agreement dated June 19, 1940, the Bahrein Petroleum Company received an extension of its concession, to include the area covering all lands, shoals, reefs, waters, and submerged lands of "the present and future domains" of the Sheik of Bahrein. The new concession supplants the mining lease of 1934, and the revised agreement with the Bahrein Petroleum Company covers a period of fifty-five years, dating from June 19, 1940. The present area of the concession is given as approximately 1,664,000 acres, with a proved reserve of about 200 million barrels.

The refineries and oil depots of the Bahrein Islands were bombed in October 1940 by three Italian heavy bombers—with "satisfactory results", according to a communiqué of the Italian High Command of October 20, 1940. The planes had taken off from Dodecanese bases, and the 2,500 mile raid was the longest then on record by any of the belligerents.

The results were not, according to Allied sources, as satisfactory as the Italians claimed. The planes which dropped about fifty bombs, caused very little damage to the main part of the refinery.

According to *Middle East Journal*, the Persian Government protested to Italy for this violation of its national territory.

On February 20, 1942, at the age of 70, Sheik Hamed died of a stroke and his eldest son, Salman, the Governor of Manama, succeeded him. British recognition was announced by the

648 *London Times* of March 6, 1942. In July of the same year, the personal salute of the ruler of Bahrein was fixed at eleven guns.

On the occasion of his succession, Salman issued the following manifesto:

"We, Salman, have succeeded to the throne according to the promise which our father made to us, with the unanimous consent of our paternal uncles and our brothers and all of our tribe. We declare solemnly as our father ordered us, with the help of God to remain firmly attached to our religion, to be vigilant, to ameliorate the conditions of our tribe and our country, to act according to justice and equity, and, acting to reinforce the old ties of friendship which bound our country to England, to remain faithful foreyer to her friendship. We pray God, the All-Merciful and All-Powerful, to protect, guide, and help us."

The realities of war were brought home to Bahrein by price control and rationing system. The Government bought and imported all food supplies for the population, shops were opened in towns and in villages for rationed goods, and the queue system introduced.

There occurred a shortage of rice, staff food of the population, due to the drastic reduction of shipping facilities and the loss to the Japanese of Burma, Indo China and other producing centers. Rice was replaced by wheat, and as a result there was vast discontent among the population.

The black market flourished, and smuggling was rampant. Goods whose export was forbidden, were smuggled out of the country. At one time a bag of sugar could be bought in Bahrein for about 80 rupees; opposite on the Persian Coast, the same bag would be sold for 800 rupees. Motor tires were sold at fabulous prices in Persia and Iraq, and tea was a profitable commodity for smugglers.

122 228 The pearl industry flourished, although the fleets of diving boats were smaller because many divers preferred to earn money on the shore, and high prices were obtained for pearls in India, where people invested money in precious stones. No European

buyers visited the Gulf, and few, if any pearls were sent to Europe.

Owing to important developments in the Bahrein oil industry and war time public works, there was a great demand for labour. Not only manual labourers and skilled men, but any young Arabs with slight education could obtain well paid posts.

Many Bahreini invested their money in gardens and house property which resulted in a land boom. Axis broadcasts were forbidden in public places but most people listened to them in their houses.

To prevent any disturbances, very strong security measures were taken, and the police force numbered some 700 people.

The population sympathized with the Arabs of Palestine in their resistance to Jewish immigration, and in Bahrein, serious rioting broke out in answer to American stands concerning the partition of the Holy Land. Manama synagogue and scores of Jewish shops were wrecked and the Jews were beaten. At the same time, posters appeared on the streets at night denouncing Americans as the "foreigners who steal our oil."

To forestall any trouble, a Military Government was declared in Bahrein, and extraordinary precautions taken. These measures were resented by the Bahreini who complained to Persia.

The old quarrel over the ownership of Bahrein was revived, and the Cabinet decided on April 18, 1946, to charge taxes and royalties on oil entering Iran from Bahrein. The tax was fixed at $.80 a barrel, plus 20% of the annual net revenue of the Company, that is, the equivalent of the tax collected on the production of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Iran.

At the end of 1947, a delegation from Bahrein arrived in Teheran. The delegation was headed by a very prominent Sheik who was to represent Bahrein at the Iranian Parliament. He was received in a secret session of the Parliament, but as he was not duly elected, according to Persian election laws, it was decided that Majlis could not take any step in regard to its admission. In the session of April 15, 1948, the Parliament

voted unanimouly to place at the head of its agenda, a bill to assert Iranian sovereignty over Bahrein.

The Iranian authorities announced that telegrams and letters for Bahrein would be dispatched at domestic rates, as the Islands are part of Iranian national territory.

To complicate the matter, there was talk of partnership between the English and American oil interests in the Persian Gulf.

The question of participation of Socony Vacuum and Standard Oil of New Jersey in the holdings of Arabian Oil Company, and the building of the Tap Line, were under consideration.

Then there emerged an entirely new problem. On October 2, 1945, President Truman issued a presidential proclimation, that whatever may be under the waters of the Gulf of Mexico to the continefital shelf "appertains" to the United States.

His precedent was the exploitation of the guano deposits of the Navassa Island, which since 1804 had legally belonged to Haiti. The United States, however, over the protest of the Haitian government, declared that Navassa "appertained" to the United States.

This was to extend the control by the coastal states over submarine areas beneath the high seas and outside of territorial waters.

The Iranian Government in a draft legislation submitted to the Parliament on May 19, 1949, affirmed the intention to extend Iranian sovereignty to the Continental Shelf in the Persian Gulf.

On May 28, the Saudi Arabian Government also pronounced, although on somewhat different theory, on a concept of contiguity, its claim over the waters of the Persian Gulf. This was followed on June 5, 1949, by a proclamation by the Sheik of Bahrein that the "sea bed and sub-soil of the high seas of the Persian Gulf bordering on the territorial waters of Bahrein and extending seaward. . . belong to the country of Bahrein, and are subject to absolute authority and jurisdiction."

However, the limit was to be determined "after consultation with the neighboring governments," . . . with the principles of justice, when occasion so requires."

Soon afterwards, the Bahrein action was followed by proclamations of six other Sheikdoms along the Trucial coast, in substance similar to that of Bahrein.

Since then, the extraction of oil and other minerals from the bottom of the sea, has become a relatively easy every day operation.

At present, there are several wells operating in the Gulf of Mexico at distances of ten to forty miles from the American mainland, and at various depths. Therefore, the legal problems created by these proclamations have more than academic interest.

The islands and subsoil of the Persian Gulf have been classified as Zone 8, in the Operational Agenda plans of the Iranian Oil Company, which is a nationally owned company.

On the other hand, the Arabian Oil Co. and the Bahrein Petroleum Co. are exploiting Saudi Arabian and Bahrein oil. It is obvious that the two interests are working in opposite directions.

By the signing of the Anglo-American Oil Agreement, the two Governments are acting jointly, and the partnership of the Anglo-Iranian "oil deal" has united the interests of the two Governments.

However, to the eyes of Persians, Bahrein constitutes a "terra iredenta", and the Persian Government naturally resents any attempt to neglect its claim over Bahrein which it considers an integral part of its national territory.

In the last three years, Persia has proclaimed this attitude three times.

On April 2, 1949, the International Postal Union, in a circular, represented Bahrein among its adherents. Persia protested, and affirmed that it would continue to consider Post Office in Bahrein as an office in the territory of Persia.

648 In its reply, the International Postal Union declared that the Post Office in Bahrein is working only under the supervision of the British mail office, and that this working procedure had no political implications concerning the ownership of said territories.

In November and December 1949, a meeting of Economic Conference of Asian Nations was held in Karachi, Pakistan. The host state invited Bahrein to send a representative, but the Iranian Government protested to Pakistan, and asserted that it would not participate in the conference if Bahrein, which is an integral part of Persia, were invited separately. The invitation sent to Bahrein was then called off, and Iran attended the meeting.

Still more recently in August 1950, at the Regional Conference of the World Health Organization held in Constantinople, Persian attitude was the same, and Bahrein was not invited to attend the conference.

Over this clash of interests between Persia on one side, and England backed by the United States, comes the shadow of the Russian Bear. The aim of Russian policy to reach the Persian Gulf is an open secret.

On October 13, 1940, just after the signing of the Tripartite Pact by Germany, Italy, and Japan, Russia was invited to become a fourth member. Ribbentrop wrote to Stalin, inviting Molotov to Berlin for a discussion of foreign policy, and Molotov arrived the middle of November. After some preliminary discussion, an agreement was drawn up providing, among other things, that Russia's slice of territory should lie "to the South of the territory of the Soviet Republics in the direction of the Indian Ocean." This was subsequently amended to give Russia specifically "the area south of Baku and Batum in the direction of the Persian Gulf." After the outbreak of the war, Berlin sounded out Moscow to see if a separate peace would be possible, and Russia, in a note, created the impression in Berlin that it would be, if Germany met certain stiff demands; among these was the Russian expansion south and east to Gwadar.

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Supposedly because the Germans considered the demands too great, the negotiations fell through. 648

According to Cordell Hull, before going to the Moscow Conference, President Roosevelt felt that the Baltic passages—Kiel and the straits might each be set up as a free zone under international trustees, and that a similar zone might be ararnged for Russia to the Persian Gulf.

Many waters have passed under the bridge since 1943; with open antagonism between the United States and Russia following the Cold War, and with the chapce of open hostilities, the importance of the Persian Gulf as a strategic area has been brought to light.

In case of war, the American oil holdings in Saudi Arabia, and the Anglo-Iranian Company installations in Southern Persia, would be the first targets of an eventual enemy.

The American military air base of Dhahran in Saudi Arabia would be of no value without the English naval military bases on Bahrein Island. [712]

In short, the future of Bahrein will no doubt prove as complex as its past, but let us hope that wisdom will prevail; that the peace which is no doubt everybody's desire will be accomplished; and that a happy solution, satisfactory to all concerned, may be established.

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# APPENDIX

## I

### Translation of Agreement signed by the Chief of Bahrein, dated December 22, 1880.

I, Isa bin Ali Al Khalifah, Chief of Bahrein, hereby bind myself and successors in the Government of Bahrein to the British Government to abstain from entering into negotiations or making treaties of any sort with any State or Government other than the British without the consent of the said British Government, and to refuse permission to any other Government than the British to establish diplomatic or consular agencies or coaling depots in our territory, unless with the consent of the British Government.

This engagement does not apply to nor affect the customary friendly correspondence with the local authorities of neighboring States on business of minor importance.

The above agreement is subject to the approval and acceptance of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council.

Isa Bin Ali
Ahmad Bin Ali

Signed and sealed at Bahrein on the twenty-second day of December, one thousand eight hundred and eighty in my presence.

E. C. Ross, Lieut.-Col.,
Political Resident, Persian Gulf

The above Agreement was accepted and ratified by Her Britannic Majesty's Government in 1881.

E. C. Ross, Lieut.-Col.,
Political Resident, Persian Gulf

## II

### Exclusive Agreement of the Sheik of Bahrein with the British Government, March 13, 1892.

I, Esau Isá bin Ali, Chief of Bahrein, in the presence of Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Talbot, C.I.E. Political Resident, Persian Gulf, do hereby solemnly bind myself and agree, on behalf of myself, my heirs and successors, to the following conditions, viz.:

1st, That I will on no account enter into any agreement or correspondence with any Power other than the British Government.

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2nd, That without the assent of the British Government, I will not consent to the residence within my territory of the agent of any other Government.

3rd, That I will on no account cede, sell, mortgage, or otherwise give for occupation any part of my territory save to the British Government.
Dated Bahrein, 13 March 1892, corresponding with 14th Shaaban, 1309.

Esau bin Ali
Chief of Bahrein

A. C. Talbot, Lieut.-Col.
Resident, Persian Gulf

Lansdowne
Viceroy and Gov. Gl. of India

Ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India at Simla on the twelfth day of May, 1892.

H. M. Durand
Secretary to the Gov't. of India, Foreign Dept.

## III

**Undertaking by the Sheik of Bahrein, regarding oil, 1914. (Translation of a letter dated the 18th of Jamadi II, 1332 (May 14, 1914) from Sheik Isa Bin Ali Al Khalifah, Chief of Bahrein, to Major A. P. Trevor, C.I.E., Political Agent, Bahrein):**

I have received your esteemed letter No. 531, dated the 18th Jamadi II 1332 (May 14, 1914), on the subject of the possibility of obtaining kerosene oil in Bahrein. Just as I informed your honor in my letter, dated the 17th Jamadi-us-sani 1332, when the time comes for obtaining it I will certainly consult the Political Agency. I do hereby repeat to you that if there is any prospect of obtaining kerosene oil in my territory, I will not embark on the exploitation of it myself and will not entertain overtures from any quarter regarding it without consulting the Political Agent in Bahrein and without the approval of the High Government.

This is what had to be said. May you be preserved and salams.

## IV

641 **Bahrein Nationality Law**

ARTICLE I.

The following are considered to be Bahrein nationals:

(a) All persons born in Bahrein before or after the date of this Law except as provided for in Article II.

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## Bahrain Government* Proclamation No. 37/1368, June 5, 1949

TO WHOME IT MAY CONCERN:

WHEREAS it is desirable to encourage any efforts to facilitate the derivation of greater benefit from the natural resources of the earth, and

WHEREAS valuable resources exist beneath parts of the Persian Gulf near the shores of Bahrain, and it has become possible to derive increasing benefit from these submarine resources, and

WHEREAS it is desirable, for the purposes of conservation, preservation, and orderly development, that extraction of these resources shall be regulated as necessity dictates, and

WHEREAS it is just that the sea bed and the subsoil extending a reasonable distance from the shore should belong to and be administered by the government of the adjacent coast, and

WHEREAS the right of any coastal government to exercise its sovereignty over the natural resources of the sea bed and the subsoil in the vicinity of its shores has been established by international practice through the action taken by other governments,

ACCORDINGLY, WE, SALMAN IBN HAMAD AL KHALIFAH, Ruler of Bahrain, by virtue of the powers vested in us in this respect, are pleased to issue hereby the following proclamation:

WE, SALMAN IBN HAMAD AL KHALIFAH, Ruler of Bahrain, hereby declare that the sea bed and the subsoil of the high seas of the Persian Gulf bordering on the territorial waters of Bahrain and extending seaward as far as limits that we, after consultation with the neighboring governments, shall determine more accurately in accordance with the principles of justice, when the occasion so requires, belong to the country of Bahrain and are subject to its absolute authority and jurisdiction.

There is nothing in this proclamation that may be interpreted as affecting dominion over the islands or the status of the sea bed and the subsoil underlying any territorial waters.

There is nothing in this proclamation that may be interpreted as affecting the character of the high seas in the waters of the Persian Gulf over-lying the sea bed and beyond the limits of the territorial waters, or the status of the air space above the waters of the Persian Gulf beyond the territorial waters, or fishing, or the traditional rights of pearling in these waters.

SALMAN IBN HAMAD AL KHALIFAH
Ruler of Bahrain

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* From The American Journal of International Law, Vol. 43, Oct. 1939.

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# IRAN'S CLAIM TO THE SOVEREIGNTY OF BAHRAYN

By Majid Khadduri

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## I. Introduction

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The Oil Nationalization Act passed unanimously by both houses of the Iranian Parliament in March, 1951, raised once more the long-standing issue of Iran's claim to sovereignty over Bahrayn. The Iranian extremists, from both the left-wing *Tudeh* Party and the right-wing *Fida'iyan Islam* group, at first criticized Parliament for its silence about the oil of Bahrayn but, when the law for the expropriation of the Anglo-Iranian Company was enacted in April, they demanded that these laws should in like manner be applied to the Bahrayn Petroleum Company, jointly owned by the Standard Oil Company of California and the Texas Company, on the grounds that the Bahrayn Islands form a part of Iranian territory.

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The question of Iran's claim to jurisdiction over the oil of Bahrayn was first raised when the Shaykh of Bahrayn granted a concession to a British company in 1930. The Iranian Government sent a note of protest to the British Government on July 23, 1930, denying the right of the Shaykh of Bahrayn to grant a concession for exploiting the oil resources of these islands without Iran's approval, on the grounds that "the Bahrayn Islands form an integral part of Persia [Iran], and that Persia possesses incontestable rights of sovereignty over those islands. . . ."[1] This protest was followed by another to the United States Government on May 22, 1934,[2] when an oil concession was granted by the Shaykh to the Standard Oil Company of California. The note stated:

> According to information recently received by the Imperial Government [of Iran], a concession to exploit Bahrein oil has just been obtained by the Standard Oil Company of California, which has begun operations and has already extracted large quantities of oil.
>
> I have the honour to draw your serious attention to the above and to inform you that the concession in question or any other concession acquired by the Standard Oil Company or any other company whatsoever—having been obtained, not from the Persian Government, whose rights of sovereignty over the Bahrein Islands are incontestable, but from legally incompetent authorities who have no right to grant such concessions—is regarded as null and void. My Government strongly

[1] For text of the note, see League of Nations Official Journal, September, 1930, p. 1083.
[2] *Ibid.*, August, 1934, p. 969.

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protests against this concession and considers itself at liberty to claim and demand the restitution of any profit that may accrue from such concessions, as well as compensation for any damage that may result therefrom. . . .[3]

In view of the fact that Iran's claim to sovereignty over Bahrayn had been reiterated in the past on several occasions, it is likely that such a claim might be put forth again under favorable circumstances. After the second World War the issue was revived by Prime Minister Qawam as-Sultanah in 1946. He announced that all oil produced in Bahrayn and shipped to the Iranian mainland would be taxed at the same rate as that produced by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. If Iran's claim to the sovereignty of Bahrayn is valid, the Oil Nationalization Act, unless it specifically excludes Bahrayn or unless the Act by its terms applies only to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, must *ipso jure* apply to the Bahrayn Petroleum Company. While such claims have often been disregarded, they might assume a certain seriousness should the *Tudeh* Party seize power and, supported or inspired by Russia, seek excuses for intervention in the Persian Gulf by raising the question of Iran's claim to sovereignty over Bahrayn.

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Before turning to a discussion of the validity of Iran's claim, a word on the geography of the Bahrayn Islands might be useful. The term "Bahrayn" (which means the "two seas") was originally applied to the continental coast of Arabia (al-Hasa), the peninsula of Qatar, and the group of islands which separat. the bay between Hasa and Qatar into the "two seas." But this term came to be applied only to those islands which form the "two seas." The Bahrayn Islands are an archipelago of coral formation (except perhaps the rocky hills in the center of the largest island) which includes Bahrayn, the largest (it is 27 miles long by 10 wide), Muharraq (second in size, five miles in length, and situated to the north of Bahrayn), Sitrah, Umm Na'san and a number of smaller islands. This archipelago was famous for its pearl fisheries from antiquity and more recently for the oil resources which have been discovered since the first World War. Its strategic value may assume an increasing importance should Communism penetrate southward towards Iran, Iraq, and the Persian Gulf.[4]

[3] The British Government had already objected to the grant of oil concessions to other Powers, but the United States State Department, pressing for equal opportunities for American interests, secured British agreement to the participation of American interests in the oil of Bahrayn. For an exchange of notes on this matter see Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1929, Vol. III (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1944), pp. 80–82.

[4] For the geography of the Bahrayn Islands, see J. Theodore Bent, "The Bahrayn Islands in the Persian Gulf," Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. XII (January, 1890), pp. 1–19; Captain A. W. Stiffe, "Ancient Trading Centers of the Persian Gulf, VII: Bahrein," The Geographical Journal, Vol. XVIII (September, 1901), pp. 291–294; Maynard Owen Williams, "Bahrein: Port of Pearls and Petroleum," The

[FOR the rest of the footnote see p. 633]

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## II. The Controversy between Iran and Great Britain over Bahrayn

For over a century, from the time when Great Britain entered into treaty relations with the Shaykh of Bahrayn, Iran let pass no opportunity to make representations against the establishment of direct relations with the Shaykh by any foreign Power or to assert its own sovereignty over these islands. Probably the most important recent protest which Iran made was the one which it sent to the League of Nations, under Article 10 of the League Covenant, on the occasion of the signing of a treaty between King Ibn Saud and Great Britain on May 20, 1927.[5] Article 6 of this treaty[6] stated:

> His Majesty the King of the Hejaz and Nejd and its Dependencies undertakes to maintain friendly and peaceful relations with the territories of Kuwait and Bahrain, and with the Sheikhs of Qatar and the Oman Coast, who are in special treaty relations with His Britannic Majesty's Government.

This treaty caused a sharp note of protest to be sent by the Iranian Government to Great Britain on November 22, 1927,[7] in which it was stated:

> The Persian Government . . . protests emphatically against the part of the Treaty referred to, and looks to the British Government to take steps without delay to nullify its effects.

A copy of this note was communicated to the Secretary General of the League of Nations on November 23 with a covering letter[8] stating:

> This protest is communicated to you for the information of the States Members of the League of Nations, all of which are bound by the Covenant and, in particular, by Article 10, which guarantees the territorial integrity of each of them.

To this note Sir Austen Chamberlain, the British Foreign Secretary, replied on January 18, 1928, denying that "any valid grounds" exist upon which Iran could claim sovereignty over Bahrayn.[9] This reply elicited another note from the Iranian Government, dated August 2, 1928, in which the Iranian viewpoint was emphatically reiterated; but to this Sir Austen

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National Geographic Magazine, Vol. LXXXIX (February, 1946), pp. 195–210; Abbas Faroughy, The Bahrein Islands (New York, 1951); J. Oestrup, "Al-Bahrain," Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol. I, pp. 594–595.

[5] This treaty, known as the Treaty of Jidda, was based on an earlier similar treaty signed by Ibn Saud and Britain on Dec. 26, 1915, but the earlier treaty did not elicit a protest from Iran.

[6] British Parliamentary Paper (1927), Cmd. 2951. See also A. J. Toynbee, Survey of International Affairs, 1928 (London, 1929), Appendix I, pp. 439–440.

[7] League of Nations Official Journal, May, 1928, p. 605.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] A copy of this letter was sent to the Secretary General of the League of Nations on Feb. 25, 1928, for communication to Member States of the League of Nations for information.

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replied in a detailed note of February 18, 1929, in which the juridical and historical arguments of the Iranian Government were challenged. This controversy occurred at a time when the British and Iranian Governments were already in conflict over a number of other problems, such as the dispute over Shatt al-Arab with Iraq,[10] Iran's relations with the Shaykh of Muḥammarah, and Iran's desire to secure the abrogation of the Capitulations.[11] Some of these problems were later settled by negotiations; but for the conflict over Bahrayn, which for a century had been the subject of controversial discussion, no conclusive settlement was expected.

The argument of the Iranian Government in its notes of November 22, 1927, and August 2, 1928,[12] was based in the main on Iran's historical connections with, and an alleged recognition by Britain of its possession of, the islands. Iran claimed that the islands had "uninterruptedly" formed part of its territory, except during the Portuguese occupation from 1507 to 1622, and that their Shaykhs, since the expulsion of the Portuguese, "have always recognised Persian sovereignty." This historical claim, to which Iran attached great importance in its controversy with the British Government, will be briefly analysed in the next section.[13]

Apart from its historical claims, Iran declared that the British Government had recognised in the past its sovereignty over Bahrayn. This alleged recognition seems to have been implicit, as indicated in the Iranian note, rather than explicit. The note of August 2, 1928, cited two documents in support of this contention.

The first was an agreement signed on August 30, 1822, between Captain William Bruce, representing the British Government, and the Prince-Governor of Shiraz, representing Iran. Though this agreement was at once repudiated by both governments on the ground that the two negotiators had signed it without prior authorization, it was regarded by the Iranian Government as an evidence of its possession of Bahrayn. "The historical truth," stated the Iranian note of August 2, 1928, "which plainly emerges from this agreement is the assertion and confirmation by Captain Bruce of the fact that the Islands of Bahrein then formed part of the Persian province of Fars." Captain Bruce, added the Iranian note, was in "an excellent position to know the facts," as they were then known. While Captain Bruce might have been ill informed about the reality of Iran's connections with Bahrayn—a possibility which was entirely overlooked by the Iranian Government when it asserted, without giving any evidence, that Captain Bruce was in a position "to know the facts"—he seemed to have

[10] See Majid Khadduri, Independent Iraq (London, 1951), pp. 240-244.

[11] A. J. Toynbee, Survey of International Affairs, 1925 (London, 1927), Vol. I, pp. 539-543; Ibid., 1934 (London, 1935), p. 223.

[12] For texts of these two notes, see League of Nations Official Journal, May, 1933, p. 605; Ibid., September, 1933, pp. 1260-1263. [13] See section 3, below.

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had no authority to negotiate such an agreement, since it was promptly repudiated by the British Government.

The second document consisted of an exchange of correspondence between Lord Clarendon and Persia on the questions of piracy and slave trade in the Persian Gulf. In reply to Persia's assertion of its sovereignty over Bahrayn, Lord Clarendon stated on April 29, 1869, that:

> The British Government readily admit that the Government of the Shah has protested against the Persian right of sovereignty over Bahrein being ignored by the British authorities, and they have given due consideration to that protest.

Not only was this passage construed to constitute recognition, but also another, cited from the same letter (with regard to piracy in the Persian Gulf), in which Great Britain conceded certain Persian rights in policing the Gulf. Lord Clarendon stated:

> If the Persian Government are prepared to keep a sufficient force in the Gulf for these purposes, this country would be relieved of a troublesome and costly duty, but if the Shah is not prepared to undertake these duties, Her Majesty's Government cannot suppose His Majesty would wish that in those waters disorder and crimes should be encouraged by impunity.

If Persia had then been able to police the Gulf, the Iranian note concluded, then the British Government would have considered itself relieved from its "duty" and would have withdrawn, leaving Persia to carry out these duties. If the "duty" of policing the Persian Gulf had actually devolved upon Persia, in case Britain decided to withdraw from the Gulf, it does not follow, as the Iranian Government concluded, that the action would have constituted British recognition of Iran's sovereignty over Bahrayn. The Iranian Government failed to see that the right to police the Gulf (which was conceded by Britain) would not necessarily constitute recognition of its sovereignty over Bahrayn. Nevertheless, the Iranian Government contends that Britain had recognized Iran's sovereignty in the past and that there is no "justification of its refusal [now] to recognize Persian sovereignty over Bahrein."

It follows accordingly, from the Iranian standpoint, that the Shaykhs of Bahrayn have merely exceeded their power by entering "into direct relations with a foreign State without the express authorization of the central Government," and, therefore, their action lacks "juridical value in international law."

In his reply to this argument Sir Austen Chamberlain, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, sent two notes to the Iranian Government dated February 25, 1928, and February 18, 1929, in which not only the Iranian historical claim was questioned but the contention that the British Govern-

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ment had recognized its sovereignty over Bahrayn was also challenged.[14]

Iran's claim that the British Government had ever recognized its sovereignty over Bahrayn was emphatically denied by Sir Austen Chamberlain. For ever since the year 1820, when Great Britain entered into treaty relations with the Shaykh of Bahrayn, it had acted on the assumption that the Shaykh was an independent ruler. When Captain Bruce, accordingly, negotiated the agreement of 1822 with the Governor of Shiraz, the agreement was promptly repudiated and Captain Bruce was recalled. "The main reason recorded for his recall," stated Sir Austen, "and for the prompt disavowal of this tentative agreement is that 'it acknowledges the King of Persia's title to Bahrein, of which there is not the least proof.'" Further, this agreement was also repudiated by the Shah of Persia who "expressed his displeasure that the Prince of Shiraz should have entered into any arrangements with the British Government without his knowledge or instructions." Since the Bruce agreement was repudiated by both Britain and Persia, it could hardly be cited as evidence of recognition by either party.[15]

With regard to Lord Clarendon's note of April 29, 1869, to which the Iranian Government attached greater importance, Sir Austen stated that the Iranian Government was "under a complete misunderstanding" in its interpretation of this note as meaning that "any recognition" of the Persian claims to sovereignty in Bahrein "was at that time intended."

The full text of the Clarendon note, however, was never published, which makes it indeed difficult to discover what Lord Clarendon's precise position was. But even if we analyze the meaning of the quotation apart from its context, it would seem that the British Government merely stated that the Iranian protest was duly considered.[15a] Due consideration of the protest could hardly be regarded as an admission that the claim was legally valid. As Sir Austen Chamberlain rightly stated in his note of January 18, 1928:

> . . . the whole tenor of the note should have made it clear that Her Majesty's Government maintained their right to enter into direct treaty relations with the Sheikhs of Bahrein as independent rulers; and while, at the same time, it indicated that Her Majesty's Government would gladly transfer to Persia, if she were able and willing to perform them, certain duties in the Persian Gulf towards the performance of

[14] For the text of the Chamberlain notes, see League of Nations Official Journal, May, 1928, pp. 605–606; *ibid.*, May, 1929, pp. 790–793.

[15] The Bruce agreement, it seems, had been cited by the Iranian Government in a number of former exchanges of letters, such as those of 1906 and 1907, but the British Government had invariably stated that the Bruce agreement under no circumstances implied recognition, since it was promptly repudiated by both parties. See League of Nations Official Journal, May, 1928, p. 607.

[15a] This conclusion has been confirmed by an examination of the full text of the correspondence, which was made available to the writer by the British Foreign Office after this article went to press.

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which the treaty relations in question contributed, and offered, in view of the friendly feelings entertained by Her Majesty's Government to be informed beforehand, when practicable, of any measure of coercion which the conduct of the Sheikhs might have rendered necessary, it is evident that no recognition of the validity of the Persian protest, or of the Persian claim to suzerainty, was thereby intended or implied.[16]

Probably greater emphasis is laid in the Iranian note on the general principles of international law which are invoked in its various sections. The general rule is stated at the beginning of the note as follows:

> A territory belonging to a sovereign State cannot be lawfully detached so long as the right of ownership has not been transferred by this State to another State in virtue of an official act, in this case a treaty, or so long as its annexation by another State or its independence have not been officially recognized by the lawful owner of the territory.

Since the Iranian Government has never transferred or renounced its sovereignty over Bahrayn nor recognized its annexation by another state, it must therefore, according to the Iranian note, belong to Iran. International practice, however, could hardly support this rule, and its validity would actually permit any state to advance a claim to territory on the ground that its loss in the past had not been confirmed by an express approval of the owner. The effective establishment of the independence of a territory seems to supersede any previous connections. If the recognition of such independence was given by the Powers, even if the owner was not among them, the territory would be regarded as an independent sovereign state.

An Iranian writer, Mr. Malek Esmaili, in defending the claim of his country to sovereignty over Bahrayn,[17] cited the *Clipperton Island* case,[18] submitted by France and Mexico to the arbitration of the King of Italy in 1909, to prove his case. The following quotation from the arbitral award is given as pertinent:

> There is no reason to suppose that France has subsequently lost her right by *derelictio*, since she never had the *animus* of abandoning the island, and the fact that she has not exercised her authority there in a positive manner does not imply the forfeiture of an acquisition already definitively perfected.

Mr. Esmaili's case is weakened by the fact that Clipperton Island was an uninhabited territory. Further, Mexico failed to prove any actual exercise of sovereignty over it after it was discovered by France in 1858. Thus it was decided that the island must belong to France, since in the uninhab-

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 606.

[17] M. Malek Esmaili, *Le golfe persique et les îles de Bahrein* (Paris, 1936), pp. 200–204.

[18] See translation of the arbitral award in this JOURNAL, Vol. 26 (1932), pp. 390–394.

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ited character of the island "occupation" need not necessarily be more than the mere announcement of an intention to take possession and the continuous assertion of title.

In an inhabited territory such as the Bahrayn Islands the mere assertion of title by Iran could hardly be regarded as sufficient, if she failed to establish in the territory an organization capable of making its laws respected. For this reason, accordingly, the Bahrayn case would be analogous to the *Palmas*, rather than the *Clipperton*, case, in which the principle of "continuous and peaceful display of the functions of State" was deemed necessary to determine the title to a territory. "Territorial sovereignty," stated the Permanent Court of Arbitration in the *Palmas* award,[30] "involves the exclusive right to display the activities of a State" and that "without manifesting its territorial sovereignty in a manner corresponding to circumstances, the State cannot fulfill this duty." The same principle was asserted in the *Eastern Greenland* case[31] in which the Permanent Court of International Justice endorsed, in 1933, the principle of "the peaceful and continuous display of State authority" which the Permanent Court of Arbitration applied in 1928 in the *Palmas Island* decision.

The Iranian claim, lacking any valid legal ground, seems to depend, in the last analysis, merely on Iran's historical connections with the islands which have often been reiterated in its notes to the British Government. How significant this historical claim may be and whether it could confer title to sovereignty calls for a brief consideration.

### III. Iran's Historical Claim

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The early history of Bahrayn is obscure, but the islands have been inhabited from a very early time on account of the pearl fisheries. They witnessed a number of conquerors from the time of the Babylonians in antiquity to the proclamation of British protection in the nineteenth century.

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The Persians seem to have dominated the islands before the rise of Islam in the seventh century of the Christian era, but even before this time the Arabs had already migrated into the Persian Gulf coasts and settled in Bahrayn. The rise of Islam afforded a fresh opportunity for the Arabs to gain more permanent and complete control of the islands which lasted from the seventh to the opening of the sixteenth century.[32] From Arab rule the islands passed into the hands of the Portuguese at the opening of the six-

[30] Publication of the International Bureau of the Permanent Court of Arbitration (1928), reprinted in Scott, Hague Court Reports (second series), p. 84; also in this JOURNAL, Vol. 22 (1928), p. 867.

[31] Publications of the Permanent Court of International Justice, Series A/B, No. 53.

[32] Tabari, *Tarikh al-Rusul wa al-Muluk* (ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1879-1901), Series I, Vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, pp. 213, 745-747, 1830, 1923-1953.

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agencies or coaling depots in our territory, unless with the consent of the British Government. . . .

175 In 1892 this agreement was supplemented by another in which Shaykh Isa reluctantly accepted further limitations upon his powers. The text of the agreement of March 13, 1892,[34] is as follows:

> 1. That I [Shaykh Isa] will on no account enter into any agreement or correspondence with any Power other than the British Government.
> 2. That without the assent of the British Government, I will not consent to the residence within my territory of the agent of any other Government.
> 3. That I will on no account accede, sell, mortgage or otherwise give for occupation any part of my territory save to the British Government.

These two agreements seem to have placed the Bahrayn Islands under British protection by the Shaykh's acceptance of British advice in the conduct of foreign relations. When, in the following year, the Ottoman Porte claimed that the people of Bahrayn were regarded as Ottoman subjects within Ottoman territories and objected to British officials taking up the cases of Bahrayn subjects suffering from piracy, the British Government replied that Bahrayn was under "British protection."[35]

175 In 1900 a British Political Agency, subordinate to the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, was established in Bahrayn. In 1909 Shaykh Isa ● 648 agreed not to allow the establishment in Bahrayn of post offices by any foreign government other than the British. In 1914 Shaykh Isa agreed that he would not himself, nor would he allow any foreign interest to, exploit the oil resources of Bahrayn without the approval of the British Government.[36]

The foregoing treaty relations, often referred to as constituting "protection," have indeed touched upon matters beyond those normally covered in treaties between the protecting and the protected states. The Shaykhs of Bahrayn have not only given up some of their powers regarding the conduct of foreign relations—an action which is normal in international practice—but they have also alienated certain attributes of their internal sovereignty which would cast serious doubt as to whether Bahrayn is a *bona fide* protectorate. The status of Bahrayn, which constitutes a peculiar juridical position, is difficult to define in terms of modern international law; but this peculiarity raises the very issue whether Bahrayn's status, the legacy of various legal transactions made at a time when the Eastern World was outside the pale of international law, should be defined merely in terms of modern juridical rules.

## V. The Juridical Status of Bahrayn

646 Under the general principles of Muslim law the Bahrayn Islands, as Muslim territory, are regarded as part of the *Dar al-Islam* (dominion of

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 228.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 196.
[36] See text, *ibid.*, p. 229.

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Islam) and its ruler must owe allegiance to the Caliph, the supreme politico-religious head of the Muslims.[48] The Caliph, who derives his authority from the sacred law, is charged with the functions of maintaining the integrity of *Dar al-Islam* and the propagation and defense of the religion.[49] It follows, accordingly, that so long as there was a Caliph in evidence, all the Muslims owed allegiance to him and acknowledged his ultimate authority. The Bahrayn Islands, until the time of the abolition of the Caliphate, must be regarded as part of the Caliph's dominions. Even the Persian occupation might be regarded as a continuation of Islamic sovereignty, for the Persian Shah, whether he acknowledged the Caliph's overlordship or ruled as a rival Caliph, claimed to fulfill the same functions enjoined by the sacred law over both his country and Bahrayn.

Long before the opening of the nineteenth century, when Great Britain made her appearance in the Persian Gulf, the authority of the Caliph had declined and certain portions of his dominions had passed under foreign rule. The occupation of Muslim territories by non-Muslim Powers was never recognized by the Caliph and was regarded as an anomaly under Muslim law. It was tolerated only so long as Muslim power was not strong enough to restore these territories to the rule of the sacred law.[50]

The European Powers, on their part, when they came into contact with the Islamic world, were confronted with a civilization so different from their own that they found it more expedient to forget about their own system of international law in conducting their relations with Muslims and other Eastern people. It might have been possible to adjust the European system of international law to these lands by adopting certain rules and practices from Eastern laws. But in fact the disintegration of these Eastern societies had already gone too far to enable them to deal on a par with the European Powers.[51] In the circumstances, neither would Islam recognize Christian rule in its dominion, nor were the European Powers prepared at first to regard Eastern lands as falling under the pale of European international law. Thus the European jurists began to justify certain actions

[48] For a discussion on what constitutes an Islamic territory, see Abdur Rahim, The Principles of Muhammadan Jurisprudence (Madras, 1907), pp. 395–396; Majid Khadduri, The Law of War and Peace in Islam (London, 1941), pp. 19–20.

[49] See Sir Thomas Arnold, The Caliphate (Oxford, 1924), pp. 70–76; A. Santoury, *Le Califat* (Paris, 1926), pp. 3 ff.

[50] Even when the Ottoman Sultans ceded such territories as the Crimea (1774), Cyprus (1878), Egypt (1882), and Tripoli (1912), the "spiritual" authority of the Caliph was recognized by the Powers to continue over the Muslims who remained under foreign rule. See Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 163–182. This practice of the separation of the "spiritual" from the "secular" powers of the Caliph, which is not feasible in Muslim legal theory, was resorted to by the Ottoman Sultan in order to maintain sovereignty over lost Islamic territories. See C. A. Nallino, Notes on the Nature of the Caliphate in General and on the Alleged Ottoman Caliphate (Rome, 1919).

[51] See Majid Khadduri, "Islam and International Law," in Islamic Literature (January, 1951), Vol. III, pp. 19–31.

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● 648 or violations of international law in the East, which would never have been tolerated in Europe, on the ground that Eastern lands were never recognized by European nations.[40]

In the case of such dependent territories as Bahrayn and other Eastern protectorates, the jurists distinguished between a civilized protectorate of the type recognized by international law and an Eastern "protected state" by a European Power. In the former the protecting state assumes the duty of protecting the smaller or weaker state by undertaking the conduct of its external relations, but it is understood that the attributes of its internal sovereignty are left intact so long as the freedom of action of its government does not involve it with a foreign Power. In the case of Eastern "protected states" the protecting Power, in addition to its right to control foreign relations, is entitled, as stated by the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885, to the right of administering justice over subjects of other civilized states, and, by the General Act of the Brussels Conference of 1890, the right of organizing "the administration, judicial, religious and military services in the African territories placed under the sovereignty or protectorate of civilized nations."[41]

While the British practices with regard to the powers exercised in various Eastern protectorates differed radically, they were usually distinguished by two features. First, Britain maintained a certain measure of independence, which varied from that of Oman to that of the Protectorate of Aden. In the case of Oman, its Sultan has retained his internal sovereignty and has not given up any essential rights of external sovereignty, while in the case of Aden very few powers, if any, have been left to its people. Secondly, Britain does not intend to annex these territories to its empire, but rather has found it more expedient to maintain the ruling families or tribal chiefs to exercise control over their people than to assume full control of the internal administration. Britain's chief interest in extending her influence to such areas as the Persian Gulf, Zanzibar, or the Malay Islands, seems to be primarily to prevent other rival Powers from extending their influence and hence to threaten her commercial or strategic interests.

[40] "The conquest of Algeria by France," says Lorimer, "was not regarded as a violation of international law. It was an act of discipline which the bystander was entitled to exercise in the absence of the police; and the justification for the present interference of France in Tunis and our own in Egypt, must be sought in the extremely rudimentary character which still belongs to what is beginning to be called the European Concert." (James Lorimer, Institutes of the Law of Nations (Edinburgh, 1884), Vol. II, pp. 180–181.)

[41] In the same convention it was also provided that the protecting states were entitled to establish stations, roads, railways, inland steam navigation, telegraph lines, and the maintenance of restrictions on the importations of firearms and ammunition. See W. E. Hall, A Treatise on the Foreign Powers and Jurisdiction of the British Crown (Oxford, 1894), pp. 204–207.

7:Khadduri S-4 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



Professor Robbins, in his discussion on the status of Aden, uses the very convenient term "colonial protectorates" which he applied to Aden and similar Asiatic protectorates. Such territories are administered as part of the British Empire and can hardly be distinguished from colonies. Professor Robbins goes on to argue that international law recognizes only real, not colonial, protectorates, and, as such, a colonial protectorate has no international status.[42] While this term might answer the question with regard to the status of Aden Protectorate, it is doubtful whether it could define with any precision the status of Bahrayn. The Shaykh of this territory has often been referred to in his treaty relations with Britain as an independent ruler, and it is said that his country is under British protection; in the meantime his sovereign rights have been alienated beyond the conduct of foreign relations. The ruler of Bahrayn, as well as those of Oman and Kuwayt, have full control over the native administration, though they have been persuaded in the meantime to accept British advice.

It would seem that, under the foreign jurisdiction of the British Crown, the Eastern protectorates, while they are regarded as "protected states" from an international standpoint, are treated as under "tutelage" from the British constitutional standpoint. This Western concept of tutelage would satisfy Islamic law since it implies ultimate emancipation from foreign rule which is permitted under Islamic law only under *force majeure*.

It is to be noted that this concept seems to imply the principle of the Mandate System adopted by the League of Nations under Article 22 of its Covenant and of the new Trusteeship System, which is designed to replace the Mandate, under the Charter of the United Nations. Both systems are regarded as temporary, which fits the Muslim expectation of emancipation, when the territories are able to "stand alone." The period of tutelage, however, whether administered under the aegis of an international organization, or directly under Britain, is indefinite. Should this tutelage come to an end the Bahrayn Islands, under the new national life of the Islamic countries which has replaced the Caliphate, would then be free to choose whether they would join any union with the neighboring Arab countries, such as the Arab League, or remain independent. Turkey, as one of the successor states to the Ottoman Caliphate, cannot claim sovereignty over Bahrayn, should Britain decide to withdraw, since Turkey has given up all its sovereign rights over Arab lands under Article 16 of the Treaty of Lausanne of July 24, 1923.

[42] Robert R. Robbins, "The Legal Status of Aden Colony and the Aden Protectorate," this JOURNAL, Vol. 33 (1939), pp. 714–715.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



641 563 The Jews have lived in the country in comparative peace and security for centuries. Their position was clear and definite. As non-Muslims they were outside the pale of the law and could not participate fully in the life of the community; but as "People of the Book" they were a *dhimma*, a protected community. In civil matters they enjoyed the same legal rights as all other Bahrain subjects. Here again social lines of demarcation were drawn on a religious basis.

563 578 798 With the appearance of the Palestine problem the position of this small minority became progressively more precarious. Today the Jews are socially ostracized and economically boycotted, and there have been instances where physical violence has been employed against them. The local press of Bahrain is replete with references to Bahraini Jews, the Jews in general, and to Israel. Such references include, among other things, threats to publish the names of those who associate with Jews in Bahrain or buy from them, references to the United Nations as a Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world, and editorial protests to the government against allowing allegedly Israeli airlines to land in Bahrain, or against radio-communications with Israel.[10]

648 439 The government of Bahrain has no official policy of enmity toward Israel as have the other Arab states. Commercial traffic is not prohibited with Israel or with the Jews as a whole, but in practice it is virtually so. This boycott is due in part to social pressure and in part to the fact that a large part of the goods imported into Bahrain is re-exported to Saudi Arabia, a country which has strict regulations against traffic with Jews.

167 563 Owing to their present position, the Jews are the only native community whose interests and aspirations are at complete variance with those of the native population. It is a matter of public knowledge that many of them have either left or are in the process of leaving the country to start a new life in Israel, the United States, or Europe.

## *THE PERSIANS AND THE INDIANS*

162 563 The two major foreign elements in the country are the Persians and the Indians.[11] Their social status and relations with the native population are determined primarily by psychological, political, and economic factors rather than by religion or tribal loyalties.

563 162 648 The Persians are the largest foreign group, but it should be noted that they are foreigners in the legal and political sense only, for they are as much a part of the scene as the legal citizens of the country. Iran has had a long and checkered association with the islands going back to pre-Islamic times. At one period, the islands were directly controlled by it, and as late

[10] See any number of *al-Qafilah*, a weekly newspaper, or *Sawt al-Bahrain*, a monthly magazine. Both are published in Bahrain in Arabic.

[11] As used in this paper, the term "Indians" includes Indians, Pakistanis, Anglo-Indians, and Goanese.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



as the 19th century even the British recognized that Iran had some rights in Bahrain. The Iranian government has never relinquished its claims to the islands, a fact which has had a direct bearing on the position of the Persian community.

Under these favorable circumstances, Persians have been able until recently to move in and out of Bahrain without hindrance or restriction. Over the centuries a prosperous community developed, made up mostly of merchants, so that today some of the wealthiest inhabitants of Manamah are Persians. Generally speaking, this community is more enterprising, better educated, and has a higher standard of living than the local inhabitants of the land. But although the Persians grew prosperous and acquired property in houses and some land, their hearts were never in Bahrain — they were across the Gulf in the mother country. Bahrain is regarded by the Persians as an outpost for commercial activity but not for permanent settlement.

The Persians are resented by both the Arab inhabitants and the British. They are resented by the Arabs because they constitute a foreign community which is somewhat aloof from the rest of the population; in part, also, because of envy of their general prosperity and because they are regarded as interlopers who are taking the wealth of the country away. Two other serious objections to them are that they are Shi'is by religion and tend to look toward Iran rather than the Arab world for political association.

As for the British, they resent them for numerous reasons. In almost every way they constitute a threat, minor and insignificant though it may be, to the consolidation of their position in the shaykhdom. This is especially true since Bahrain has become the chief base for British naval, air, and political activity in the Persian Gulf. Specifically, the British resent the Persian community because it has always opposed what it regards as the "Indianization" policies of the British in Bahrain. It has played the double role of an opposition party and a fifth column. The recent difficulties of the British government and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Iran brought the problem of Anglo-Iranian relations to a sharp focus. The situation has constituted a threat to British prestige in the Gulf. In Bahrain Mosaddaq was regarded as a liberator — in the early part of 1953 pictures of him could be seen in many shops in Manamah.

The policies of the government of Bahrain have been detrimental to the position of the Persian community. In 1927 visas for entry to Bahrain became required of Persian subjects. In December of the same year a land registry office was established and a decree passed requiring that all land be registered; it also stipulated that only Bahrain subjects could own real property. With the passage of the decree a good many Persians had only two alternatives: either to acquire Bahrain citizenship, which many of them

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



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did, or sell out and return to the mother country. Those who remained are engaged either in trade or employed by the oil company or some other business establishment. In the last few years the government has been refusing to grant citizenship to Persian residents even though they may legally qualify.[12]

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The Indians, the second largest foreign community, are in a certain sense in a position similar to that of the Persians. Bahrain, like other principalities in the Persian Gulf, has had a long association with the subcontinent through trade. In 1913, when the Bahrain Order-in-Council was passed, the country became administratively subject to the jurisdiction of the Governor-General of India.

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The Indians constitute a prosperous and fairly well educated community. Some are engaged in trade on a big scale or as petty merchants. The rest — and they are the majority — are employed either by the government, the oil company, the British military and civil establishment, or other foreign business concerns in the country. They work mostly as clerks, foremen, cooks, waiters, and domestic servants.

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Various explanations have been made as to why Indians are employed in such large numbers in preference to local Bahrainis or persons from other nationalities. In the first place, Bahrain does not have enough young men with a minimum of education and clerical or industrial training to fill these positions. Secondly, in view of British policy to tie Bahrain to India, it was only natural to look to it for the necessary labor supply. Furthermore, India could supply labor well trained by the British and used to their ways. Finally, Indian labor could be obtained at a lower rate than equally skilled labor from other countries.

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The status of Indians is a rather peculiar one, for they live in a social zone all by themselves. They are resented by the native population and accepted only as subordinates by Westerners, with whom they would like to associate and with whom they would like to be classified. This is true especially of the clerical and professional group among them.

The causes of Bahraini resentment against them are psychological and economic in nature. In the first place, they constitute a community which is definitely foreign and makes a point of it, and in some respects looks down on the local population. This is especially the case among the white-collar workers.

Secondly, on the whole, the Indian community wields power far beyond its number. The people in Bahrain see Indians in government and business establishments and develop the feeling that they are being governed by them along with the British.

In the third place, clerical positions occupied by Indians and other for-

[12] *Census 1950*, p. 6.

14: Liebesny G-4 (no date)1947 MI Middle East MJ
Bahrain M22



ME 648

The treaties which provide the legal basis for Britain's position place the native states virtually under British protection. The over-all direction of British relations with the various local rulers is put in the hands of the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, who has had his seat on the Iranian side at Bushire, but was recently reported to have moved to Bahrein. Under him serve so-called Political Agents stationed in the various states. Administratively the Political Residency has been subordinated to the Government of India; its officials have belonged to the Indian Political Service and basic policy with regard to the Persian Gulf states has been determined by the India Office. The profound change in the status of India which is about to take place and the probable dissolution of the Indian Civil Service in the not distant future will necessitate a new affiliation for the British political service in the Persian Gulf. Should it be taken over by the Colonial Office, it would mean the final unification of British administrative direction in the dependent areas of the Arabian Peninsula.

*Bahrein.* Since the abandonment of Basra as a British naval base in 1935 and the creation of a new base on Bahrein Island, the latter has become the strategic center for Britain's position in the Gulf. It is the seat not only of the Political Resident, but also of the Political Agent for Bahrein, the Assistant Political Agent, the Political Officer for the Trucial Coast, and the Publicity Officer in the Persian Gulf. These British officials are to be distinguished from the technical advisers of the Sheikh, who are also British subjects but are not subordinated to the Persian Gulf Residency, being state servants of Bahrein. Chief among them are the Political Adviser to the Government of Bahrein, the Collector of Customs, the State Engineer, and the Superintendent of Schools.

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Treaty relations with the Sheikh of Bahrein were first established by the East India Company in 1820. The present relationship is based upon agreements of December 22, 1880, and March 13, 1892, by which the Sheikh bound himself not to enter into any relationship with a foreign government other than the British without the latter's consent. He further promised not to dispose of any part of his territory to anyone except the British Government. As a result of these stipulations, which are very close to

14: Liebesny G-4 (no date)1947 MI Middle East
Bahrain MZ 2



●648 those contained in the treaties with Protectorate rulers, the foreign relations of Bahrein were brought under full British control. The treaties with Bahrein do not contain any clause expressly extending British protection to the country; nevertheless, Bahrein can be regarded as a British-protected state enjoying a large degree of internal autonomy.[16]

648 471 It is characteristic of British relations with this and other Persian Gulf states that the British Government by agreement reserves for itself the final decision with regard to the exploitation of the natural resources of the country, especially pearl fisheries and oil. Thus in a letter written in 1911, the Sheikh promised not to grant any pearling concessions without British consent. As far as oil deposits are concerned, the Sheikh undertook in a letter of May 14, 1914, not to exploit any possible oil deposits himself or to "entertain overtures from any quarter regarding that (i.e. the oil deposits) without consulting the Political Agent in Bahrein and without approval of the High Government."

An oil concession in Bahrein was acquired originally by a British company. When it became apparent that the concession would pass into American hands, the Colonial Office objected to the control of Bahrein's oil resources by foreign interests. In a note of March 28, 1929, the U. S. Department of State, following its traditional policy of insisting upon equal opportunity for American interests, asked the British Government for a statement of its policies with regard to foreign oil concessions in Bahrein and in territories with a similar status. The British Government subsequently agreed to the participation of American interests in the concession in Bahrein; but it did not make any general statement of policy, declaring that each case would have to be considered on its individual merits.[17] The Bahrein concession is owned at present by Standard Oil of California and the Texas Company through a jointly-owned subsidiary, the Bahrein Petroleum Company. This subsidiary is registered in Canada, and is thus legally located within the British Empire. The Bahrein case

[16] See the note of Sir Austen Chamberlain to the Persian Minister in London, January 15, 1928, where Bahrein is referred to as being under British protection. League of Nations, *Official Journal*, 1928, p. 607.

[17] Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States* (1929), vol. 3, pp. 80–82.

14: Liebesny G-4 (no date)1947 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2



shows the practical effect of the Sheikh's undertaking with regard to his country's petroleum resources, and the controlling influence acquired by the British Government in any decision affecting this important source of national wealth.

The position of Bahrein as an independent sheikhdom under British protection has been challenged repeatedly by the Iranian Government, which claims sovereignty over the islands on historical grounds. Protests have been made to the British Government intermittently since 1829, and have been as often repudiated. The most extensive airing of the dispute took place between 1927 and 1930, when Iran protested against Article 6 of the Treaty of Jidda concluded in 1927 between Great Britain and Saudi Arabia. There Bahrein had been referred to as a state in special treaty relations with the British Government. In a lengthy exchange of notes both governments set forth their points of view. Iran claimed that Bahrein had been under its unchallenged sovereignty before the British intervened, and that Iranian sovereignty over the islands had been recognized by Lord Clarendon, the British Foreign Secretary, in 1869. This claim was denied in the British notes, which stated that the Sheikh of Bahrein had on various occasions during the first half of the nineteenth century professed only "an unwilling allegiance" to the Ottoman Empire, Persia, and various Arab countries, and that often conflicting claims to sovereignty over Bahrein had been put forward in the course of time by a number of countries. Britain denied that Lord Clarendon had ever recognized the Iranian claim.

Iran forwarded its original note of protest to the League of Nations under Article 10 of the Covenant; all subsequent notes were likewise sent to the Secretary-General of the League. However, the League took no action in the conflict and no settlement was ever reached.[18] Iran again asserted its position when it protested to the U. S. Government in 1933 against the Sheikh's grant of an oil concession to an American company, stating that it

[18] The various notes exchanged in this dispute are reprinted in the *Official Journal* of the League of Nations; a brief account of the question is contained in A. J. Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs*, 1934 (London, 1935), pp. 221–24; a treatment from the Iranian point of view is found in Malek Esmaili, *Le golfe persique et les isles de Bahrein* (Paris, 1936).

14: Liebesny G-4 (no date)1947 MI Middle East
Bahrain M22
Kuwait MI1



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648 regarded the concession as null and void since it was granted by
471 authorities who had no right to do so. Iran also reserved the right to claim all profits from the concession, and possible damages. The U. S. Government apparently did not reply to this note. Likewise, when Bahrein was bombed by Italian planes in October 1940, Iran, which was then neutral, protested to Italy against this alleged violation of its territory. The Iranian claim was brought up again in 1946 when it seems to have found some support in the Russian press.

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648 The dispute regarding the sovereignty over Bahrein is one of those territorial disputes, not uncommon in Asia, in which one party bases its claims on historical arguments dating back several centuries; but it is doubtful whether the yardstick of Western international law and its definition of sovereignty and undisturbed possession can be applied at all to the situation prevailing in the Persian Gulf in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries. It is likely that the relationship between the large Eastern empires and the small tribal sheikhdoms was one of suzerainty rather than sovereignty, and that allegiances shifted fairly rapidly. However, it has to be noted that the Iranian claim has never been settled. Should other historical claims based on similarly remote evidence find a sympathetic hearing either at the peace table or in the United Nations, Iran may be expected to advance its grievances again.

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648 *Kuwait.* The legal position of Kuwait is very similar to that of
471 Bahrein. A treaty along the same lines as that concluded with Bahrein was entered into by the Sheikh of Kuwait on January 23, 1899. A Political Agent for Kuwait was first appointed in 1904. As in Bahrein, the British Government has reserved for itself control over the exploitation of Kuwait's natural resources. In a letter of July 29, 1911, the Sheikh promised not to grant any pearling concession without British consent. By a note of October 27, 1913, he likewise agreed not to grant oil concessions "to anybody except a person appointed from the British government."

The Sheikh of Kuwait remained loyal to the British Government when Turkey entered World War I on the side of the Central Powers. In return for this loyalty, the British in a note of

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN MZ 2

# 11

# Bahrain

## GEOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

619 Bahrain is an independent sheikhdom, 131 comprising a small group of islands at the entrance to the Gulf of Bahrain, between the Hasa coast of Saudi Arabia and the peninsula of Qatar. Famous since ancient times as the center of the Persian Gulf pearling industry, the islands have attained new prominence within recent years as a link in the chain of oil fields stretching from Qatar to central Iraq. The Sheikhdom has 648 had protective treaty relations with Great Britain since 1880, and the headquarters of the British Political Resident for the Persian Gulf area are established on Bahrain Island.

131 The archipelago consists of 5 main islands, besides several small islets, which have an aggregate area of about 210 to 225 square miles. Bahrain, the principal island, is approximately 27 miles in length and 10 133 miles in width. A narrow belt of luxuriant date gardens, supported by abundant fresh-water springs and wells, rims the northern end of the island, but the remainder is mostly barren desert. Rocky hills rise to an elevation of about 450 feet along the central ridge, Jabal ad Dukhan, while sandy wastes, broken by salt marshes, stretch toward the south.

131 Muharraq, a horseshoe-shaped sandy island, with an area of 5 to 6 square miles, is second in size and in importance. It lies northeast of Bahrain, and is separated from [491] the larger island by a narrow channel which is bridged by a 2-mile causeway, constructed in 1941. Chief among the other inhabited islands are Sitra and Nabbi Sālih, offshore to the east, and Umm Na'san, to the west

p. 255(A)

744 the Bahrain government in 1948, and transferred to the Public Health Department in 1951. There are no local health services, but constituted municipal authorities in Manama, Muharraq and Hedd oversee the sanitation in their respective towns.

744 L48 A quarantine medical officer is attached to the headquarters staff of the British Resident for the Persian Gulf at Bahrain. He advises with the different local governments and supervises the conduct of international quarantine regulations in the Persian Gulf area.

747 743 The Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church of America supports hospitals for men and women at Manama, and carries on an active medical program among the people of the islands. The Bahrain Petroleum Company maintains a hospital and dispensaries for the benefit of its Bahraini and other personnel, and co-operates with the government medical services in its mosquito control campaign. A Persian Gulf Medical Society was organized at Bahrain in 1945 for the interchange of information among the doctors in the region.

### Medical Institutions

743 **Hospitals and Dispensaries.** In 1951, the government medical service operated 2 general hospitals at Manama—a hospital for men, with a capacity of 60 beds, and a separate unit for women, with a capacity of 54 beds. It also maintained isolation hospitals for men and women, with 12 and 16 beds, respectively; a tuberculosis hospital for men with 13 beds; a mental hospital with accommodations for 25 men and women; and, on one of the islands, a quarantine hospital which had 20 permanent beds and facilities for expansion in case of need. Women's clinics were conducted at Muharraq and Hedd: the former had 16 beds for maternity cases and the latter, 3 beds. In addition to the clinic services connected with the general hospitals, dispensaries were established for men at Muharraq, Hedd, Sitra, Karzakkan and West Rafaa, and for women at East Rafaa,

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 MI Middle East
Bahrein MZ2



651 The British protectorates in the Persian Gulf present still
185 another situation, and because of that the results of the development of these territories are different from those in Iraq and Iran as well as in Saudi Arabia. While in theory the sheikhdoms of Bahrein, Kuwait and Qatar are nominally independent, they are far from sovereign and are subject in different degrees and by different methods to British guidance and authority. While all three have become increasingly dependent on oil revenue for almost their entire governmental budget, the disposal of the revenue is subject to British control, exercised sometimes openly, sometimes subtly, and in consequence a good portion of the income has been used for the economic development of the territories. It should be underlined that this has been primarily due to the efforts and determination of outsiders rather than to the wisdom and foresight of the native rulers.

### *Bahrein*

000 The sheikhdom of Bahrein is composed of a group of islands in the Persian Gulf, situated about fifteen miles off the coast of Saudi Arabia between the province of al Hasa and the Qatar peninsula. The capital, Manama, is on the main island; the second largest island is Muharraq. The islands, with a population estimated at 120,000 are ruled by the al Khalifah family. The traditional economic sources of income were pearling at Muharraq and trading for the Arabian mainland at the port of Manama.

648 Since December 2, 1880 the sheikhdom has been a British protectorate; on that date the Sheikh of Bahrein signed an agreement in which he declared: "I Isa Bin Ali Al Khalifah, Chief of Bahrein, hereby bind myself and successors in the Government of Bahrein to the British Government to abstain from entering into negotiations or making treaties of any sort with any State or Government other than the British without the consent of the said British Government, and to refuse permission to any other Government than the British to establish diplomatic or consular agencies or coaling depots in our territory, unless with the consent of the British Government."[1]

[1] Abbas Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands (750-1951)*, (New York, 1951), 23. This was confirmed by a subsequent agreement on Mar. 13, 1892. *Ibid.*, 123-124.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 MI Middle East
Bahrein MZ24



In 1910 geologists of the British Indian Survey discovered seepages of oil in Bahrein. Coming as it did after the successful discovery of oil in Persia and the organization of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, there was apparently considerable discussion of oil possibilities in Bahrein. The British pressed the Sheikh for a definite commitment not to permit the exploitation of oil by non-British concerns. On May 14, 1914 the Sheikh wrote the British Political Agent in Bahrein that he would not himself embark on the exploitation of oil in his territory, nor would he entertain overtures regarding such exploitation from any quarters without consulting the British Political Agent and without the approval of the British Government.[2]

Oil, however, was not discovered. In the early 'twenties Major Frank Holmes, representing the Eastern and General Syndicate, was seeking oil concessions in the Persian Gulf area, and as noted above, succeeded in 1924 in obtaining a concession from Ibn Saud in the al Hasa province. On December 2, 1925 Holmes acquired from the Sheikh of Bahrein for his British syndicate an exclusive oil exploitation concession over an area of about 100,000 acres. It was provided that if the concession rights were not exercised within four years, it would lapse. The Syndicate tried to interest British concerns in the concession, but without success.[3] At the end of November 1927 the Eastern Gulf Oil Company, a subsidiary of the American Gulf Oil Corporation, entered into an option contract to purchase the Syndicate's rights in Bahrein, and was given until January 1, 1929 to exercise its option. Gulf, at the time a member of the American group in the Turkish Petroleum Company, had in the meanwhile signed the Red Line Agreement which covered the Bahrein islands, and the Board of Directors of the Turkish Petroleum Company ruled that for Gulf to exercise its option would be a violation of Article 10 of the Agreement.[4] On December 21, 1928 Gulf, with the con-

[2] *Ibid.*, 124.

[3] The following comments from two different directions are interesting: British—"American interests were first engaged almost fortuitously when oil was struck on the Manama Island of Bahrein, after British prospects had failed. The successful company is the one which has subsequently extended its activities to the great Saudi Arabian oil fields." "The Persian Gulf—A Romance," *The Round Table*, XXXIX, 134, Mar., 1949. American—"It was our good luck that the British failed to discover oil which we later found in great abundance." Harold L. Ickes, "We're Running Out of Oil." *The American*, 84, Jan., 1944.

[4] See above, Chap. XI.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 Ml Middle East
Bahrein MZ 2



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sent of the British Syndicate, transferred its rights to the Standard Oil Company of California for $50,000.[5]

Under the option contract, the Syndicate was to have secured from the British Colonial Office a one-year renewal of the concession. When the Colonial Office was approached, it made the renewal contingent on the insertion in the concession agreement of the British Nationality Clause, which provided that the managing director and a majority of the other directors of the company must be British subjects, that the concessionaire company must be British-registered, and that none of the rights and privileges which the Sheikh had granted in the concession must be controlled directly or indirectly by foreigners. To this the United States Government took serious objection, for such a provision would have meant the absolute exclusion of Americans from holding or operating the concession, which was contrary to the American Open Door policy. On March 28, 1929 the Secretary of State instructed the American Chargé d'Affaires in London to discuss the Bahrein concession question informally with the proper authorities. The legal difficulty involved, so far as the American claims were concerned, was the status of the concession; the legal owner was the British Syndicate and the negotiations between the Colonial Office and the Syndicate were purely British affairs, and the position of the American Government was not legally clear. The British Foreign Office replied on May 30 that it had no objection in principle to American participation in the concession, subject to the British Government being satisfied as to the conditions under which American capital would participate, and particularly as to the nationality of the operating company, its chairman and director and the personnel employed on the islands. The British Government suggested that since the Eastern and General Syndicate was still the existing concessionaire, the Syndicate should negotiate with the Colonial Office.[6]

[5] U. S. Senate, *International Petroleum Cartel*, 71-72; United States, Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1929*, III, 80, henceforth cited *Foreign Relations* and year; Duce, *Middle East Oil Developments*, 8, 10; Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 103-104; United States Senate, *American Petroleum Interests in Foreign Countries*, 318. In March 1926 the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. was ready to take over the concession from Holmes, but in April it advised that its geologists in the area had reported unfavorably and that it was therefore no longer interested. E. DeGolyer, "The Oil Fields of the Middle East," in *Problems of the Middle East*, 77; Sanger, *The Arabian Peninsula*, 100.

[6] *Foreign Relations 1929*, III, 80-81.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrein MZ21



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Negotiations between the Colonial Office and the Syndicate were carried on for about a year and a half. On June 12, 1930 the Syndicate signed an agreement with the Sheikh, and transferred it to the Bahrein Petroleum Company, a Canadian subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company of California. The major provisions of the agreement were: The Bahrein Petroleum Company must remain a British company; one of the directors must be a British subject and *persona grata* to the British Government; the Company's chief local representative must be approved by the British Government and all communications with the Sheikh must be through him and the Political Agent; as many of the employees as was consistent with efficiency must be subjects of Britain and Bahrein.[7]

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Standard of California immediately sent out geologists and drillers. On May 31, 1932 the first commercially-producing well was brought in. Drilling was continued, tanks were built, and in December 1934 the first tanker load of Bahrein oil entered the world market. By 1935 there were sixteen producing wells.

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Standard of California, searching for markets for its increased production of crude, and with the anticipated output from Saudi Arabia, sold one-half of its Bahrein concession to the Texas Oil Company for a half share in the latter's numerous marketing facilities east of Suez. A new company registered in the Bahamas, the California-Texas Company (Caltex), was organized for the purpose of conducting Bahrein's marketing operations.[8]

In June 1940 the Bahrein Petroleum Company (Bapco) received an extension of its concession covering all the lands and other areas under the jurisdiction of the Sheikh, an area of some 1,644,000 acres,[9] for a period of fifty-five years from June 19, 1944.

[7] DeGolyer, *loc. cit.*, 77-79; *Foreign Relations 1932*, II, 5. The British backed down from some of their previous demands but insisted on some of the others. The State Department apparently considered this achievement a victory for American interests and claimed credit for it. In its memorandum to the Senate Special Committee Investigating Petroleum Resources, the Department declared: "Here again the prompt and positive action of the State Department has secured results favorable to an American-owned company. By securing the entry of American oil interests into Bahrein, the way was paved for some American interests to obtain concessions in nearby Arabia." U. S. Senate, *American Petroleum Interests in Foreign Countries*, 23-24.

[8] U. S. Senate, *International Petroleum Cartel*, 79; Chap. XI above.

[9] Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 111; Sanger, *The Arabian Peninsula*, 147. DeGolyer was of the opinion that the Sheikh delayed granting the extended concession because of the efforts of Holmes in 1937, when he reappeared in Bahrein

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955. Ml Middle East
Bahrein MZ2



*Royalties*

471 The original concession called for 3 1/2 rupees per ton of
648 crude oil produced. This was equivalent to 14 cents per barrel, or $1.05 per ton, before the devaluation of the rupee in September 1949.[12] After the devaluation, and because of the general demands for higher royalties throughout the Persian Gulf region, Bapco increased the royalty to the Bahrein Government from 3 1/2 rupees to 10 rupees, approximately 29 cents per barrel, or about $2.10 per ton, effective as of January 1, 1950. In 1951 another supplemental agreement increased payments by an annual lump sum, and the following year, in line with the general tendency in the area, a 50/50 profit-sharing of net income from production and sale of oil was agreed on, effective as of January 1, 1952.[13]

651 The following table gives an approximate picture of the steady increase in royalties.

Table XIII. *Royalty Payments to Bahrein (selected years)*

| *Year* | *In Dollars* |
|---|---|
| 1933 | 8,800 |
| 1938 | 395,000 |
| 1940 | 1,000,000 |
| 1945 | 780,000 |
| 1946 | 1,200,000 |
| 1948 | 1,508,876 |
| 1949 | 1,500,000 |
| 1950 | 3,300,000 |
| 1951 | 3,800,000 |
| 1952 | 6,300,000 |
| 1953 | 6,500,000 |
| 1954 | 8,100,000[14] |

*Special Committee Investigating Petroleum Resources* (Washington, 1946), 40; U.N., *Summary 1950-1951*, 22; George P. Stevens, "Saudi Arabia's Petroleum Resources," *Economic Geography*, XXV, 221, July, 1949; Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 43; *Le Commerce du Levant*, Oct. 15, 1954; DeGolyer and MacNaughton, *Twentieth Century Petroleum Statistics 1954*, 9; *World Oil*, CXL, 198, Feb. 15, 1955.

[12] U.N., *Summary 1950-51*, 37;—*Review 1951-52*, 61. Faroughy stated that royalty was 3 rupees and 8 annas plus one shilling per ton, *The Bahrein Islands*, 45. Adamiyat, who follows Faroughy closely, also gives the royalty as 3½ rupees and one shilling. Fereydoun Adamiyat, *Bahrein Islands. A Legal and Diplomatic Study of the British-Iranian Controversy* (New York, 1955), 200.

[13] U.N., *Summary 1950-51*, 37-38;—*Review 1951-52*, 61; Adamiyat, *Bahrein Islands*, 200; Economic Cooperation Administration, Special Mission to the United Kingdom, *The Sterling Area. An American Analysis*, 409.

[14] J.H.D.B., "Oil and Bahrein," *The World Today*, VII, 77, Feb., 1951; U.N.,

S 648 with local rulers. These treaties place the native states virtually under British protection. The over-all direction of British relations with the various local countries is in the hands of the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, who has his seat in Bushire on the Persian side of the gulf, and fulfills also the function of British Consul General in Bushire. Under him serve so-called Political Agents who are stationed in the various states on the Arabian side of the gulf. Administratively, the Political Residency is subordinated to the Government of India and its officials belong to the Indian Political Service. The basic British policy with regard to the Persian Gulf states is therefore determined by the India Office and not by the Colonial Office.

2. Relations with the Individual States.

B 648 [712] a. Bahrein. The British position in Bahrein is stronger than anywhere else in the gulf area. After the abandonment of Basra, in Iraq, as a British naval base in 1935, a new base was established on Bahrein Island. From the British standpoint the island is thus the strategic center for their position in the gulf. Treaty relations with the Sheikh of Bahrein were first established by the East India Company in 1820. The present relationship is based upon agreements of 22 December 1880 and 13 March 1892. (18) By these instruments the

18. India, Foreign and Political Department, A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries, edited by C. U. Aitchison, vol. 11, Delhi, 1933 (quoted in the following as Aitchison), pp. 237-39.

Sheikh bound himself not to enter, without British consent, into any relationship with a foreign government other than the British. He further promised not to dispose of any part of his territory to anybody except the British government. As a result of these stipulations, which are very close to those contained in the treaties with Protectorate rulers, the foreign relations of Bahrein were brought under full British control. The treaties with Bahrein do not contain any clause expressly extending British protection to the country. Nevertheless, Bahrein can be regarded as a British-protected state enjoying a large degree of

B 648 642

648 internal autonomy. (19)
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19. Cf. the note of Sir Austen Chamberlain to the Persian Minister in London, 15 January 1928, where Bahrein is referred to as being under British protection; League of Nations, Official Journal, 1928, p. 607.

It is further characteristic of the British relations with this and other Persian Gulf states that the British Government has reserved for itself by agreement the final decision with regard to the exploitation of the natural resources of the country, especially pearl
471 fisheries and oil. In a letter written in 1911 the Sheikh promised not
648 to give out any pearling concession without British consent. As far as oil deposits are concerned, the Sheikh undertook in a letter of 14 May 1914 not to exploit any possible oil deposits himself or to "entertain overtures from any quarter regarding the /i.e, the oil deposits/ without consulting the Political Agent in Bahrein and without approval of the High Government." With British consent a concession was actually granted to American oil interests in 1930. The Bahrein Petroleum Company was then formed which is at present owned by the Standard Oil Company of California and the Texas Oil Company.

Bahrein is the seat of the Political Agent for Bahrein, the
648 Assistant Political Agent, the Political Officer for the Trucial Coast, and the Publicity Officer in the Persian Gulf. From these British officials one has to distinguish the technical advisers of the Sheikh who are also British subjects but are not subordinated to the Persian Gulf Residency. They are state servants of Bahrein. Chief among them are the Political Adviser to the Government of Bahrein, the Collector of Customs, the State Engineer, and the Superintendent of Schools.

The position of Bahrein as an independent sheikdom under British protection has been challenged repeatedly by the Iranian government which claims sovereignty over the islands on historical grounds. Protests have been made to the British government intermittently since 1820. A lengthy exchange of notes between the two governments took place when in 1927 Iran protested against Article 6 of the Treaty of Jidda of 1927. There Bahrein had been referred to as a state in special treaty relations with the British government. Great Britain rejected Iran's claim and repudiated also the contention that Iranian sovereignty over the islands had been conceded by Lord Clarendon in

B 648 1869. The Iranian government, however, maintained its standpoint and, when the oil concession in Bahrein was granted to an American company, launched a protest with the American government. (20)

20. A brief account of this question is given in A. J. Toynbee, Survey of International Affairs, 1934, London, 1935, pp. 221-24. The documents exchanged in the course of the discussion are collected in an appendix to Malek Esmaili (Azizollah), Le golfe persique et les isles de Bahrein, Paris, 1986, pp. 231-64.

B [21] Likewise, when Bahrein was bombed by Italian planes in October 1940 Iran, which was then neutral, protested to Italy against this alleged violation of its territory. Though the issue can at present be regarded as dormant, it is not settled and might thus be brought up again if the Iranian government feels that the time is opportune for such action.

K 648 b. Kuwait. The legal position of Kuwait is very similar to that of Bahrein. A treaty along the same lines as those concluded with Bahrein was entered into the Sheikh of Kuwait on 23 January 1899. (21) A Political Agent for Kuwait was first appointed in 1904.

21. The engagements concerning Kuwait which are discussed here may be found in Aitchison, pp. 262-65.

K 648 471 As in Bahrein, the British Government has reserved for itself control over the exploitation of Kuwait's natural resources. In a letter of 29 July 1911 the Sheikh promised not to grant any pearling concession without British consent. By a note of 27 October 1913 he agreed not to grant oil concessions "to anybody except a person appointed from the British government." An oil concession was granted to the Kuwait Oil Company, which is jointly owned by the Gulf Oil Corporation and the d'Arcy Exploration Company Ltd., which in turn is a subsidiary of the Anglo Iranian Oil Company Ltd.

K 648 In the first World War the Sheikh of Kuwait remained loyal to the British government after Turkey had entered the war on the side

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



## GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

The rule of the Sheikh, which is personal, is directly exerted over the part of Bahrein adjacent to Manāmah, and over the island of Muharraq, where he resides except during the four hottest months of the year. His authority over the rest of the principality is little more than nominal, for the land is divided among various relatives of his own who hold it as almost independent fiefs, collecting their own taxes, and administering their own justice. Thus the islands of Sitrah and Nebi Sālih, with all the villages on the E. side of Bahrein to the S. of Khōr el-Kabb, and the inland villages of Rifā' esh-Sharqi and Rifā' el-Gharbi, are held by the Sheikh's brother Khālid. The subtraction of all this territory considerably reduces the Sheikh's revenue, which is derived not only from customs, but also from agricultural duties, taxes on pearl-boats, judicial fees, and rent of town lands, shops, or *khāns*. The Sheikh is assisted in the government by a *wazīr*, whose aid is all the more necessary, as the ruler is frequently absent on the mainland, chiefly for sporting purposes. In the towns of Manāmah and Muharraq there are deputy governors with the title of *emīr*.

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Justice, in criminal cases and important civil cases, is administered on behalf of the Sheikh by a chief qādhi. The treatment of minor cases depends upon the religious belief of the parties; if both are Sunnis, they go before the (Sunni) Sheikh of Muharraq; if both are Shiahs, before the (Shiah) Sheikh of Manāmah. There are, in addition, seven other qādhis permitted to adjudicate upon cases referred to them by agreement.

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Mercantile cases, especially those in which foreigners are concerned, are decided by a tribunal variously called *Mejlis el-'Urfi* or *Mejlis et-Tijārah*, a Customary or Commercial Court, with permanent members nominated by the Sheikh in consultation with the British Political Agent. When one or more of the parties to a case is a British subject, or when none of them are Bahrein subjects, the Mejlis is usually convoked by the Agent, and sits at the Agency, a representative of the Sheikh being permitted to attend. Cases arising out of pearl-diving operations are settled by a special board of arbitration known as the *Sālifat el-Ghaus*.

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## RECENT HISTORY AND PRESENT POLITICS

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Although the Sheikhs of the Khalīfah family had been in direct relations with us since 1805, and under treaty since 1820, another sixty years elapsed before the ruler of Bahrein entered into a binding

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



643 agreement similar to that accepted by the Sultan of Oman. By this
648 treaty he undertakes, in return for a subsidy, to alienate no part of his territory except to the British, to conform to British policy, and to accept no help, pecuniary or other, from any foreign power. A British Political Agent, under the Resident at Bushire, is stationed at Manāmah.

The present ruler, Sheikh 'Īsa ibn 'Ali el-Khalīfah, now an old man, owed his accession in 1867 to our influence, and has been supported by us against other claimants of his family, notably Khalīfah ibn Hamed ibn Mohammed el-Khalīfah, who has intrigued with the Porte. Although Sheikh 'Īsa is not without natural sagacity, he has proved to be lacking in the force of character and practical ability which distinguished his contemporary, Sheikh Mubārak of Koweit. In addition, he has sometimes shown himself sensitive of control, even to the point of obstructing reforms, encouraged in such courses, perhaps, by a certain impatience of foreign influence prevalent in Bahrein; he has thus on at least one occasion incurred the censure of the Indian Government. But in spite of these shortcomings, he has avoided serious complications; in the difficult times which began with the crisis in the pearl industry in 1913, and have been aggravated by the war, he has shown ability and reasonable goodwill. His heir, Sheikh Hāmid, is described as a man holding moderate views.

## Islands

### 1. *Bahrein*

361 The general nature of Bahrein Island has been described in a
438 previous section (p. 311). In the present place the chief centres of population may be noticed. The island has nearly 100 villages and hamlets, of which the following are the most important:

*Hālah Bin Anas*, a short distance E. of Manāmah, with 85 huts of Sunnis, who are pearl-divers and fishermen.

*'Askar*, on the E. coast, 4¼ miles ENE. of Jebel Dukhān. 75 stone houses and reed-huts of Āl Bu 'Ainein, pearl-divers, owning about 20 boats; 1,500 date-palms; a little live stock.

*Bilād el-Qadīm*, about 1½ mile SW. of Manāmah fort; about 350 mud and reed huts. The inhabitants are *Bahārinah*, who gain a livelihood as pearl-merchants, cultivators, or tailors; many ruined stone houses. It has a suburb to the SW. called *Bilād er-Rāfi'*, and on the NW. side the *Sūq el-Khamīs*, where a large market is held on Thursdays. About ½ mile to the W. are the ruins of the Madrasat Abu Zeidān, the minarets of which, in combination with Jebel

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young business men and merchants are proud of their country and are inclined to be annoyed by visitors who confine their attention to the antiques and "quaint" sights of Bahrain, ignoring modern buildings and new enterprises. Graduates of Bahrain and foreign schools are go-ahead in their outlook and are determined to modernise Bahrain as much as possible; for this purpose they are willing to break with many of the traditions of the past, which are so often of interest to Europeans and Americans. Despite this, the young men of Bahrain appreciate meeting the foreigners who live in or visit their country.

## CHAPTER III

## THE STATE

BAHRAIN has been in treaty relations with the British Government since 1820. Its relations with the British Government and with other foreign governments are conducted through the British Political Agent in Bahrain. Bahrain is also the headquarters of the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, who lives at Jufair.

The Head of the State is His Highness Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed al-Khalifah, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., who was born in 1894, the eldest son of the late Ruler, Shaikh Hamed bin' Isa al-Khalifah, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. He succeeded his father in 1942 and has three sons: Their Excellencies Shaikhs 'Isa, Khalifah and Muhammad, and seven brothers. Shaikh Sulman is the tenth Shaikh of the Khalifah family to rule in Bahrain since it was conquered by his ancestor Shaikh Ahmed bin Khalifah in 1782.

The form of government can be described as a benevolent autocracy; the Ruler governs his State through Arab and British officials, who are in charge of the various departments of State, and by means of councils and committees consisting of elected and nominated members representing the different communities. Shaikhs of the Ruling Family preside over many of the councils and hold posts in the administration.

The principal government departments are the Adviserate (The Secretariat), Customs, Education, Electricity, Finance, Judical, Lands, Police, Public Health, Public Works, Passports, Religious Endowments etc., etc. In the towns of Manama, Muharraq, Hedd and Rifaa there are municipalities; the first of these was established in Manama in 1920.

The revenue of the State is mainly derived from oil royalties, including payments on oil which is imported for refining, and from customs dues on imports. There is no income tax and no land tax but in the towns there is a small municipal tax on houses, shops and places of business. The revenue of the State for the year 1370 A.H. (October 1950—October 1951) was Rupees 25,155,700 (£1,866,000) and the estimated revenue for 1372 (September 1952—September 1953) is much greater owing to a revision of the oil payments by which the

Bahrain Government receives 50% of the profits of the oil industry. 652
The Eastern Bank, since it was established in 1919, has served as the State's Treasury and a Budget is published every year showing the revenue and expenditure of the State.

The Customs Directorate is in the centre of the Manama sea front 651
and there are subsidiary offices in Muharraq Town, at the Airport 439
and at Sitra. All goods of any kind which are imported or exported 504
must pass through the customs. The Customs Pier at Manama, which was originally built in 1917, has frequently been lengthened and enlarged and now extends for a quarter of a mile out to sea. Owing to shallow water, vessels in the Manama harbour have to anchor some three miles from the shore and passengers and cargo are conveyed to and from the steamers by launches, barges and sailing dhows. The port and storage facilities in Bahrain are better than elsewhere in the Gulf and importers are allowed to retain their goods in the customs premises for ninety days before re-exporting them. There are usually about 90-100 sailing vessels and launches alongside and anchored off the pier, these come from other Gulf ports, from the west coast of India and from the Red Sea. Walking down the customs pier one sees many interesting types of vessels and sea-faring Arabs from all parts of the Gulf and beyond it.

On the west of the entrance to the Pier is the Passport Office. 486
Passport Officials go aboard all passenger vessels and are present at the Airport when aircraft arrive. Bahrain has had its own passports since 1929.

On the south side of the Square, which has a little garden in the 344
centre of it, is the "Bab al-Bahrain," the Gateway of Bahrain, consisting of two large blocks of office buildings with an archway in the centre. On the south side of the western block there is a fine old Arab door and on the balconies of the buildings as well as around the garden in the Square there are cement panels containing Arabesque patterns copied from old buildings in Bahrain.

The Bab al-Bahrain contains the finance and accounts department 344
where all payments to the Government for electricity, water, etc., etc., 655
are made, the Land Department which deals with sales and registration 423
of property and questions about boundaries and ownership of land, the registration of sales being compulsory, and several other government offices. His Highness has a reception room overlooking the 643
square on the first floor of the building where he sits on Wednesday mornings. Here he receives any visitors who wish to call on him and sees people who present petitions. On Monday mornings he visits the Municipal Buildings at Muharraq where he holds a similar reception.

East of the Customs, on the sea front, is the Law Courts Building 692
which contains a number of different courts including religious courts presided over by the Qadis of the Sunni and Shia sects. Certain foreigners, including British, Americans, Pakistanis and Indians are under the judicial authority of H.B.M.'s Political Agent. In mixed

505 ment with launch or dhow owners, but it should be remembered that some of them are private property. Umm as-Sabaan is the private 423 property of Mr. Max W. Thornberg, Jidda being a penal settlement, 486 is forbidden ground, and Umm an-Nasaan may only be visited with permission of H.H. The Ruler. The others, the small islands south of Muharraq, Nebih Salih, Jezira and the Howar islands are free to all visitors and a visit to them makes a change from drives around the islands.

489 Transport in Bahrain includes both bus and taxi, the former are not 493 the luxurious affairs seen in Europe and England but have wooden bodies built in Bahrain and attached to an imported chassis. Taxis, however, are not too expensive if care is taken to pay the correct fare which is recorded in a fare book that should be carried by every driver. It is rumoured that taxis will soon carry meters, which will certainly simplify matters, but till that happy day passengers who have complaints to make about being over-charged should make them to the Traffic Department of the State Police.

435 Petrol and oil are cheap in Bahrain, which is not surprising, and the 493 import tax on cars and motor cycles is only 10%, so that to own and run a private car is cheaper than in England or the States, as many fortunate 651 people have discovered. Most makes of cars are obtainable in Bahrain, garage facilities have increased and the improvement in the roads has enabled English cars to be used with comfort.

492 The old-fashioned form of transport in Bahrain was the donkey. 489 It was used for every task, for bringing the produce of the country for sale in the town, for pulling carts and for riding. The white Bahrain donkeys used to be well known all over the Middle East and they were exported from Bahrain to places as far distant as the East African coast. Today buses are replacing donkeys, there are bus services between most of the villages, though many of the young men prefer to use bicycles. Lorries too have successfully competed with donkeys and now carry most of the goods between the towns and villages, but in the gardens and in the narrow country lanes one still meets many donkeys though few of the fine white beasts for which the islands were famous long ago. However, the donkey will never entirely die out, for he has certain advantages over other methods of transport, he can reproduce young donkeys, he can find his own way along small and narrow tracks in the gardens and he produces manure, which is a valuable commodity in Bahrain.

## CHAPTER V

## BAHRAIN'S OIL INDUSTRY

315 THE man who was chiefly responsible for the discovery of Bahrain's 471 oil resources was an Australian, Major Frank Holmes, who came to Bahrain on behalf of the Eastern and General Syndicate, a British prospecting company. Major Holmes, after drilling a number of artesian wells and thus discovering something about the composition

The use of Indian stamps overprinted "Bahrain" dates from the 10th August, 1933, but the first set was replaced in the following year and the S.G. (Stanley Gibbon's Catalogue) No. 9, 4 anna value, is quite hard to obtain and is sometimes confused with the 4 anna No. 19, although the latter does not bear the word "revenue." Following the issue of new Indian stamps in 1937 the set was overprinted for use in Bahrain in 1938; six stamps of this set are pictorial and most attractive, showing the history of the postal service in India. A new Indian issue in 1940 was overprinted for use in Bahrain in 1942 and continued in use until India and Pakistan obtained their independence, whereupon the Bahrain Post Office changed from being part of the Indian postal system to being a branch of the British G.P.O. Following this change British overprinted stamps were issued on the 1st April, 1948.

1948 was a prolific year for stamps. On 26th April the Royal Silver Wedding issue was overprinted for use in Bahrain, and on 29th July the stamps commemorating the Olympic Games were issued. 1949 was the 75th anniversary of the Universal Postal Union, and in common with most countries, an issue of four stamps was overprinted for use in Bahrain. 1950 saw the issue of one stamp, a 4 anna value, but in May of the following year five low value stamps in the Universal Postal Union colours were issued, together with new designs of the three high-value stamps of the United Kingdom.

There has never been a postage due stamp in Bahrain, a rubber stamp has served the purpose. Recently an air letter form was issued as a trial and became very popular, so that sales exceeded all expectations. Bahrain stamps are in considerable demand, but owing to the smallness of the internal mail and the popular use of franking machines Bahrain stamps are far from easy to find. The most valuable Bahrain stamp is the 2½ anna Olympic Games issue with a double overprint of which only half a sheet of unused stamps has come to light. The S.G. No. 42, a 1 anna 3 pies value, in good used condition, is also a very hard stamp to obtain and is worth more than the current catalogued price.

Although revenue stamps are not collected by the majority of philatelists, those of Bahrain are of interest by reason of their attractive designs, which are of Bahrain scenes and activities. The 4 anna value shows an old peddler weighing out his goods, the 8 anna value a section of Manama and some sailing boats, the 1 rupee, an Arab with his two means of hunting, the falcon and the salugi; the 5 rupees shows a pile of pearl shells, the 10 rupees a donkey carrying skins of water, the 50 rupees a pair of camels and the 100 rupees, date palms.

At the time of writing a new set of revenue stamps were in the process of printing, of the following values: 4 annas, 5 rupees, 10 rupees, 50 rupees and 100 rupees. All bear the head of H.H. The Ruler and in addition the four high values have the Suq al-Khamis Minarets, The Rifaa Palace, the Sitra Pool and a sailing boat as designs.

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

first payments of oil royalities came at a critical time in Bahrain's history, when it was suffering from the effects of a slump in the pearling industry, and they enabled the State to continue its public works and social services. Apart from increasing the cost of living and causing a shortage of foods, the 1939-45 war had no direct effect on Bahrain, with the exception of a long-range bomber raid carried out by the Italian Air Force on the oil installations of Bahrain, and this attempt failed.

On February 20, 1942, Shaikh Hamed died, and was succeeded by his son, Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed al-Khalifah, the present ruler, under whom the march of progress in Bahrain has continued. The story of modern Bahrain and the activities of the Bahrain Government are described in Chapter III of the First Part of this book.

## NOTES

[1] Durand, "Extracts from Report on the Islands and Antiques of Bahrain," with notes by H. C. Rawlinson, in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1880.

[2] de Goeje, M. J., *Memoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrain et les Fatimides*, 1886.

[3] Idrisi, *Troisieme Climat-Sixieme Section*, translated by P. A. Jaubert, p. 373.

[4] Belgrave, C. D., "The Portuguese in the Bahrain Islands," *Journal Royal Central Asian Society*, 1935.

[5] Whose work is in the possession of a Bahraini historian.

[6] An-Nabhani, Muhammad, *Tarikh al-Jazirat al-Arabiya*, 1923, p. 125.

[7] Kennier, J. M., *Memoire on the Persian Empire.*

[8] For details of this and subsequent treaties between the Bahrain rulers and the British *see* Aitcheson, *Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and neighbouring countries*, vol. xi, 1933.

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

### CUSTOMS REGULATIONS

439 There is usually little difficulty in importing goods into Bahrain, except the following, which are not allowed :—

656 (a) Arms and Ammunition,

651 (b) Alcoholic and intoxicating liquors (except under licence).

(c) Cultured, bleached or tinted pearls and undrilled pearls produced outside the Persian Gulf,

(d) Obscene, indecent or seditious literature or pictures,

(e) Dogs, except with special permission of the Director of Customs which will only be granted in the case of dogs accompanied by a veterinary surgeon's certificate of innoculation against rabies.

(f) Counterfeit coins,

(g) Opium and its allied products and cocaine and its allied products.

Books and printed matter, gold and silver bullion and coinage, samples, undrilled Persian Gulf pearls, implements and tools of trade for the use of the traveller are exempt from customs duties. For those arriving for the first time in Bahrain to take up residence, household effects, new clothing, silver and plate are also exempt from duties.

[206] All travellers may bring into the country not more than 100 cigarettes, 50 cigars or ½ pound of tobacco, the containers of which must have been opened.

651 All other goods are liable to a customs duty. The duty on tobacco and liquor is 15%, luxuries pay 10% and necessities, 5%, but prospective travellers should not depend upon this as a hard and fast rule but are advised to ascertain the rates for each article. The Bahrain Government published a Customs Ordinance in 1950 in the form of a booklet, price Rs.2, which is obtainable from the Director of Customs, Manama, Bahrain.

### LANGUAGES

191 The official language of Bahrain is Arabic, but some English is spoken in most parts of the State; it is usually possible in cases of difficulty to find an English-speaking Arab

On the other hand the Arabs much appreciate foreigners who take the trouble to learn even the rudiments of their language, which, it must be admitted, is very difficult. For this purpose possibly the best book in print is Van Ess's *Spoken Arabic of Irak*. There are, of course, many other excellent books on Arabic, but for conversational purposes the one above approaches nearest to the particular brand of Arabic spoken in Bahrain.

### PASSPORTS AND VISAS

486 All intending visitors to Bahrain are required to have passports endorsed for Bahrain, and in addition they should apply for an entry

visa either directly to the Bahrain Government or to the nearest British Consulate which will, after reference to the Bahrain Government, accept or reject the application on the latter's behalf. Passengers arriving in Bahrain without visas are likely to find themselves on the next plane outward bound. 486

Travellers from Bahrain who require visas for other countries must apply for them to H.B.M.'s Political Agency. In some cases the Agency is able to issue these visas on behalf of the foreign countries, but in the case of others it will be found necessary to apply for visas directly to the nearest consulate of the country concerned. H.B.M's Political Agency are in a position to inform prospective travellers about the latest regulations on this subject.

### TAXES

There is no income tax in Bahrain, but for owners of houses and other premises within the Municipal areas of Manama, Muharraq, Hedd and Rifaa there is a small Municipal tax. 651

### WATER AND ELECTRICITY

Within the Municipal area of Manama both water and electricity is provided by the State. 312 377

Within the Municipal area of Muharraq electricity only is provided by the State. 655

Rates for these amenities are as follows :—

| *Electricity.* | *Water.* |
|---|---|
| First 50 units per month, 4 *annas* per unit. | 1,000 gallons *Rs.*1 *As.*14. |
| Next 200 units per month, 3 *annas* per unit. | Meter rent, 8 annas per month. |
| Over 250 units per month, 2 *annas* per unit. | Minimum charge, *Rs.*1 *As.*14 per month. |
| Meter rent 8 *annas* per month. | |
| Minimum charge *Rs.*1 or 4 units per month. | |

### CURRENCY

Local currency in use in Bahrain at the time of writing is the Indian Rupee, worth, at the current rate of exchange, 1/6d. 436

Coinage is as follows :—

12 pice make 1 anna.
4 pies make 1 anna.
16 annas make 1 rupee.

The following coins and notes are in circulation :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 pice (1/12 anna) | .. copper | 1 rupee .. | nickel and note |
| 1 pie (¼ anna) | .. copper | 2 rupees .. | .. note |
| 1 anna .. | nickel and brass | 5 rupees .. | .. note |
| 2 annas .. | nickel and brass | 10 rupees .. | .. note |
| 4 annas .. | .. nickel | 100 rupees | .. note |
| 8 annas .. | .. nickel | | |

## REVIEW OF 1372

000 The two most important events during the year were the conclusion of a new oil agreement between the Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company and His Highness Shaikh Sulman's first visit to Europe to attend the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth.

471 651 439 The new oil agreement was on a 50—50 basis on the same lines as other agreements which have recently been made between governments and oil companies in the Middle East, it also provided for a payment to the State on oil imported into Bahrain for refining. As a result of this agreement the total revenue for the year under review was 373¼ lakhs of rupees, approximately £2,800,000, though the new scale of payments was not in operation throughout the whole of 1372.

652 657 Expenditure was higher than in 1371. Excluding the one third of the oil revenue, which is paid to the Privy Purse, 48 per cent. of the State's expenditure was on social and public services; Education, Public Health, Public Protection and grants to Municipalities absorbed 18¼ per cent., 15-3/8 per cent., 10-4/5 per cent., and 3 per cent. respectively, including capital expenditure on new schools, dispensaries and police quarters. The demand for more schools and hospitals is continuous and insistent but few Bahrain people realise the heavy recurrent cost of medical and education services which can be maintained on the present scale only as long as the present revenue continues.

651 511 342a 471 Trade flourished and the revenue from customs was higher than in the previous year; during recent years customs collections have risen annually. Local prosperity was apparent from what might be described as a building boom. Many new houses and shops were built in the towns and suburbs by private enterprise. The type of house varied from European style bungalows and blocks of flats, built by merchants and shaikhs for letting, to small stone houses which are gradually replacing barastis, palm branch huts. Several serious fires in barasti areas, which destroyed many dwellings, gave an impetus to building. Working men who owned pieces of ground built small houses and the Government received hundreds of applications from people who wished to buy building plots. Unfortunately the Government owns very little land in and around the towns, much of it having been given away or sold cheaply many years ago.

511 167 161 The standard of living in Bahrain is very much higher than it was a few years ago and the health of the people is noticeably better than it used to be. For these reasons and owing to a steady influx of foreigners, mostly from Oman and the Trucial Coast, who come to Bahrain to work, it is believed that there has been a substantial increase in the population which at the time of the last census, in 1950, was found to be 110,000.

578 The state of public security was good in spite of the presence of large a number of foreigners who are not as naturally law abiding as the people of Bahrain. There were no political or labour disturbances.

648 439 Relations with Quatar deteriorated owing to incidents connected with the visit of a party of Bahrain schoolboys and school teachers to Zubara during the Spring holiday. The commercial development of Qatar tended to reduce Bahrain's transit trade and deprived some of the Bahrain merchants of agencies which used to include both Bahrain and Qatar. Relations with Saudi Arabia and Iraq were friendly, a deputation headed by Shaikh Isa bin Sulman, His Highness's eldest son, represented Bahrain at the coronation of King Faisal in Baghdad.

## DIVING INDUSTRY

228 464 There is little to report on this subject. Under present conditions it seems probable that in a few years the diving Nakhudas will find that it is impossible to obtain any recruits for diving in Bahrain. During the season only 12 boats went out to the banks from Bahrain and most of the divers who were engaged were from Persia and the Trucial Coast. So much money can be earned on shore that few men are willing to leave their shore jobs in order to dive during the summer months.

651 439 228 The tax on imported pearls imposed by the Government of India was in force throughout and after the diving season and this contributed to a large extent to the slackness in the pearl trade. Taking into consideration the small number of boats employed in diving the catch was moderately good and pearl prices were not much lower than in the previous season.

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## MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

### 1372

(Report by Dr. R. H. B. Snow, M.B.E., Senior Medical Officer)

**Summary of the Year**

185 751 A change is gradually infiltrating and making itself evident in the scope and policy of medical work which is increasing in every department and subconsciously affecting the life of the Island. Traditions are now being established which the new generation are growing up with, and health ideas which once were revolutionary are now accepted as the normal course of reasonable upbringing.

657 The medical department which started in a small way, and expanded slowly is seeing results which are very satisfying but which are taken for granted, although they took years of striving to achieve. From its small beginnings and tiny nucleus of key staff it has now spread out from something rather personal to more of a departmental outlook. This in the course of things is bound to be, but its danger is that lack of co-ordination may develop or that the department may absorb the individual expression. At present there seems to be no signs of this because the various heads of departments meet together continually to exchange ideas and align themselves in a common policy, and also they are readily accessible to the public.

743 758 Lines of expansion have shown themselves everywhere. The surgical work has been given great impetus by the advent of an F.R.C.S. specialist, Mr. R. D. Wilkins.

The operation theatre now runs a staff rota for every 24 hours of the day, made possible by recruiting Sister Ford and Sister Johnson from England. Sister Edwards was appointed to the Nursing Home to replace Sister Millson. The X-Ray department has an English Radiographer in charge—Mr. Havey. The Laboratory has a staff of six technicians. Four new Indian doctors arrived, one lady doctor for the Women's Hospital, and the others, male, were appointed to the Boys' Schools, The Port, and the Hospital. Mr. Burgin replaced Mr. Hanvey as Public Health Inspector, and Mr. Nambiar became the new Anti-Malaria Supervisor. Both hospitals recruited many more Indian trained nurses. The lack of sufficient staff has now been made good and at present meets all needs which recently have been very pressing. It meant also that more specialised apparatus could be installed being safely handled by expert hands. Such things include a more powerful X-Ray plant, a modern anaesthetic apparatus to administer all gases and curare, an electro-cautery unit and an electro-cardiograph.

## MUNICIPALITIES

### MANAMA MUNICIPALITY

(From the report of Mr. Mohamed Saleh Shater, Secretary of the Manama Municipality)

633 795 At the beginning of the year, owing to sectarian differences between Sunni and Shia members in 1371, which caused the resignation of the Shia members, Municipal affairs were being dealt with by a committee of Sunnis. This was the situation until the middle of the year when the Government succeeded in persuading the Shia members to resume their duties on the Council. They returned on the understanding that they would serve for only one year after which an election should be held.

During the latter part of the year the Council functioned in a more or less normal manner; by shelving all matters which might cause controversy between the sects the Council succeeded in performing its duties without serious differences. The situation, however, was not satisfactory.

633 **Finance.** The Financial Committee which drew up the budget was formed from the temporary Sunni committee. Estimated revenue for 1372 was Rs. 7,04,000 and expenditure was assessed at the same figure. The actual revenue exceeded the estimate by Rs. 1,16,000, the expenditure was Rs. 61,000 more than was expected and at the end of the year a surplus of revenue over expenditure amounting to Rs. 61,000 was added to the Reserve which was then Rs. 2,83,000.

651 427 The increase in revenue was due to a great extent to higher receipts from house and shop taxes. There were many new buildings in the town and higher rents were charged for existing buildings, both for houses and shops. House taxes and shop taxes on buildings which are leased are charged on a percentage basis of the rent. Taxation on houses which are occupied by their owners is extremely low in comparison with that of rented premises. A large proportion of the rented houses are occupied by foreigners and most of the houses in which the owners live are occupied by people of the country.

425 653 368 During the year the Municipality sold land to the public at the price of Rs. 35,200 and it purchased a new fire engine for Rs. 48,000. The Government presented to the Municipality a motor-driven trailer fire pump and jeep, a rubbish carrying vehicle and a gully emptying vehicle.

364 **Municipal activities.** Town cleaning was effected during the year by two trucks and 30 donkey carts, town rubbish was utilised to reclaim a large portion of sea on the shore at Hora, opposite Cable and Wireless premises. The method of employing donkey carts to carry town refuse is not a satisfactory one. An order was placed in England during the summer for small rubbish-carrying vehicles which can be used in narrow streets.

363 A number of roads in the town were metalled, the area dealt with was about 380,000 square feet on which was used 480,000 cubic feet of stone and 105,000 cubic feet of sand, the whole costing approximately Rs. 1,76,000.

363 247 Some progress was made in widening streets in the bazaar area, 112 new street lights were installed and more trees were planted on the roads, unfortunately each year a number of trees are destroyed, by wind or sometimes by rain which when it falls strongly seems to kill both plants and trees.

362 427 There was much building activity both in the town and on the outskirts of the town, numbers of small houses were built for occupation by their owners and more European style bungalows and flats were built for letting. House rents are excessively high, landlords expect to recover the cost of their property in less than ten years, so building houses for letting is at present a profitable investment. However, so many houses are now being built that it seems possible that in a short time there may be more houses than tenants.

633 342 During the year permits for new buildings were issued by the Municipality for 144 stone houses and 100 barasti huts and permits for repairs and additions to 186 shops and 717 houses were also granted.

1 [A.D. 1951-52, - Analyst]

[Manama Municipality]

368 The Municipal fire service was called out to deal with 34 fires, some of them occurring in Muharraq and in the villages. The incidence of serious fires was higher than it has ever been before.

633 Among the routine activities carried out by the Municipality was the inspection of 28,462 sheep and goats, 3446 head of cattle and 47 camels, which comprised the meat supply during the year. Pauper burials were provided for 48 persons; this in the past was a rare event, the increase in the number of cases is partly due to there being so many foreigners in Bahrain. Two pieces of low-lying land on the south of the town were raised by a filling of stone and sand, at the owner's expense. A stone wall 1,750 feet long and 5 feet high was built, in the sea, at Government expense, to surround an area of sea which is being reclaimed by filling with town rubbish covered with sand.

The Municipality issued 1,550 permits for building, 884 notices were sent out to people requiring them to repair drains and sewers and 23 cases were filed in the various courts. The temporary council met 21 times and there were 41 meetings of sub-committees.

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## STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE, 1372 †

| Revenue | | | Expenditure | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Shop Tax | Rs. 284,817 10 6 | | Staff Salaries P. Fund, etc. | Rs. 138,183 12 6 | |
| House Tax | 244,964 15 0 | | Office Expenses | 7,358 11 0 | |
| Government Grant | 100,000 0 0 | | Town Cleaning | 239,742 2 0 | |
| Local Cart Tax | 5,991 8 0 | | Town Lighting | 43,009 6 0 | |
| Slaughterhouse Fees | 27,015 0 0 | | Road Metalling and Repairing | 176,895 13 3 | |
| Rent of Municipal Property | 32,591 12 0 | | Widening Roads | 10,543 4 0 | |
| Miscellaneous taxes and fees | 116,652 2 6 | | Pauper Burials | 3,380 0 0 | |
| Licences of professional trades | 8,082 4 0 | | Upkeep of Municipal property | 9,642 8 0 | |
| | 820,115 4 0 | | Muharraq shares in certain taxes | 25,540 3 0 | |
| | | | Upkeep of Public W.C's and rubbish bins | 4,259 12 0 | |
| | | | Miscellaneous | 7,950 7 6 | |
| | | | Fire Service, Road Spraying and Trees Watering | 72,969 1 8 | |
| | | | Planting street trees, and square gardens | 22,106 4 0 | |
| | | | Slaughterhouse expenses | 3,565 0 0 | |
| | | | | 765,146 4 11 | |
| | | | Surplus of Revenue | 54,968 15 1 | |
| Total | Rs. 820,115 4 0 | | Total | Rs. 820,115 4 0 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cash in Bank at the end of 1371 | Rs. | 255,997 5 0 |
| Cash in Bank at the end of 1372 | | 283,387 8 10 |

## MUHARRAQ MUNICIPALITY

(From the report of Mr. Ibrahim Khalfan, Municipal Secretary)

633 652 **Finance.** When the 1372 budget was made a deficit of Rs. 1,59,000 was anticipated. As usual the Finance Committee of the Council planned to spend very much more than they could possibly hope to receive. This year, however, the reckless financial methods of the Council met with more success than they deserved as His Highness Shaikh Sulman made a special grant of 1 lakh from the Privy Purse to the Muharraq Municipal funds. Owing to this unexpected windfall instead of ending the year with a deficit of almost a lakh the revenue exceeded the expenditure by over Rs. 3,000/-.

† [A.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst]

[Muharraq Municipality]

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There was a small increase in house tax collections but the sum of Rs. 3,370/-, owing to the Municipality, was written off as most of the 853 persons who were indebted had left Bahrain, which suggests some laxity on the part of tax collectors. Shop taxes, including market tax, produced less than in 1371. Shops are divided into two categories and pay Rs. 2/- and Rs. 1/8 per month, which is a very low rate, they should be assessed according to the rentals.

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The total expenditure was Rs. 3,23,600, it was Rs. 66,000 less than the estimated expenditure but exceeded the previous year's expenditure by Rs. 83,000. The largest item of expenditure was on widening roads and most of this amount was spent on compensating house owners for cutting part of their property.

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**Municipal Activities.** Two roads were surfaced with cold patch and another road was metalled and surfaced by the P.W.D., 58 new street lights were installed. The usual town cleaning services were effectively carried out and Municipal Officials were active in supervising the sale of fresh fruit and in inspecting animals in the slaughterhouse.

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During the year 16 new stone houses were built and 1,500 permits were issued for repairing stone houses and shops. Only 53 permits were issued for building or repairing baristis, as against 200 in the previous year. There were 285 unoccupied houses and compounds.

There was some building activity on the northern edge of the town where building plots have been bought from the Government and from the Municipality by persons wishing to build stone houses.

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On his return from England His Highness decided that a public garden should be made on the north side of Muharraq on a large triangular piece of land which was reclaimed from the sea shore by being filled with town rubbish.

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The Finance Committee at the end of the year again submitted a budget showing an anticipated deficit of Rs. 86,000.

## STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE, 1372

| Revenue | | | | Expenditure | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| House Tax | Rs. 41,169 | 3 | 9 | Staff Salaries | Rs. 72,698 | 3 | 6 |
| Shop Tax | 23,860 | 9 | 0 | Office Expenditure | 3,450 | 0 | 0 |
| Government Grant | 1,00,000 | 0 | 0 | Transport | 41,010 | 0 | 6 |
| H.H. Grant* | 1,00,000 | 0 | 0 | Upkeep of Roads | 55,874 | 7 | 0 |
| Wood, Ghee and Sheep Tax | 26,673 | 3 | 6 | Widening of Roads | 91,834 | 4 | 0 |
| Rent of Municipal property | 20,731 | 5 | 0 | Town Cleaning | 43,050 | 8 | 6 |
| Building and Masoé fees | 3,928 | 8 | 0 | Town Lighting | 4,531 | 1 | 0 |
| Miscellaneous Taxes and Fees | 9,248 | 7 | 0 | Upkeep of Public Wells | 2,180 | 6 | 0 |
| Water Rent | 1,699 | 0 | 0 | Pauper Burials | 5,104 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | Miscellaneous Fees | 3,190 | 3 | 0 |
| | | | | Upkeep of Municipal Property | 373 | 12 | 0 |
| | | | | Poor Relief | 381 | 2 | 0 |
| | | | | | Rs. 3,23,678 | 0 | 6 |
| | | | | Surplus of Revenue | 3,632 | 3 | 9 |
| | Rs. 3,27,310 | 4 | 3 | | Rs. 3,27,310 | 4 | 3 |

*Rs. 70,859/- was paid direct to the Government to settle its outstanding account.

## HIDD MUNICIPALITY

651 633 **Finance.** The total revenue was Rs. 28,739, slightly higher than in 1372. At the end of the year there was a surplus of Rs. 6,102. The amount expended was almost the same as in the previous year. At the end of the year His Highness granted Rs. 25,000 to the Municipal funds for building property to increase the Municipal revenue.

The town was clean and well kept and some progress was made in widening the one main street which passes through the length of the town.

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## RAFAA MUNICIPALITY

### which includes East, West and North Rafaa

(From the report of Shaikh Abdulla bin Khalid, President of the Municipal Council)

651 633 363 This Municipality, the last one to be formed in Bahrain, having been established in 1371, carried out its duties successfully during the year. Its revenue was Rs. 37,000 of which Rs. 20,000 was a grant from the Government.

Houses were registered and numbered for the purpose of charging house tax and a piece of land below East Rafaa was laid out as a building area, in conjunction with the Land Department. The Municipality began work on widening the road which passes through East Rafaa and removed part of some houses in order to widen this road.

365 Repairs were carried out to Ain Hinainiyah, the old well on the plain below East Rafaa which provides fresh drinking water, which used to be sold in Manama at a high price, being of superior quality to the artesian well water.

364 Ancient rubbish heaps, which disfigured the edge of the town, were removed and the material was used to fill in deep pits, inside the town, where mud had been dug for building houses.

The Municipality began tb establish a regular town cleaning service.

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## MINORS' ESTATES DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Mr. Mohammed Dowaiger, Superintendent of the Department)

471 657 The Department took over the administration of 18 new estates and dealt with 28 compensation cases relating to persons in the employment of the Bahrain Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The value of the estates was Rs. 131,000. Compensation paid by the Bahrain Petroleum Company in cases of death or disablement of employees is passed by the Government to the Minors' Estates Department which pays the persons who are entitled to receive compensation.

657 427 Rents of property administered by the Department produced almost 2 lakhs, the number of properties, including shops, houses, gardens, etc., was 530. The Department sold nine lots of property during the year, for approximately half a lakh and made purchases amounting to Rs. 9,000. The sum of Rs. 15,000 was recovered from divers who were in debt to various estates.

[Minor's Estates Department]



657 736 Disbursements for maintenance amounted to Rs. 108,800, almost exactly the same sum as was paid out in the previous year. At the beginning of the year the number of orphans and widows who were drawing allowances was 442, of these 36 attained majority and took over their property, cash payments to them totalled Rs. 182,500.

657 652 The Department built four houses in Manama and Muharraq and carried out repairs to a number of other buildings, the expenditure under this heading was Rs. 78,000.

As usual the funds held by the Department together with funds placed at its disposal by the Government were given out on loan to the public, at interest, secured by title deeds of immovable property or gold. The rates of interest charged by the Department are low in comparison to those prevailing in the market.

During the year the Government placed with the Department a further 2¼ lakhs, making its total deposit Rs. 10,80,000.

Interest on loans collected during the year was Rs. 1,46,000, there is a scale of interest depending upon the amount of the loan, the average rate of interest during the year was 6 per cent.

Loans repaid to the Department during the year amounted to Rs. 19,29,000, about 3 lakhs more than in 1371, new loans, made to the public, were approximately 24¼ lakhs. At the end of the year 24¼ lakhs were on loan to the public.

## DEPARTMENTAL ACCOUNT

| Receipts | | | Expenditure | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Balance from 1371 | Rs. 16, 585 6 10 | | Maintenance allowances, etc. | Rs. 1,08,876 9 0 | |
| From estates and compensation cases | 1,31,249 1 8 | | Purchase of properties | 9,330 0 0 | |
| Rents | 1,96,394 13 4 | | Upkeep of buildings and additions | 78,325 15 11 | |
| Refund of Loans | 19,29,600 0 0 | | Payments to the beneficiaries | 1,82,511 10 0 | |
| Interest on Loans | 1,46,040 0 0 | | Loans advanced | 24,40,250 0 0 | |
| Deposits | 2,09,051 12 5 | | Balance in the Eastern Bank | 1,25,205 9 1 | |
| Loan from Government | 2,50,000 0 0 | | | | |
| By sale of properties | 50,451 4 3 | | | | |
| Debts recovered | 15,127 5 6 | | | | |
| Total | Rs. 29,44,499 12 0 | | Total | Rs. 29,44,499 12 0 | |

## LAND REGISTRATION DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Mr. Abdul-Aziz Al Saleh, acting Superintendent of the Department)

428 651 425 **Land Registration.** There were 1,072 transactions during the year which included 628 sales, 262 registration of titles and 182 gifts; the properties which were dealt with consisted of 273 plots of ground, most of them being building sites, 82 gardens, 47 shops and 26 miscellaneous lots. Fees amounting to Rs. 1,27,975 were collected of which Rs. 1,20,781 was derived from sales and Rs. 7,194 from registration of titles, etc

**Sales and Land Values.** The aggregate value of the property which was sold was approximately 40 lakhs, £300,000. In the previous year prices reached a somewhat higher figure but they included several sales of large areas of land on the edge of Manama. There has been no fall in land prices and there are no indications of a change in the situation. High prices are still being paid for building sites in Manama on which European style houses, flats and bungalows, are being built, which are let at excessively high rents. When the demand for houses of this type begins to lessen then rents will decrease and there are some signs that this event is not far off, several recently built houses have "To Let" notices on their doors. At present as much as Rs. 1,000/- per month is being charged for a three-bedroom, dining-sitting-room bungalow on the Jufair Road.

A recent satisfactory development has been the demand by working class men to buy small building plots in Manama, Muharraq, Hidd and Rafaa. The building loan schemes of the Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company have stimulated this development. At one time people were satisfied to live in hired houses or barastis for which they paid rent but now, partly owing to the rapaciousness of landlords and partly because it has become everyone's ambition to own the house in which he lives, there is an active demand for plots of ground on which small houses can be built. Unfortunately the Government owns very little land in and around Manama and nobody wishes to live even at a short distance from the bazaar, the schools and the cinemas.

The most important sales were an Arab style house in the southern district of Manama, on Shaikh Isa Road, which was sold for Rs. 200,000 and a plot of land in the Qudhabia district which was bought by the Government as a site for workmen's dwellings for Rs. 2,57,000, at Rs. 2/5 per square foot. The Government sold 87 plots of land, in various places, for Rs. 3.50,000. Land on the edge of the towns of Manama and Muharraq was sold at prices ranging from Rs. 1/4 to Rs. 3/- per square foot. Thirty building plots were sold at East Rafaa, on the plain below the town, to residents of Rafaa, at 2 Annas per square foot. Land on this site was marked out as a residential area with rows of plots of uniform depth along future roads. At the end of the year a few purchasers had begun to build stone houses on the ground which they bought.

**Legislation.** In Safar (October 1952) an important Ordinance was issued which prohibited all persons subject to Bahrain jurisdiction from disposing of any property except to Bahrain subjects. An extension of this order was issued later providing for the contingency of heirs in an estate of a Bahrain subject being themselves foreign subjects. The result of these Ordinances was that not only were Bahrain subjects restricted from selling their property to foreigners but all persons subject to Bahrain jurisdiction, Persians, subjects of Saudi Arabia and of other Gulf States, were restricted from selling their property to each other or to nationals of other countries. Only foreigners not under the jurisdiction of the Bahrain Courts were free to sell their property to other foreigners. The object of the Government is to prevent land in Bahrain from being alienated and it is hoped that in future this legislation will be further extended to preclude all foreigners in Bahrain from disposing of their property to any persons who are not Bahrain subjects.

The imposition of this ordinance caused some resentment among foreigners especially among Saudi Arabians and Persians who in the past have acquired extensive property in Bahrain. This ordinance was probably the cause of some reduction in the number of large land sales during 1372.

One of the reasons why the Government now has so little land at its disposal in Manama and on the outskirts of the town is because in the past large pieces of land were either sold or given to Persians and Saudi Arabians. In the former category is one of the principal landowners in the town. The only area of any size, suitable for development as a housing area, is the land on the south-west of Manama which is now occupied by the installations of Cable and Wireless Ltd. Arrangements are being made for the Company to move out into the country to a site on the Aali plain, but this move will take some time to be carried out.

**Rents of Government Shops.** The Department collected rents amounting to Rs. 51,000/- from the shops in Barrett Road and from the flat above the Post Office and Rs. 20,000/- from rents of 26 plots of land which were let on leases. Temporary leases of land produced Rs. 3,800.

During the year the Department sent a deputation consisting of one of the members of the committee and the Superintendent to Kuwait to make a claim for the Waqf funds from the large and very valuable building on the Sea Road west of the Customs pier. This building was acquired by one Hilal Al Materi a Kuwaiti pearl merchant. He dedicated it as a Waqf for charitable purposes, not specifying whether the funds should be spent in Bahrain or in Kuwait. The Sunni Waqf Department obtained an opinion on the case from Al Azhar in Cairo supporting their claim that the Waqf should be spent in the country where the property was situated. The Deputation was not received with any enthusiasm in Kuwait, some sort of compromise was arrived at but at the end of the year the Department had not received any contribution from the Waqf towards charitable objects in Bahrain.

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## PASSPORT DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Mr. Kadhim Al Asfoor, Passport Officer)

**Revenue.** The total revenue was Rs. 53,789/-, about Rs. 19,000 less than was collected in 1371. This decrease was due to a shortage of book passports which were being printed in England. Some changes were made in the new passports which now contain the name of the holder on the outside of the cover as well as inside it. A further change in the wording is "date of birth" instead of "age," though at present very few of the people who use the passports know either the date of their birth or their age. Revenue from Travel Passes was Rs. 22,339, from entry forms, Rs. 8,236 and from miscellaneous forms Rs. 5,041.

**Pilgrims.** Only 280 persons did the Pilgrimage to Mecca, this number included 19 Persians, long resident in Bahrain who were granted passport facilities to perform the pilgrimage. Over 3,500 Shia pilgrims visited the Holy Cities of Iraq, an increase of about 500 over the previous year's number. These pilgrims included many people from the villages. Some of them crossed from Iraq to Persia and visited the Shia shrines of Persia. Such journeys are lengthy and expensive and the increase in the number of Shia pilgrims every year is an indication of prosperity among the working classes.

About 200 Arabs from Bahrain went to the Lebanon, mostly during the summer, this was about half the number who travelled there last year. In spite of inducements by the Government of the Lebanon to encourage tourists from the Gulf the people of Bahrain are beginning to find that they cannot afford to pay the excessively high prices which prevail in Beirut and in mountain resorts. The much advertised wealth of certain Gulf states seems to have caused the people of the Lebanon to regard any Arab from the Gulf as a rich traveller and a potential spender.

| | | *Arrivals.* | *Departures.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Passengers.** | By Air .. .. .. | 22,542 .. | 23,758 |
| | By steamers .. .. | 13,206 .. | 13,136 |
| | By Country Craft .. .. | 34,220 .. | 35,228 |

Number of dhows and launches visiting Bahrain : 4,958.

During the year 1,077 gratis passes were issued to Shaikhs, their followers, teachers and students. Numerous members of the Ruling Family with their followers went on hunting trips to Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Kuwait.

During the diving season 496 Persian divers were allowed to land in Bahrain and to return to Persia after the diving season.

[Sunni Waqf Department -- Mr. Lyst]

CASH RECEIPTS RETURN—1372 1/A

| | | Rs. | As. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 494 | TRANSFER FEES .. .. .. .. .. | 686 | — |
| 657 | TAXATION FEES .. .. .. .. .. | 89,606 | 1 |
| | NUMBER PLATES .. .. .. .. .. | 2,397 | — |
| | LICENCE HOLDERS .. .. .. .. .. | 663 | 8 |
| | DRIVING LICENCES .. .. .. .. .. | 14,525 | — |
| | LICENCE BOOKS .. .. .. .. .. | 1,922 | — |
| | TAXI BADGES .. .. .. .. .. | 75 | — |
| | DRIVING TESTS—Fees .. .. .. .. .. | 6,650 | — |
| | LICENCE LATE FEES .. .. .. .. .. | 335 | 8 |
| | PEDAL CYCLE TAX .. .. .. .. .. | 1,697 | — |
| | HIRE OF "L" PLATES .. .. .. .. .. | 99 | — |
| | LEARNERS LICENCE PERMITS .. .. .. | 1,063 | 8 |
| | REGISTRATION LATE FEES .. .. .. .. | 2,312 | — |
| | REGISTRATION INFORMATIO .. .. .. | 3 | — |
| | PUBLIC CONVEYANCE LICENCE .. .. .. | 865 | — |
| | TAXI DRIVERS LICENCES .. .. .. .. | 853 | 8 |
| | TRADERS LICENCES .. .. .. .. .. | 2,175 | — |
| | Total | Rs. 1,25,929 | 1 |

## ,OIL INSPECTION DEPARTMENT

(Report by Mr. G. B. Thompson, Government Oil Inspector)

382 439 505 The Refinery throughput of Bahrain Crude Oil remained about the same as the previous year, but the total Refinery throughput, including both Bahrain Crude Oil and Imported Foreign Crude Oil, increased from 9,254,140 Long Tons in 1952, to a figure of 9,654,390 Long Tons in 1953. The actual figures being :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bahrain Crude Oil | .. .. | 1,480,638 Long Tons |
| Imported Foreign Crude Oil | .. | 8,173,751 Long Tons |

There was a slight drop in the number of ship cargo inspections carried out :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1952 | .. | 178 Ships, 476 Parcels, 1,741,861 Long Tons |
| 1953 | .. | 170 Ships, 463 Parcels, 1,628,045 Long Tons |

The term "Imported Foreign Crude Oil" has been used in place of the term "Arabian Crude Oil," used in previous years, the change having been made to allow inclusion of two shipments of Sumatran Crude made late in 1953, which were successfully processed through the Refinery.

Graphs showing the Refinery throughput and the Ship Inspection figures for the last five years are included. ✱

1/A [O.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst] 2/A [Graphs facing page 50 a + b -- Analyst]

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 . M22 Bahrain M22



## CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT

(Report by Mr. G. W. R. Smith, M.B.E., Director of Customs and Port Office).

651 The revenue collected by the Customs Department from all sources, including Boat Licences, exceeded last year's revenue by Rs. 8,26,600/-, and exceeded the amount which was anticipated in the budget by Rs. 21,49,632/-. This substantial increase in Customs Revenue was due to larger imports of rice with higher prices being obtained at source, increased cost of coffee at source, and heavy imports of flour and tea. A decrease in the amount of income from Direct Transhipment cargo may be attributed to the more frequent use of the port of Um Said by the Qatar Petroleum Co. There was a decrease in the price at source of woollen and cotton piece goods, compared to last year; in the case of woollens the decrease was 5 per cent., but in the case of cotton piece goods it was as high as 20 per cent. There was again an increase over the previous year in the number of ocean going vessels and native craft calling at the port of Bahrain. Japanese vessels were more frequent callers, but in the main the increase in ocean going vessels was due to a second call at the port for the purpose of taking bunkers. It will be noted that the number of Bills of Entry and Export Shipping Bills dealt with in 1372, were again more than in 1371, further emphasising Bahrain's growing importance as an entreport in the Persian Gulf.

439 During the year under review the period allowed for Intransit Cargo was increased from 90 days to six months, and for cargo in transit to Saudi Arabia Ports—from 20 days to 40 days. This has proved of great benefit to importers.

Two new storage sheds were erected and completed during the year with a capacity of 9,000 tons dead-weight. At the end of the year Customs cranage was increased by the arrival of a new 10-ton capacity Coles Mobine Crane. Work was commenced on the erection of a new Native Craft pier 1,200 feet long, to relieve congestion on the main Customs Pier.

000 **Accidents—within Port Limits.** On the 4th of May, 1953, a launch belonging to Messrs. Gray, Mackenzie and Co., Ltd., which was alongside near the Sea Front Road, caught fire by the bursting of a stove, and was partly destroyed. The craft was later repaired and returned to service. The Light Tender vessel *Relume* carried out her usual visits of inspection to the lights and buoys.

651 **General.** The estimated revenue for 1373, Rs. 90,00,000, is less than last year's revenue. This figure has been determined by the fact that there are indications of a definite downward trend in prices and there is overstocking of certain commodities, such as piece goods, tea, flour and cars, in the local markets.

### YEAR 1372

### ACTUAL RECEIPTS COMPARED WITH BUDGET ESTIMATES

| Budget Head | Estimated Collections | Actual Collections | Increase | Decrease |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| Customs and Import Yard .. .. | 83,47,500/- | 104,22,120/- | 20,74,620/- | — |
| Diving Licences .. .. | 2,500/- | 1,835/- | — | 665 |
| Miscellaneous .. .. | 50,000/- | 1,25,677/- | 75,677/- | — |
| Total .. | 84,00,000/- | 105,49,632/- | 21,50,297/- | 665 |

Increase over Estimates : Rs. 21,49,632/-

### COMPARISON OF DIFFERENCES

| | Customs (Increase) | Pearling and Craft Licences (Decrease) |
|---|---|---|
| Year 1371 .. | Rs. 27,24,030/- | Rs. 998/- |
| Year 1372 .. .. | Rs. 21,50,297/- | Rs. 665/- |

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## COMPARISON OF ACTUAL RECEIPTS

| | Year 1371 | Year 1372 | Increase. | Decrease. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| Customs, Import Yard and Miscellaneous .. | 97,21,530/- | 105,47,797/- | 8,26,267/- | — |
| Diving and Craft Licences .. | 1,502/- | 1,835/- | 333/- | — |
| | Net Increase : Rs. 8,26,600/- | | | |

## COMPARISONS OF CUSTOMS CLASSIFIED RECEIPTS

| | Year 1371 | Year 1372 | Increase. | Decrease. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| A. Steamers .. .. | 69,09,644/- | 74,97,479/- | 5,87,835/- | — |
| B. Craft .. .. | 4,77,975/- | 4,86,620/- | 8,645/- | — |
| C. Passengers' Baggage .. | 86,130/- | 96,878/- | 10,748/- | — |
| D. Parcels .. .. | 6,88,343/- | 7,73,922/- | 85,579/- | — |
| E. D.T. Cargoes .. .. | 4,06,319/- | 3,10,788/- | — | 95,531/- |
| F. Export Duties .. .. | 5,404/- | 20,560/- | 15,156/- | — |
| G. Miscellaneous .. .. | 93,508/- | 1,25,677/- | 32,169/- | — |
| H. I.Y. Collections .. .. | 10,54,207/- | 12,35,873/- | 1,81,666/- | — |
| Rs. | 97,21,530/- | 105,47,797/- | 9,21,798/- | 95,531/- |
| | Increase : Rs. 8,26,267/- | | | |

## COMPARISON OF PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES

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| Commodity. | Year 1371 | | Year 1372 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Quantity. | Value. | Quantity. | Value. |
| Rice, cwts. .. .. | 2,14,878 | 100,93,800/- | 3,39,805 | 191,23,735/- |
| Wheat, cwts. .. .. | 30,472 | 9,81,065/- | 26,200 | 8,93,665/- |
| Flour, cwts. .. .. | 1,35,453 | 50,20,735/- | 2,03,693 | 64,23,665/- |
| Tea, cases .. .. | 53,237 | 53,35,200/- | 92,357 | 73,4,265/- |
| Coffee, bags .. .. | 9,607 | 37,40,600/- | 11,777 | 40,70,265/- |
| Sugar (soft), cwts. .. .. | 1,89,545 | 87,43,735/- | 1,76,816 | 61,23,400/- |
| *Piece-goods* : | | | | |
| Cottons .. .. | Rs. 127,82,935/- | | Rs. 104,46,265/- | |
| Woollens .. .. | 31,32,335/- | | 23,46,400/- | |
| Silks .. .. .. | 41,29,400/- | | 41,87,665/- | |

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 M22 Bahrain M22



377
655 Six Wiring Contractors' Licences were issued to local merchants bringing the total to 31. Licences were also issued to 12 additional wiremen who had been successful in passing the Department's tests.

**Future Prospects.** When the 750 k.w. Generating Set, now being installed, is put into commission the present Power Station will have reached its full capacity and no further machines will be installed there.

The new scheme, whereby natural gas will be used to generate electric power, is scheduled to commence operating from a new Power Station, situated near the R.N. Wireless Station, Jufair, during the summer of 1373. Initially this station will contain four 1,000 k.w. Gas Engine Generating Sets. The first two of these will operate as Diesel Generating Sets for some twelve months until the natural gas is available from the oil-field.

The Contracting Engineers for this scheme are Messrs. D. and C. and William Press who, at the end of the year had commenced preparing the site for the new Power Station. The project includes for the distribution of ample supplies of electricity to all parts of Bahrain and it is expected that the initial stages will be completed in some two and a half years time.

The distribution of domestic gas is also being considered as a long-term policy.

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●651 **Workshops Department.** This Department continued to carry out new work and repairs for all Departments of the Government and many private jobs were undertaken for local firms.

Work for the Government produced a revenue of Rs. 22,310, while private jobs produced Rs. 15,822, showing an overall loss of Rs. 2,218.

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495 **Transport Department.** There was an increase of 25 per cent. over the previous year of the total number of vehicles, mechanical plant, etc., operated by Government Departments and to cope with this increase the Transport Department continued to expand.

A Petrol Filling Station was constructed by Public Works Department and opened on the 8th Shawal, 1372, for the issue of Petrol, Oil, Air and Water. All Government vehicles now draw from this point.

Eight lock-up garages for the storage of spare vehicles were constructed and a heavy duty vehicle lift, cApable of lifting vehicles weighing up to eight tons, was installed in the main shed.

The total number of vehicles on charge at the end of the year is :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (*a*) | Load-carrying vehicles (Trucks) | 31 |
| (*b*) | Buses, Station Wagons, etc. | 13 |
| (*c*) | Pick-ups | 15 |
| (*d*) | Saloon Cars | 25 |
| (*e*) | Land Rovers | 19 |
| (*f*) | Motor Cycles | 23 |
| | | 126 |

| | |
|---|---|
| The total number of Launches, Mechanical Plant, Machinery, etc., on charge at end of the year | 41 |
| Vehicles written off as being beyond economical repair | 10 |
| The total number of new vehicles ordered was | 33 |
| The total number of new vehicles received was | 38 |
| The total number of service operations carried out on vehicles during the year was | 3024 |
| The total number of repair jobs, both major and minor, carried out on vehicles, machinery, etc., was | 5887 |

## FINANCE

651 652 **Revenue and Expenditure 1372.** The total revenue in 1372 was 373½ lakhs. There was an increase in revenue from almost all sources, the largest increase being the the oil revenue which was 39½ lakhs more than in 1371. Customs receipts were 8 lakhs higher ; the income from the Reserve Fund was 3 lakhs more than in the previous year and the all-round increase was 58 lakhs. The additional revenue from oil was due to the new arrangement under which certain payments were received during the year 1372.

Expenditure was considerably higher than in the previous year. Without the payment of one-third of the oil revenue to the Privy Purse, which amounted to over 80 lakhs, and excluding unforeseen expenditure and non-recurrent public works, the cost of maintaining the present administration, Government Departments, Education, Public Protection, Public Health, Maintenance of buildings and roads, etc., etc., was 20 lakhs more than in 1371.

More money was spent upon Education, Public Health and Public Protection which for many years have been the three largest recurrent items in the State's budget. It can, however, be claimed that educational facilities were enlarged and improved, law and order were well maintained and medical work was developed.

In addition to the usual grants to the Municipalities the Government presented a new fish, meat and vegetable market to the Manama Municipality, to cater for the people living in East Manâma, and also paid for a new fire engine. Extra grants amounting to Rs. 60,000 per annum were made to the Muharraq and Rafaa Municipalities.

Unforeseen expenditure included 9 lakhs refunded to the Food Control Department to meet a loss on sugar which had been purchased by the Government during the last three years. This payment was in fact a subsidy to keep down the price of sugar ; sugar was also used as barter to encourage meat imports from Persia at a reasonable price. Few people realise that the prices of sugar and meat, and in the past, other essential foods, have since early in the war been subsidised by the Government.

Special legal expenses amounted to two lakhs. The cost of the aerial survey, carried out by Messrs. Hunting Aerosurvey, and the preparation of maps, etc., amounted to 1-1/5 lakhs, ; donations to fire victims and contributions by the Government to the T.B. Fund came to 1½ lakhs ; the expenses incurred by the visit of the Ruler of Kuwait amounted to Rs. 60,000 and the cost of His Highness's official visit to Europe was Rs. 1,18,000.

The total expenditure by the Public Works Department was 50 lakhs. Out of this sum almost 10 lakhs was spent on productive works such as blocks of flats, offices, etc. for letting ; 4 lakhs was spent on stores ; 4½ lakhs on roads and the remaining amount on a number of large and small building projects which included the new Palace, a block of staff quarters at Qudhabia, consisting of six European style flats ; quarters for teachers above the Technical School; extensions to the Qudhabia Palace ; new Customs Sheds ; a Jetty and sea reclamation in the customs area ; additional private wards in the Government Hospital ; married lines for the Police at the Fort, and many additions to schools, dispensaries, offices and other Government premises.

The summary of Revenue and Expenditure shows that by the end of the year the Reserve Fund was 464½ lakhs, invested in British and Indian stock and the Government held over 42½ lakhs in various current accounts. Other assets of the State were the Government's investment in the Electricity Supply Undertaking, over the last 25 years, amounting to 64½ lakhs ; a similar investment in the Manama Town Water Supply of 13 lakhs over the last five years, and an investment of 20 lakhs in the new gas-electric scheme.

**Budget 1373 (Revenue).** The estimated oil revenue is 386½ lakhs of which 310 lakhs is Income Tax, on the 50-50 basis, and 76½ lakhs is the payment on imported oil at the rate of 2 annas per barrel. It is assumed that the quantity of oil produced and imported will be the same as in 1372. The estimated oil revenue is 188½ lakhs more than was estimated in the 1372 budget, which was made before the new 50-50 arrangement was finally agreed upon, and 146 lakhs more than last year's actual oil revenue.

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Customs receipts have continued to rise ; they are estimated at 90 lakhs, a figure which is based on the average of the actuals of the last three years. Last year the Customs produced 105¼ lakhs.

The income from investments of the Reserve Fund has risen from a little more than 12 lakhs, in 1372 to 17¾ lakhs.

Land revenue, which includes registration fees on sales and titles, rents of land occupied by barasti dwellers and proceeds from sales of land has been assessed at 2 lakhs. Last year more than twice this sum was received, mostly from sales of land ; it is unlikely that there will be as many sales as in 1373 as little land remains which the Government is willing to dispose of.

Medical receipts are higher partly because X-Ray charges and sales of drugs are now under "Revenue" instead of being deducted from expenditure.

Under revenue from public works there is a decrease in income from bridge tolls. On his return from England His Highness abolished tolls on private cars, which was a popular move among car owners, who could in fact more easily afford to pay the small toll charge. Rents from buildings have increased. This item is the revenue from leases of blocks of flats and government owned shops ; it is one of the few forms of productive local investment in which the Government can participate.

The total estimated revenue for 1373 is 507¼ lakhs as against an estimated revenue of 304¼ lakhs in 1372. In 1372 however, the actual revenue exceeded the budgeted revenue by 69 lakhs owing to certain payments of oil revenue under the new oil agreement being received during the year.

**Expenditure.** Expenditure has increased considerably, the largest item being the one-third oil revenue which is paid to the Privy Purse of the Ruler ; from this he pays the Civil List which includes a large number of members of the Ruling Family. The oil payment to the Ruler increases according to the oil revenue and now amounts to 128¾ lakhs, slightly under one million pounds.

State Departments will cost about a lakh more than in the previous year ; the reason for this, and for increases in other departmental expenditure, is the automatic annual increment system, applicable to a large proportion of employees, and an adjustment in salaries which was made in 1372 when "cost of living" allowances were abolished and consolidated rates of pay were instituted. This also increased the Government's contributions to the Employees' Provident Fund which is now assessed on their consolidated pay.

Education will cost 35¾ lakhs, 9 lakhs more than in 1372 ; of this increase 6¼ lakhs is on account of boys schools, 1¼ lakhs for girls schools and one-third lakh is for technical education. More boys are being given scholarships to complete their education abroad and more schools are being opened in Bahrain. There is always a demand for more schools from both towns and villages.

The cost of health services is also rising rapidly ; it now amounts to 34 lakhs and has increased by 10-1/3 lakhs since last year. This sum includes provision for considerable development of medical work, but against this figure can be set medical receipts totalling 3¼ lakhs. Neither the Education or Public Health budgets include the cost of new buildings, new schools, hospitals and dispensaries. These works form part of the Public Works budget.

Provision has been made under Public Protection to raise the Police Force to 350 N.C.O's and men, though it is probable that the full complement will not be enlisted during the year.

Subsidies to Municipalities amount to 2¼ lakhs ; they also receive half of the revenue from bridge tolls. Though Manama, and to a lesser extent, Muharraq, are wealthy cities yet their citizens, as represented by the Municipal Councils, expect to be financed almost entirely from Government grants.

651 The allocation to the Transport Department is less than in last year's budget, as in 1372 a quantity of new equipment was bought.

652 A very large programme of work is to be carried out by the Public Works Department during the year. This is described in a separate statement. To cope with it effectively the staff of the department has to be enlarged.

Specifications for the deep water pier near Jufair are being prepared by the Government's Consulting Engineers in London. Only the causeway leading to the pier will be constructed by the Public Works Department, the dredging and the construction of the pierhead will be carried out by outside firms.

It is unlikely that much progress will be made on this project during the year, apart from the causeway, so 20 lakhs has been provided for the scheme.

The sum of 40 lakhs has been set aside for the Electric-Gas scheme which embodies an extension of electric power to all the towns and villages in Bahrain. At present only Manama and Muharraq are supplied with electricity.

During the year it is hoped that 135¼ lakhs may be added to the Reserve Fund.

A fact of interest which emerges from the budget is that if all new works and schemes were excluded from the budget the revenue from sources other than oil would be sufficient to pay for the administration and running of the state on the present scale. The total revenue, without oil, is 121 lakhs, the total expenditure, excluding the one-third of the oil revenue which is paid to the Ruler, new projects and works, and without a contribution to the Reserve Fund, is 119¼ lakhs.

The following figures show, roughly, how the oil and other revenue has been used since the State first received royalties from oil :

**OIL RECEIPTS**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oil Royalty, less one-third, paid to the Privy Purse, from 1354 until 1368 (15 years) | | | Rs. 299,95,000 |
| 1369 Royalty at Rs. 3/8 per ton and Rs. 10/- | | | 62,55,000 |
| 1370 Royalty at Rs. 10/- per ton | | | 92,26,000 |
| 1371 Royalty at Rs. 10/- per ton | | | 94,01,000 |
| 1372 Income Tax | | | 103,92,000 |
| 1373 Income Tax received during period ending on 31st December, 1953 (relating to 1952) and payment at the rate of Rs. 10/- per ton on exported oil for the first half of 1953 | | | 103,70,000 |
| | | | Rs. 756,39,000 |
| Duty on imported oil, less one-third paid to the Privy Purse : | | | |
| 1370 | Rs. 10,00,000 | | |
| 1371 | 40,00,000 | | |
| 1372 | 56,39,000 | | |
| Until 31st December, 1953 | 12,56,000 | | |
| | | | 118,95,000 |
| Total | | | Rs. 875,34,000 |
| **Reserve Fund** | | | |
| Capital Accounts | | | Rs. 562,40,000 |
| Electric Supply, Water Supply and Electric-Gas Scheme | | | 96,98,000 |
| **Loans Advanced** | | | |
| Foodstuffs Account | 3,46,000 | | |
| Gulf Aviation Company | 8,00,000 | | |
| Deposit Account | 12,53,000 | | |
| | | | 23,99,000 |
| Cash in hand | | | 47,88,000 |
| Closing Balance, 31st December, 1953 | | | Rs. 731,25,000 |

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In addition, during the period between 1935 and 1953 the Public Works Department incurred the following expenditure :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Revenue producing projects (shops, flats and buildings for rent) .. | Rs. | 46,80,000 |
| Unproductive projects (Public buildings, staff quarters, offices, hospitals, schools, etc.) .. .. .. .. | | 149,84,000 |

The principal works which were carried out by the P.W.D. during the period between 1935 and 1953 are shown below. This list does not include projects which were carried out before the State possessed any oil revenue, such as the Manama-Muharraq causeway, which in those days cost only 7½ lakhs.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Shops and Flats on Lease** | | |
| House at Quadabiya .. .. .. .. .. | Rs. 50,000 | |
| Shops and Offices on Barrett Road .. .. .. .. .. | 7,04,000 | |
| Post Office and Flat .. .. .. .. .. .. | 1,57,000 | |
| Flat over Manama Police Station .. .. .. .. .. | 72,000 | |
| Dilmun House (Flats) .. .. .. .. .. | 8,05,000 | |
| Shops and Flats south of Dilmun House .. .. .. .. | 1,94,000 | |
| Tylos House (Flats) .. .. .. .. .. .. | 5,61,000 | |
| Awal House (Flats) .. .. .. .. .. .. | 7,01,000 | |
| Aradus House (Flats) .. .. .. .. .. .. | 9,25,000 | |
| Workmen's Houses .. .. .. .. .. .. | 5,11,000 | |
| | | 46,80,000 |
| Government Offices, Bab al Bahrain .. .. .. .. .. .. | | 5,56,000 |
| Customs Buildings, Sheds, Pier Extension, Jetty, Crane and Railroad .. .. | | 27,50,000 |
| Law Court and Flats .. .. .. .. .. .. | | 1,24,000 |
| P.W.D. Building, Flat and Stores .. .. .. .. .. .. | | 4,86,000 |
| Transport, Shed, Stores, Officer's flat and Filling Station .. .. .. | | 4,14,000 |
| British Staff Quarters (Old Quarantine) .. .. .. .. .. | | 7,11,000 |
| Quadabiya Palace Extension .. .. .. .. .. .. | | 3,11,000 |
| **Public Security** | | |
| Fort Extension, Police Houses (Fort) and Police and Natur Stations in Bahrain .. | | 11,56,000 |
| **Public Health** | | |
| Hospitals and Dispensaries .. .. .. .. .. | 16,25,000 | |
| Nursing Sisters' House .. .. .. .. .. .. | 2,20,000 | |
| Indian Staff Quarters .. .. .. .. .. .. | 3,83,000 | |
| T.B. Sanatorium and Lunatic Asylum .. .. .. .. | 3,20,000 | |
| Health Office and Flat .. .. .. .. .. | 4,78,000 | |
| Staff Quarters on Rafaa Road (in progress) .. .. .. .. | 1,68,000 | |
| | | 31,94,000 |
| **Education** | | |
| Muharraq and Manama West School Extensions, Teachers' Quarters, West School, Budaiya, Rafaa and Village Schools, Muharraq Girls' School .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 5,40,000 | |
| Hostel .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 11,66,000 | |
| Secondary School .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 5,71,000 | |
| Al Zahra School (Girls) .. .. .. .. .. .. | 6,48,000 | |
| Muharraq Boys' School .. .. .. .. .. .. | 5,23,000 | |
| Quarters over Technical School Building .. .. .. .. | 5,24,000 | |
| Staff Quarters, Girls' Education .. .. .. .. .. | 1,10,000 | |
| | | 40,82,000 |
| New Quadabiya Palace (in progress .. .. .. .. .. .. | .. | 12,00,000 |
| | Rs. | 196,64,000 |

Towards the end of the year His Highness agreed that in future the budget of the State and the annual accounts should be done according to the Gregorian Calendar provided that for the time being, monthly salaries should continue to be paid according to the Hejira Calendar. This somewhat complicated transition is being achieved by a supplementary budget being made to cover the period from 1st January, 1954 till 31st December, 1954.

## SUMMARY OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE FOR YEAR 1372

| Revenue | | | Expenditure | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Balance from year 1371 : | | | Expenditure 1372 | | 248,67,846 10 11 |
| Reserve Fund | 335,87,929 15 2 | | Balance at end of Dhulhaj, 1372 : | | |
| Capital Accounts and Advances | 132,06,458 11 5 | | Reserve Fund | 468,25,675 12 6 | |
| Cash on hand | 38,21,911 5 7 | | Capital Accounts and Advances | 120,06,233 3 10 | |
| | 506,16,300 0 2 | | Cash on hand | 42,82,558 6 2 | |
| Revenue 1372 | 373,66,014 1 3 | | | 631,14,467 6 6 | |
| | Rs. 879,82,314 1 5 | | | Rs. 879,82,314 1 5 | |

Balance explained :—

| | | Face Value. | Purchase Value. |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Reserve Fund :* | | | |
| 3 per cent. Indian Government Loan, 1963/65 | | 113,28,200 | 108,57,058 10 11 |
| 2½ per cent. Indian Government Loan, 1960 | | 10,00,000 | 10,05,315 15 6 |
| 3 per cent. British Saving Bonds, 1955/65 | 66,00,000 | 80,00,000 | 80,33,615 9 5 |
| 3 per cent. British Saving Bonds, 1960/70 | 14,50,000 | 193,33,333 | 169,73,712 7 8 |
| 3 per cent. British Transport Stock, 1978/88 | 2,25,000 | 30,00,000 | 27,69,113 1 0 |
| 4 per cent. Funding Loan, 1960/90 | 5,00,000 | 66,66,667 | 67,86,860 0 0 |
| | | 493,28,200 | 464,25,675 12 6 |
| *Capital Accounts and Advances :* | | | |
| Electric Supply Department | 64,42,879 6 5 | | |
| Water Supply Department | 12,92,242 7 8 | | |
| Gas Scheme | 30,52,000 0 0 | | |
| Foodstuffs Account | 8,95,332 13 2 | | |
| Deposit Account | 9,23,778 8 7 | | |
| Loan Advanced to Gulf Aviation Co., Ltd. | 8,00,000 0 0 | | |
| | | | 124,06,233 3 10 |
| *Cash in hand :* | | | |
| Imprest Accounts | 19,400 0 0 | | |
| Eastern Bank Ltd., London | 31,91,393 4 6 | | |
| Eastern Bank Ltd., Baghdad | 341 14 6 | | |
| Eastern Bank Ltd., Bombay | 10,362 8 10 | | |
| Reserve Bank of India, Bombay | 5,29,880 14 6 | | |
| Eastern Bank Ltd., Bahrain : | | | |
| Consolidated Fund | 4,67,518 10 9 | | |
| Police Account | 53,490 0 11 | | |
| Education Account | 10,171 0 2 | | |
| | 5,31,179 11 10 | | |
| | | | 42,82,558 6 2 |
| | | Rs. | 631,14,467 6 6 |

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## STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE—1372

| Revenue | | | | Expenditure | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **OIL RECEIPTS :** | | | | **PAYMENTS TO THE PRIVY PURSE :** | | | |
| Income Tax .. .. .. .. | 155,84,326 3 7 | | | One-third Oil Income Tax .. .. .. | 51,92,426 15 6 | | |
| Duty on Imported Oil .. .. .. | 84,58,415 11 1 | | | One-third Duty on Imported Oil .. .. | 28,19,122 4 10 | | |
| | | 240,42,741 14 8 | | | | 80,11,549 4 4 | |
| Customs Receipts including Import Yard Charges, etc. .. .. .. | | 105,44,435 8 0 | | Advocate .. .. .. .. | | 1,84,091 1 6 | |
| Interest on Reserve .. .. .. .. | | 11,76,952 4 4 | | Accounts and Audit .. .. .. | | 1,72,907 12 9 | |
| Interest on Loan .. .. .. .. | | 40,000 0 0 | | Customs Department .. .. .. | | 7,01,332 4 6 | |
| Land Revenue .. .. .. .. | | 5,40,270 13 0 | | Land Registration Department .. .. | | 1,18,924 13 3 | |
| Education Receipts .. .. .. .. | | 25,881 14 0 | | Passport Department .. .. .. | | 1,28,263 15 0 | |
| Medical Receipts .. .. .. .. | | 2,33,756 5 0 | | Food Control Department .. .. .. | | 63,732 10 0 | |
| Car Taxes and Driving Licences .. .. | | 1,34,118 15 0 | | Awkaf Departments .. .. .. .. | | 47,653 12 0 | |
| Passport Receipts .. .. .. .. | | 53,989 8 0 | | Minors Estates Department .. .. .. | | 30,148 12 0 | |
| Judicial Receipts .. .. .. .. | | 53,562 2 0 | | Law Courts .. .. .. .. | | 1,37,687 11 0 | |
| Public Works : | | | | Sheraa Courts .. .. .. .. | | 49,203 5 0 | |
| Bridge Tolls .. .. .. .. | 1,33,145 13 4 | | | Education .. .. .. .. | | 26,87,906 8 9 | |
| Rent of Government Buildings .. .. | 1,82,656 8 0 | | | Public Health .. .. .. .. | | 23,53,249 13 4 | |
| | | 3,15,802 5 4 | | Public Protection .. .. .. .. | | 16,54,893 10 1 | |
| Oil Inspection Fees .. .. .. .. | | 1,43,466 2 0 | | Municipalities .. .. .. .. | | 4,93,193 15 8 | |
| Miscellaneous Receipts .. .. .. | | 61,036 5 11 | | Oil Inspection Department .. .. .. | | 79,674 14 9 | |
| | | 373,66,014 1 3 | | Agriculture .. .. .. .. | | 1,45,137 15 9 | |
| Balance from year 1371 .. .. .. | | 506,16,300 0 2 | | Transport Department .. .. .. | | 4,51,979 3 3 | |
| | | | | Unforeseen .. .. .. .. | | 17,32,056 5 0 | |
| | | | | **Public Works :** | | | |
| | | | | *Recurrent :* | | | |
| | | | | Public Works Department .. .. .. | 1,68,711 6 7 | | |
| | | | | Shaikh Hamad Bridge .. .. .. | 30,815 15 0 | | |
| | | | | Maintenance Roads .. .. .. | 2,34,997 12 2 | | |
| | | | | Annual Repairs Government Buildings .. .. | 1,69,733 9 9 | | |
| | | | | *Non-recurrent :* | | | |
| | | | | New Works and Stores .. .. .. | 50,12,663 6 0 | | |
| | | | | | | 56,16,922 1 6 | |
| | | | | Deep Water Pier .. .. .. .. | | 7,336 13 6 | |
| | | | | | | 248,67,846 10 11 | |
| | | | | Balance at end of Dhulhaj, 1372 .. .. | | 631,14,467 6 6 | |
| | Rs. | 879,82,314 1 5 | | | Rs. | 879,82,314 1 5 | |

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2
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| PRINCIPAL HEADS OF REVENUE | Estimates 1372 Rs. | Total Estimates 1372 Rs. | Actuals 1372 Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. *Oil Receipts* : | | | |
| (a) Income Tax | 138,00,000 | | 155,84,300 |
| (b) Duty on Imported Crude Oil | 60,00,000 | | 84,58,400 |
| | | 198,00,000 | |
| 2. *Customs Receipts* : | | | |
| (a) Customs and Import Yards | 83,47,500 | | 104,22,100 |
| (b) Miscellaneous | 52,500 | | 1,22,300 |
| | | 84,00,000 | |
| 3. *Interest* : | | | |
| (a) Interest on Reserve | 10,75,000 | | 11,77,000 |
| (b) Interest on Loan Advanced | 40,000 | | 40,000 |
| | | 11,15,000 | |
| 4. *Land Revenue* : | | | |
| (a) Fees from Sales Registration | 1,25,000 | | 1,28,200 |
| (b) Sales of Government Lands | 60,000 | | 3,51,100 |
| (c) Rents of Government Lands and Aerodromes | 48,000 | | 61,000 |
| | | 2,33,000 | |
| 5. *Education* : | | | |
| (a) Boys' Schools | 10,000 | | 9,100 |
| (b) Girls' Schools | 10,000 | | 12,400 |
| (c) Technical School | 5,000 | | 4,400 |
| | | 25,000 | |
| 6. *Medical Receipts* : | | | |
| (a) Nursing Home Fees | 65,000 | | 92,000 |
| (b) General Fees | 52,000 | | 63,900 |
| (c) Quarantine Fees | 53,000 | | 53,000 |
| (d) Miscellaneous | — | | 24,900 |
| | | 1,70,000 | |
| 7. *Car Taxes and Driving Licences* | | 95,000 | |
| 8. *Passport Receipts* | | 72,000 | |
| 9. *Judicial Receipts* : | | | |
| (a) Court Fees | 35,000 | | 45,900 |
| (b) Fines | 10,000 | | 7,700 |
| | | 45,000 | |
| 10. *Public Works* : | | | |
| (a) Bridge Tolls | 1,45,000 | | 1,33,100 |
| (b) Rent of Government Shops and Buildings | 1,90,000 | | 1,82,600 |
| | | 3,35,000 | |
| 11. *Oil Inspection Fees* | | 1,60,000 | |
| 12. *Miscellaneous Receipts* | | 10,000 | |

[page 76 a]

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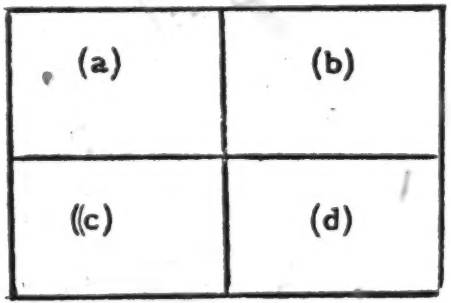
[In preparing this source for inclusion in the file it was necessary to reproduce the chart facing p. 16 in four parts. The plan for proper assembling is as follows:



5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

## FINANCE

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**Revenue.** Until two years ago almost the whole revenue of the State was derived from the customs dues upon imports whose quantity depended mainly upon the success of the pearl trade. Pearls themselves have never been taxed, although it has frequently been stated in the European press that Bahrain derived its revenue from direct taxation of pearls. It has been the consistent policy of the Government to encourage the diving industry by charging no dues on the import and export of pearls. The pearl trade was formerly the only local industry of any importance in Bahrain.

During the first four or five years of the period under review, for which I give the financial figures for twelve years in this report, Bahrain was in a prosperous condition and dependent for its revenue upon local resources. Probably few countries in the world which can boast of any form of administration have been subject to such slight taxation as Bahrain. Apart from the 5% customs tax on imports, no form of taxation existed in Bahrain except a small municipal house tax in Manamah and in Muharraq. Land tax, date-tree tax, Ashur and Zikat have never been levied, and the country people pay no taxes except the duty on imports. This condition is very different from that existing in neighbouring States such as Persia and Saoudi Arabia.

During the first few years of the period mentioned in this report the average revenue was about eleven lakhs per annum, and this sum in those days was sufficient for the administration of the country as well as for carrying out various important public improvements, including sinking artesian wells, installing electric light and power, and constructing some important works such as roads and buildings.

In 1348 (June 1929—May 1930) there was an alarming fall in the revenue due to the slump in the pearl trade which was owing to general financial depression in Europe, and especially the increasing competition of cultured pearls which were produced in Japan. From then, until money began to pour in from oil, the income of the State decreased rapidly, and the financial future of the State caused the gravest anxiety to those who controlled its finances. In spite of drastic economies, reductions in staff and cuts in the Civil List and in the pay of all Government servants, it became necessary to draw upon the very small reserve fund during two years, in order to provide for the much-reduced annual expenditure which was required for the maintenance of the administration and the protection of the country.

It was fortunate that at that time the State had no heavy financial obligations to meet, such as repayment of loans or outstanding debts on account of public works. By reducing expenditure by cuts in pay and by increasing the 5% *ad valorem* customs duty to 10% on certain luxury articles, and to 15% on tobacco and liquor in 1352 (April 1933—April 1934), and by appropriation from the Reserve Fund, it was possible to weather the storm. This could not have been done without the co-operation of the general public, the Ruling Family, and all Government employees, who appreciated the position and accepted the changes without opposition.

The most acute years of the crisis in Bahrain were 1351 and 1352 (May 1932—April 1933 and April 1933—April 1934). In these years the revenue shrunk to Rs 6,84,000/- and Rs 7,26,000/-. In 1353 (April 1934—April 1935), the Bahrain Government sold to the British Government three large areas on Muharraq island and Manamah, from which the net profit to this Government was just over one lac. Although this sum was not normal revenue, it was included in the revenue of the year and it enabled me to balance the Budget.

During 1354 over five lakhs were received from the oil royalty, the total revenue was Rs 13,40,000/-, which was one lakh more than any previous year. At the end of the year the Reserve Fund was increased from two lakhs to four lakhs, cuts in pay were restored, and increased expenditure was authorised for State Protection and Public Services, including medical and educational services and the monthly grants to the municipalities, which had been reduced by 50%, were restored to the previous amount. The oil payment was made at the very end of the year and it was very much greater than that shown in the Budget for 1354.

The revenue for 1355 (March 1936—March 1937) was Rs 16,47,000/-, of which Rs 6,92,000/- was oil royalty.

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The financial progress of Bahrain during these years has been briefly as follows: five years of prosperity during which the State depended upon the diving industry, two lean years when the pearl market began to droop, two years of crisis during which the revenue did not cover the expenditure, one year of slight recovery followed by a sudden large increase of revenue from oil. It is likely that during the present year the revenue from oil alone will amount to more than double the total revenue of any previous year.

A detailed report on the revenue of these years is not necessary as it has been dealt with minutely in annual reports, but the accompanying figures show the annual income with explanations of any unusual rise or fall. The subject of this report is the last ten years, and it is not proposed in this report to deal with the future, but it may be stated that, in my opinion, the most urgent need for the State is to provide itself with a solid Reserve Fund which will assure it a regular income which can be depended upon even when oil begins to run dry. Unfortunately it is the nature of Arabs to be over-optimistic and to pay small heed to the future, so the need for building up this reserve will not be generally appreciated.

| *Year.* | *Customs Revenue.* | *Other Revenue.* | *Oil Royalty.* | *Total.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs | Rs | Rs | Rs | |
| 1344 ... | 8,82,000 ... | 1,80,000 ... | — ... | 10,62,000 ... | |
| 1345 ... | 10,68,000 ... | 3,37,000 ... | — ... | 14,05,000 ... | |
| 1346 ... | 11,43,000 ... | 97,000 ... | — ... | 12,40,000 ... | |
| 1347 ... | 11,24,000 ... | 91,000 ... | — ... | 12,15,000 ... | |
| 1348 ... | 9,98,000 ... | 1,36,000 ... | — ... | 11,34,000 ... | |
| 1349 ... | 6,89,000 ... | 1,28,000 ... | — ... | 8,17,000 ... | |
| 1350 ... | 6,85,000 ... | 1,19,000 ... | — ... | 8,04,000 ... | |
| 1351 ... | 6,00,000 ... | 84,000 ... | — ... | 6,84,000 ... | |
| 1352 ... | 6,08,000 ... | 89,000 ... | 29,000 ... | 7,26,000 ... | |
| 1353 ... | 6,57,000 ... | 1,63,000 ... | 67,000 ... | 8,87,000 ... | |
| 1354 ... | 6,91,000 ... | 83,000 ... | 5,68,000 ... | 13,42,000 ... | |
| 1355 ... | 8,74,000 ... | 81,000 ... | 6,92,000 ... | 16,47,000 ... | |

## THE STATE POLICE AND PUBLIC SECURITY

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**The Levy Corps.** In 1926 the armed forces of Bahrain consisted of a Levy Corps, a few Persian police who were originally enlisted by the Municipality, and a body of 'Naturs,' armed watchmen who patrolled the town at night. The Levy Corps provided a guard at the Political Agency and posts at Rafaa and Sitra. The Levy Corps, which consisted of so-called Baluchis recruited in Muscat, was commanded by a British Officer seconded from the Indian Army, assisted by an Indian Officer and several Indian N.C.O.'s from Punjabi regiments. In 1926 the Levy Corps was commanded by Captain Geake, who had succeeded Captain Campbell. The Levy Corps was intended mainly as a defence force in case of any serious disturbance or an attack on Bahrain by the Dawasir Arabs, who once lived at Budeya but left Bahrain in anger soon after Shaikh Hamad assumed control.

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In the spring of 1926 it was decided that the Indian Army officer should be replaced by a British official, who would act as assistant Adviser and Commandant of the Levy Corps. Captain L. S. Parke was appointed in this capacity in place of Captain Geake, who returned to his regiment.

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**Political Disturbances.** There was a general feeling of nervousness and unrest in Bahrain in 1926. Many people were afraid that the Dawasir would make a descent on the coast and a series of armed attacks on Shia villages, organised by disaffected members of the Ruling Family, were still fresh in the public mind. The present Ruler was not yet firmly established, many people were opposed to him, and in certain communities there was a feeling of bitter resentment against the new regime and the various reforms which had been introduced. Conditions were very different to what they are to-day: in the country few people would venture out unarmed at night, and in the towns there were frequent scares of armed attacks.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

## THE NATURS

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The naturs consist of about 150 men who are employed in Manamah and Muharraq as town watchmen. Although they are armed with rifles, they do no drill and are not instructed in musketry or shooting. They are under the command of the Amirs of Manamah and Muharraq. Their chief duty is to patrol the bazaars and streets of the two towns during the night and to assist the police in any emergency. They are a cheap and useful force and an effective preventative against theft. They are paid Rs 25/- per month and they receive no rations or clothing except a white shirt and a headdress which they wear on official occasions. Men who are likely candidates for the police are frequently posted to the natur force until a vacancy occurs in the police; in this way they get some training before becoming policemen. The naturs are especially useful for investigation work and are frequently used in liquor and opium cases. In spite of occasional friction between the Amirs and the police N.C.O.'s, the naturs and the police work well together.

## CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT AND REVENUE

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**Organisation and Establishment.** The Customs Department in its present form has existed for about fourteen years. Before then the late Ruler was in the habit of farming out the customs to certain Hindu merchants, which was unsatisfactory both to the State and to the mercantile community. In 1923 the Government of India lent to the Bahrain Government a special officer to organise a regular customs department which was based on Indian methods and the Bill of Entry system. In 1924, Mr. C. L. deGrenier was appointed Director of Customs, and he continues to hold the post. The institution of a regular customs system and department was appreciated by the public.

The customs was the first organised department of the Government, and in the beginning it acted as a general revenue department and dealt with many other matters besides customs; even now the collection of pearling and boat licences and registration of craft is done through the customs department.

The customs staff consists of the Director of Customs and nine senior Indian clerks, mostly men of long service, and about a dozen local clerks, of whom eight joined the department from the Government schools. In addition to the clerical staff there are about twenty-five naturs, many of whom are Bahrain-born Baluchis, the descendants of the Baluchi bodyguard who have been attached to the Khalifah shaikhs for many years. Customs officials are posted at Muharraq and at Sitra. There is no regular preventive service, as the local police and naturs are employed to detect cases of smuggling.

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**Revenue.** **1. Customs Duty.** Customs revenue is obtained from customs duties and Import Yard charges. Duty is assessed *ad valorem*, according to the local market value, but in practice the invoice price of goods is normally accepted for assessment of duty.

Until 1351 (1932-33), customs duty on goods of every kind was 5%; liquor was imported free of customs duty as it was regarded as an immoral import. In 1351 the duty on certain luxury articles was raised to 7½% and then to 10%, and the duty on tobacco and its products was raised to 15%, and 15% was charged on liquor.

**2. Import Yard charges. Khanchieh.** There is no demurrage or bonded warehouse system in Bahrain. Khanchieh, which is a ground rent for space in the customs premises occupied by imported goods, is charged according to a scale of fixed charges based, not upon value, but roughly on the size of packets. Nothing is charged for the first ten days, but after ten days a charge is made, and also every ensuing ten days.

3. **Porterage.** Porterage is charged for moving cargo from the pier to the sheds.

4. **Pier Fees.** Wharfage is charged according to a fixed tariff and includes 'Biladiya,' or municipal tax, which has now been abolished as a separate charge.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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**5. Landing Company.** The British India Steam Navigation Company's agents have a concession from the Bahrain Government to operate a landing company which is authorised to convey cargo from steamers to the pier. They charge landing fees according to a schedule authorised by the Government, and the Company pays to the Government 5% of its total collections.

The cost of importing normal cargo, at the 5% rate, including all outside costs such as landing fees, import yard charges, etc., amounts to approximately 10%. This amount is not high considering that there is no other form of taxation in Bahrain.

**(*a*) Mainland Cargo.** Bahrain is, to a great extent, a distributing centre for the mainland ports; most of the imports into Saoudi Arabia pass through Bahrain, and for this reason various special systems have been arranged to deal with the transit trade. Until about sixteen years ago, imports through Bahrain which were re-exported to the mainland were charged the same duty as imports into Bahrain. In 1921 the duty on re-exported goods was reduced from 5% to 2%, and during the last ten years further changes have been made.

**(*b*) Optional Cargo System.** In 1349 (1930-31) the *Optional Cargo System* was introduced. Under this system cargo imported into Bahrain, but intended for re-export to certain specified mainland ports, is charged full import duty, but is eventually liable for 2% only when the shipping bills are returned endorsed from the ultimate destination.

**(*c*) Transhipment Cargo.** Transhipment cargo is cargo transferred by boats from steamer to native craft direct; 1¾% duty is charged on such cargo for certain specified ports and 2% for other ports provided that not less than 100 packages are transferred at once.

**Transit Cargo.** Transit cargo is cargo destined to other ports which is landed in Bahrain awaiting shipment. On this cargo 1¾% is charged, and also the import yard charges.

The reduction in duty on goods for certain mainland ports in Saoudi Arabia from 2% to 1¾% was made in 1354 (1935-36) as the result of negotiations by a delegation sent by His Majesty King Ibn Saoud to Bahrain to discuss various commercial matters with the Bahrain Government.

Harbour dues are charged only in the case of foreign launches which are not registered in Bahrain; no harbour dues are charged on native craft, although they are charged in all other ports.

**Export Dues, Boat-Building.** The only exports from Bahrain are dates, shells, animals' skins, and pearls. There is no export duty on pearls, but on the other commodities export duty is levied which amounts to approximately 5%. The only local industry of any importance is boat-building. This in the past was a flourishing trade, but with the slump in the pearl market, boat-building has declined. This table shows the numbers of boats built in Bahrain:

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[396]

| *Year.* | *Boats.* | *Launches.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1346 | 76 | 10 |
| 1347 | 100 | 12 |
| 1348 | 70 | 28 |
| 1349 | 27 | 13 |
| 1350 | 18 | 2 |
| 1351 | 10 | 1 |
| 1352 | 21 | 2 |
| 1353 | 25 | 1 |
| 1354 | 21 | 4 |
| 1355 | 8 | 5 |

The customs collections during the last ten years are shown on the attached graph. The peak year was 1346 (July 27th, 1928); from 1346 until 1351 the revenue decreased each year to an alarming extent; in 1352 it began to improve, mainly owing to the increase in rates of duty which

651 439 was imposed on luxury articles, liquor, and tobacco at the end of the previous year. From 1352 onwards the revenue increased steadily, and at the end of the present year, 1356, it will probably reach the high level which it attained in 1346.

The decrease in revenue resulting from general trade depression in Europe, and particularly the slump in the pearl trade, was caused not so much by a reduced amount of imports but by a decrease in the price of commodities which continued for several years. The cost of rice, flour, and coffee became lower each year during the depression, and importation of comparatively expensive European cotton goods diminished as cheap Japanese goods increased. The shortage of ready money for several years, and the inability of the local Arabs to spend much money on clothes was the greatest stimulus to Japanese trade in the Gulf, and especially in Bahrain. If the spending power of the people had not been so restricted it would have been very much more difficult for the Japanese to monopolise the trade in piece goods and fancy goods. Though the customs collections declined owing to the low value of imports, the cheapness of goods enabled many people to live who would otherwise have found it difficult to exist. I give a table showing the prices of various commodities in different years. The amount of imports, etc., are published yearly in the Bahrain trade report.

653 **Customs Improvements.** The customs pier and the import shed were built about twenty years ago; the pier shed was built in 1924. In 1925 a trolley line system was laid down to facilitate removal of cargo from the pier head to the sheds and to the bazaar. The trolley line resulted in doubling the quantity of daily cargo removals.

In 1927 a small mole and three small docks were constructed on the east of the pier. The mole was too narrow to be of much use, and the docks, which were dry at low tide, were also too small for general use. In 1937 the mole was widened and the new customs house was built on the site of the docks and a large piece of land in front of and on each side of the customs house was reclaimed. The additional area has partially relieved the congestion on the pier, where the area for storing cargo was insufficient.

The lighting of the port was improved in 1931 by the erection of a powerful light on the customs pier, which can be seen from the outer (white) buoy. When electricity was introduced, standard lamps were erected on the pier, enabling work to be carried out at night which was previously done under considerable difficulties. In 1933 the Gray Paul Beacon was lighted with a red flash light which affords great assistance at night to lighterage of cargo. A five-ton crane was purchased in 1930.

505 **Steamship Lines.** In 1924 the port was served only by the British India Steam Navigation Company Limited, with a very occasional Strick Line steamer. In 1925 the first Hansa Line steamer made its appearance. These two lines, and the Strick-Ellerman lines, now call regularly at Bahrain with direct cargo from Europe. In 1934 the Yamashita line, and in 1936 the Mitsui line, commenced regular callings at Bahrain.

In 1931 the British India Steam Navigation Company Limited began the weekly calling here of their subsidiary down-mail which had previously called every fortnight. In October 1932 the first Imperial Airways liner called at Bahrain, and there is now a bi-weekly air service east and west, a service which is expected to become more frequent.

With the development of the Bahrain Petroleum Company, Sitra became the port of oil tankers, and on occasions special permission has been granted for cargo boats to discharge Bahrain Petroleum Company's cargo at Sitra. On these occasions any ordinary cargo not intended for the Company is conveyed by sea to the customs pier in Manamah. Although the Sitra anchorage is more sheltered than the Manamah anchorage, it is not proposed to develop Sitra in any way as a regular port. Customs officials are stationed at Sitra and attend on the aerodrome when ships or aeroplanes are in port.

504 **Future Improvements.** An improvement to the port which has been under consideration on and off for many years is the extension of the existing pier to the edge of the deep water, which is about 400 yards distant from the pier head. Even if the extension were only a narrow one, it would be of great convenience both for passengers

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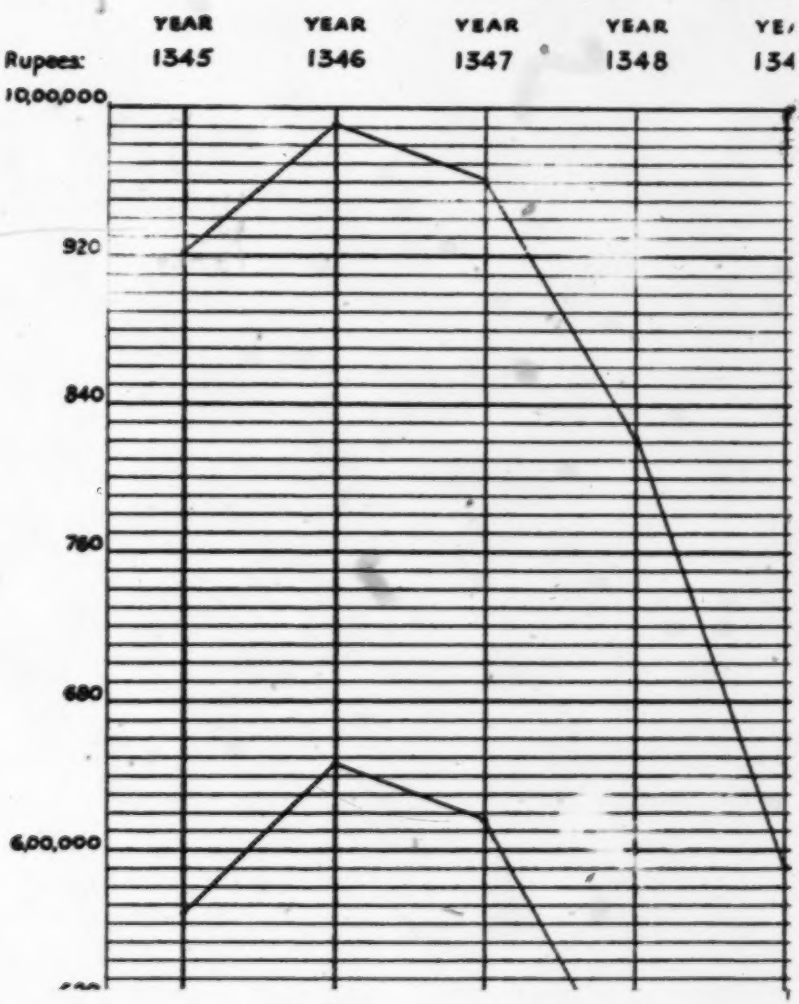
# A decade of Cus

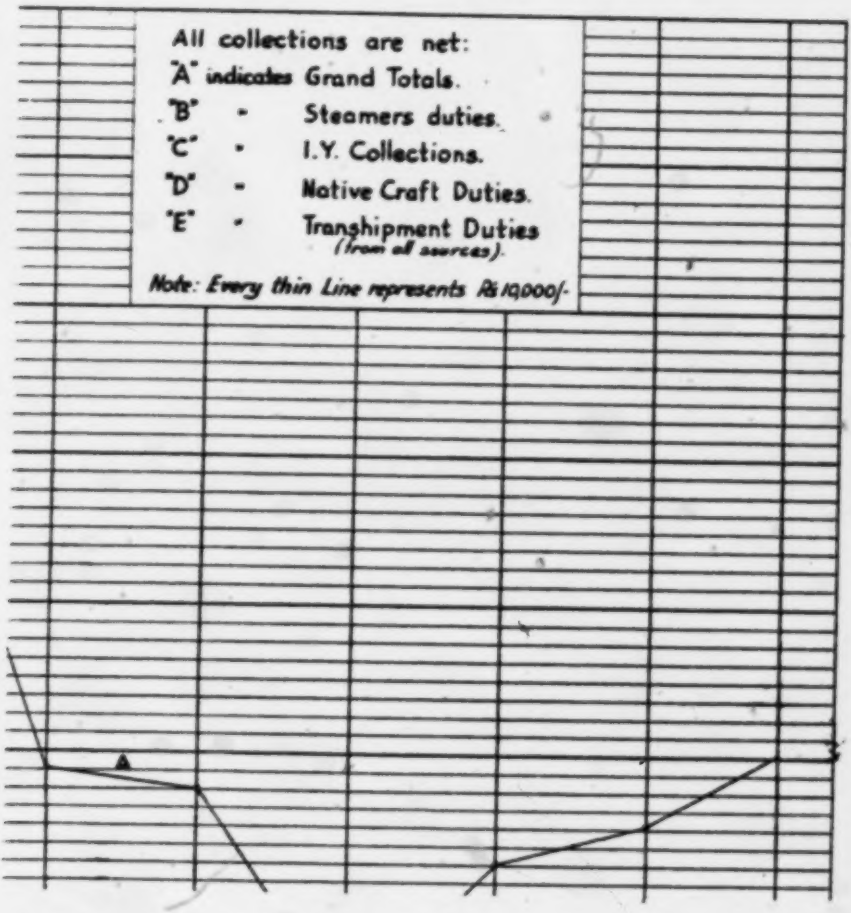



[facing p. 16 A]

# ustoms Progress

● G51

| YEAR | YEAR | YEAR | YEAR | YEAR | YEAR |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1349 | 1350 | 1351 | 1352 | 1353 | 1354 |




[Pacing P. 16 B]

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 BAHRAIN M

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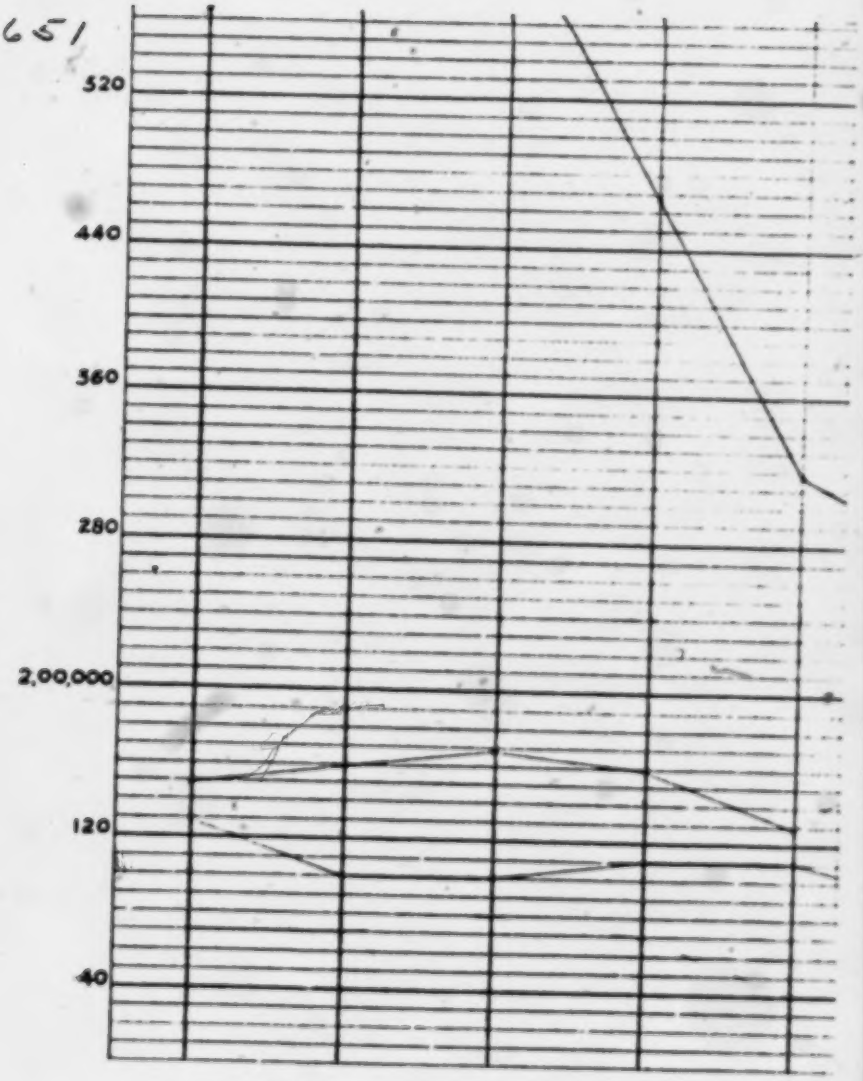


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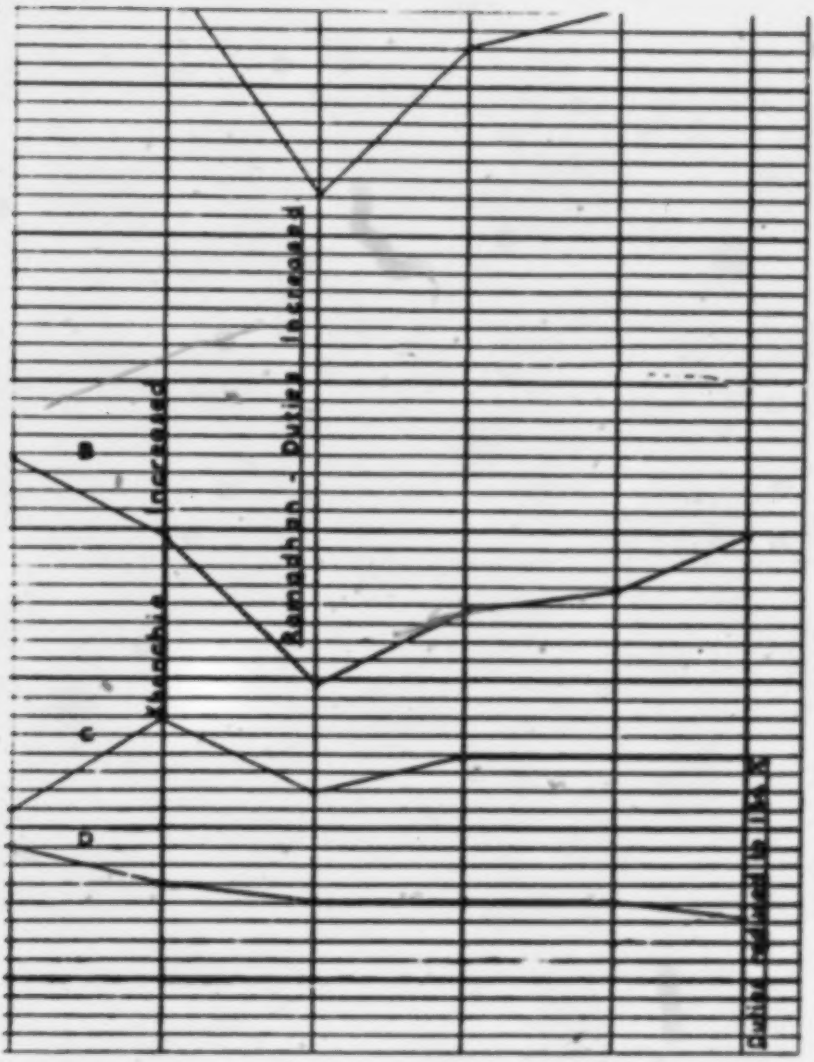


[facing p. 16 D]

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and for cargo, as at present only very small boats can come alongside when the tide is at its lowest. While work was being done on the Manamah-Muharraq road it was inadvisable to start more stone work at the pier, but when the road is complete the pier extension will probably be begun.

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4/39

It is also proposed that a small office for customs and passport officials should be built on the Muharraq aerodrome.

| Year. | Customs Receipts. | No. of Steamers. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1344 ... | 8,83,000 ... | — ... | A poor pearling season. |
| 1345 ... | 9,62,000 ... | — ... | Increase in all imports, especially rice, wheat, flour, and sugar. Persia increased taxes on tea and sugar. |
| 1346 ... | 10,58,000 ... | — ... | Increase of Rs 95,000/- from sugar and piece goods. Good pearling season. |
| 1347 ... | 10,59,000 ... | 118 ... | Bazaars becoming overstocked. |
| 1348 ... | 8,95,000 ... | — ... | Budget expectations not fulfilled. Decrease in wholesale costs of all imports; silk and cotton goods depreciate 25% in value, carpets and abbas 40%. |
| 1349 ... | 6,36,000 ... | 96 ... | Slump in pearl trade; prices of rice and wheat decrease 50%; export of sugar almost ceased. Chief exporter became bankrupt. |
| 1350 ... | 6,19,000 ... | 97 ... | Decrease in prices of all goods. Pearl market very dull. Very large export of gold from Bahrain to India through Indian and Jewish firms. Japanese monopoline piece-goods trade. |
| 1351 ... | 5,46,000 ... | 104 ... | Continued decline in price of staple commodities; one quarter less packages imported. Increase in Japanese goods and import of cheap Japanese silk. Customs dues on luxury articles raised from 5% to 7½%, and then to 10%, and on tobacco to 15%, and liquor, previously free, to 15%. Iraq wheat takes place of Persian wheat in Bahrain market. |
| 1352 ... | 5,58,000 ... | 149 ... | Continued fall in value of commodities. In five years Japanese imports rose from Rs 5,000/- to Rs 13,42,000/-. |
| 1353 ... | 6,01,000 ... | 174 ... (20 oil tankers) | Prices still decreasing, but quantity of imports increased. |
| 1354 ... | 6,50,000 ... | 195 ... (19 oil tankers) | Steady improvement in imports and increased activity in trading. |
| 1355 ... | 8,28,000 ... | 251 ... | Steady improvement in imports and increased activity in trading. |

## PRICES OF COMMODITIES

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| Commodity | Year 1929. | | Year 1934. | | Year 1935. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ballam rice ... ... ... ... | 16/- | ... | 9/8 | ... | 10/8 |
| Karach rice ... ... ... ... | 13/- | ... | 7/8 | ... | 8/- |
| Rangoon rice ... ... ... ... | 13/- | ... | 7/8 | ... | 8/- |
| Sugar, Java ... ... ... ... | 19/- | ... | 12/- | ... | 10/8 |
| Sugar, crystal ... ... ... ... | 16/- | ... | 11/- | ... | 9/8 |
| Sugar, loaf ... ... ... ... | 14/- | ... | 9/- | ... | 8/8 |
| Wheat flour, Indian ... ... ... | 17/- | ... | 11/- | ... | 11/- |
| Wheat flour, Iraqi ... ... ... | — | ... | 7/8 | ... | 6/8 |
| Tea, black ... ... ... ... | 65/- | ... | 40/- | ... | 75/- |

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

## PASSPORT DEPARTMENT

Passport control by the Bahrain Government was begun in 1928, when a passport official was appointed whose duty was to register the names of all passengers landing from steamers in Bahrain. Soon afterwards all passports which were in order were stamped with the Bahrain passport control stamp.

In 1929 the Government began issuing its own passports to its subjects. The book passports are similar to those of other countries; the binding of the passports is scarlet. Passports are valid for two years, but can be renewed for eight more years. Application for passports is made on a printed form; the cost of a book passport is Rs 7/- and for each renewal Rs 5/-.

Soon after the introduction of book passports the Government began to issue travel documents for use within the Gulf, costing Rs 2/-, which are valid for one year only and are not renewable. The proposal that special travel documents should be issued for pilgrims to Mecca and the Shia holy cities in Iraq has not yet materialised.

For the last seven years the British Consular authorities abroad have, on behalf of the Bahrain Government, given visas to persons travelling to Bahrain, and to Bahrain subjects abroad.

Bahrain passports are not considered valid by the authorities in Persia. Persians living in Bahrain are given special exit and return passes, valid for twelve months, which enable them to go to Persia and return, and a special arrangement is made in the case of genuine Persian divers working in Bahrain boats. Other Persians who wish to visit Bahrain have to obtain special permission from the Bahrain Government, and such permission is only given on the written and stamped guarantee of a respectable local merchant, who assumes responsibility for the person returning and for his good conduct in Bahrain. Should occasion require it, these privileges could be cancelled, and no Persian would be entitled to visit Bahrain without the necessary visa on his passport.

Bahrain nationals travelling to any foreign countries outside the Gulf obtain a visa from the Political Agent, Bahrain. Travel documents issued by recognised authorities in other Gulf States to their own nationals are recognised by the Bahrain Government, and the holders are admitted without a visa.

Various fees and stamp duties are collected by the Passport Department, and at one time the collection from passport fees was the third largest item of revenue in the Budget. The Passport Officer, who has been the head of the department since it started, is Mr. Jalal-lu-din Ahmed.

In spite of the vigilance of the passport officials, especially during the last year, great numbers of indigent Persians have entered Bahrain, illegally, at various points on the coast. Many of these people obtain work with the Bahrain Petroleum Company and fill posts which should be occupied by Bahrain subjects. The enormous increase in Persians, most of whom entered Bahrain without permission, is especially noticeable in Manamah, where almost every other person in the bazaar and nine out of ten of the beggars appear to be Persians. When once these highly undesirable aliens have entered the country it appears to be almost impossible to repatriate them. Being foreigners, they are not under the control of the Bahrain Government.

## MUNICIPALITIES

**Constitution and History.**

**Manamah.** Municipalities exist in Manamah and Muharraq. The Manamah municipality was founded in 1919, under the presidency of Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa. As in the case of almost every innovation in Bahrain, the first proposal to form a municipality met with open and hidden hostility, not from the small people, but from the important landowners in the town, who feared that their vested interests would be affected. In after years the people who objected most actively became strong supporters of the municipality. The ill-feeling soon subsided, and in 1927 another municipality was formed in Muharraq at the request of the people of that town.

3: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

632 **Muharraq.** The Muharraq Municipality, being a comparatively recent institution, has usually followed the lead of Manamah and has adopted most of its regulations. The election and composition of the council is similar to Manamah, but except two Persian members, all the councillors are Bahrain subjects. The Muharraq councillors are usually older men than those in Manamah and less enterprising and progressive. The activities of the municipality are restricted owing to its small income. During municipal elections in Manamah there is a great deal of excitement and canvassing, but in Muharraq very little interest is taken in municipal politics. The President of the Muharraq Municipal Council is Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa, who also acts as President of the Manamah Council during the lengthy yearly absences of Shaikh Mohammad bin Isa.

**Municipal Finance.**

**Government Assistance.** Soon after the Manamah Municipality was instituted, a pier tax, known locally as the 'Biladya tax,' was imposed on imports into Bahrain, which was intended to provide the funds for municipal expenditure. Later this system was found to be unsatisfactory, and in place of the proceeds of the pier tax a regular subsidy of Rs 2,000/- per month was paid by the Government to the Manamah Municipality. The same amount was paid to the Muharraq Municipality when it started, but during the financial depression both these subsidies were reduced by 50%. When conditions improved the allowances were restored to the original amount.

Half of the vehicle tax which is collected by the Government is divided between the two municipalities and is spent by them on upkeep of roads in municipal area. The cost of repairing, widening, and making new roads inside the towns is now considerably more than this subsidy.

In addition to the regular payments by the Government to the municipalities during the last year or two, special grants have been made for specific purposes, such as for filling in the pits at the back of Manamah, for cutting a new road through Ras Romaan to connect the Muharraq causeway, etc., etc. Although it would be possible to increase the monthly subsidy to the municipalities, I think that it would be very unwise to do so, as this would have the immediate result of causing the council to reduce the municipal house tax, which has already been reduced several times during recent years and is now very low. Unfortunately, in financial matters, the members of the council, who are usually large property owners, are influenced more by personal interests than by civic spirit.

[631] **Municipal Taxation.**

Apart from the Government's subsidy, the chief income of the municipalities is obtained from the house and shop tax. In addition to this, revenue is collected from fees on animals slaughtered in the municipal abbatoir, a tax on gramophone records, application fees for erecting new buildings, coolie licences, dog licences, and a few other local forms of taxation, all of which amount to a comparatively small sum. Shops, offices, and stores are assessed according to the rental value at the rate of two annas in the rupee; houses which are let pay Rs -/1/6 in the rupee, but houses which are occupied by their owners pay house tax according to an assessment, which is made by a committee who have no method or system and who consider the status of the individual more than the value of the property when deciding how much shall be paid. This last arrangement is open to much abuse.

MANAMAH MUNICIPALITY

| *Year.* | *Revenue.* Rs | *Expenditure.* Rs |
|---|---|---|
| 1344 | 1,19,600/- | 97,000/- |
| 1345 | 1,11,000/- | 90,000/- |
| 1346 | 1,17,300/- | 85,000/- |
| 1347 | 1,10,800/- | 1,03,000/- |
| 1348 | 1,06,000/- | 1,03,000/- |
| 1349 | 62,000/- | 68,600/- |
| 1350 | 62,300/- | 61,300/- |
| 1351 | 55,000/- | 60,900/- |
| 1352 | 55,600/- | 49,400/- |
| 1353 | 58,200/- | 35,900/- |
| 1354 | 57,300/- | 47,600/- |

511 The economic status of the divers is as desperate as their [342] physical hardships. Their houses are huts which they build for 228 themselves of woven palm leaves. Wages are paid in advance through the ship owners and financed by merchants who take profits in advance of ten or twenty per cent, according to the season. In the best diving season—from June to September—the divers have little more than enough for the barest necessities; but in the winter months when cold weather and high winds seriously impede and eventually halt their work; in order to keep alive the men have to resort to borrowing at high rates [525] of interest, and so never get out of debt. As a consequence, condemned to a difficult, unhealthy and probably short life, the pearl diver is an inveterate gambler.

511 Since the abolition of the ancient Tribunal of Salifah in 228 1926, the captain of the boats has been required by law to keep 465 an account of expenses and of the advances made to the divers, [651] the taxes on which are fixed. The divers do not receive set wages, but after expenses have been deducted and the captain has taken his share of twenty per cent, the remainder is divided among the crew. The diver (*gawās*) receives twice as much as the hauler (*sib*) since his work is more dangerous. The second in command of the boat receives three parts of the profits (i.e. an amount equal to that of one diver and one hauler). He is called the Thursday, from a Persian word, probably because he is in charge of the boat on Thursdays, the captain's day off.

A comparatively recent traveler in the Near East has stated that there are occasional strikes for higher pay, though not the kind to which we are accustomed. It is the Sheik who declares the strike—and pockets the proceeds.

228 The diving season starts the middle of April and ends the middle of October. It is divided into five periods, the first of which, the *Ghaws al Bard*, begins the middle of April and lasts about a month. Deep sea fishing is not attempted and the divers relieve each other every half hour or so on account of the cold. The workers' share of the profits for this period is divided equally among the divers and the haulers because the latter have to

226 branches tied together with a string. It is fixed upright by means of ropes and stones and is set out near the shore or on banks which are dry at low tide, with the opening facing landward. At low tide the fish left stranded in the trap are collected.

The *basket,* or *gargur,* is usually constructed of palm branches, split bamboos, or twigs, with funnel shaped holes opening inward in such a way that the fish, once in, cannot get out again. The basket is weighted with stones, and five or six are placed near together in deep water, connected by a stout rope, the last basket with a rope and buoy attached. They are left for two or three days before they are pulled up and the fish removed.

## TRANSIT SHIPMENTS

439 Bahrein is an important center of distribution for the commerce of Nejd and Qatif, and a trading place for merchandise from Persia and India. In fact, the islands re-export a third of all imported merchandise, including rice, cotton, sugar, coffee, cattle for slaughter, and pearls from other parts of the Gulf. Trade is carried on principally with India, the Arabian coast, Persia, and Iraq. In 1928 the total value of transit shipments exceeded £3,000,000.

651 439 The customs is an important source of income, and the customs office is controlled by a British Director of Customs. General merchandise, in accordance with the provisions of the Convention of 1861, is subject to a 5% ad valorem tariff and luxury items are taxed 10%. Included in the category of luxuries are: carpets, bicycles, clocks, watches, electrical appliances, motor cars, tires and tubes, typewriters, and perfumes. Alcohol, tobacco, and cigarettes are taxed 15%.

There is no general tariff on exports with the exception of hides and dates, on which the duty is ten rupees per bundle of hides and two rupees per basket of dates. A duty of 2% is charged on all goods re-exported to Saudi Arabia, and 1¾% on those re-exported to other countries on the mainland.

439 Principal imports besides agricultural products are: broadcloth, cotton, woolen and silk goods, and wood, which is used

barrels, from Saudi Arabian oil fields through a twelve inch, thirty-four mile pipeline. The pipeline, which was completed March 2, 1945, is under water for almost two-thirds of its length, (23.6 miles), making it the world's longest commercial submarine pipeline. During 1947 an additional twelve inch pipeline was hooked up to the portion on land bringing the total capacity to 126,000 barrels per day. To provide more flexible operations, a new 55,000 BPCD atmospheric crude unit is scheduled to be completed in the fall of 1950. However, an increase in throughout capacity (56,059,700 in 1949) is not anticipated.

At the end of 1947 the oil company employed 6,078 persons in the islands. The Bahreinis numbered 4,650, or 76.5% of the total. The rest were 11.6% British; 10.5% British subjects, Indians and Iraquis; and the remaining 1.4% Americans, Canadians, South Africans, and Europeans. Of the last, half were Italians.

The oil company pays to the Bahrein government a royalty of 3 rupees 8 annas plus 1 shilling per long ton. There is no taxation. The revenue which was to be returned to Bahrein from oil concessions amounted in 1945 to more than 26 lakh of rupees, or approximately $780,000, almost half of the total revenues of the Sheikdom.[1] For the year 1949, the amount of "oil royalties" was evaluated at $1,200,000. One-third of the royalties go to the Sheik and his family and the remaining two-thirds, to a fund held in London in the name of the Government of Bahrein.

In 1945 the Bahrein Petroleum Company estimated that its consolidated net profit for the year, after taxes and all other costs, would come to approximately $10,500,000. No dividends were declared during the year, earnings being applied to further expansion of operations. Profits in 1946 were estimated at $23,000,000. This was on a total investment of probably not more than 65 million U. S. dollars.

1. The total revenue of Bahrein amounted in 1944 to Rs. 55,90,000.

buyers visited the Gulf, and few, if any pearls were sent to Europe. 722 228

Owing to important developments in the Bahrein oil industry and war time public works, there was a great demand for labour. Not only manual labourers and skilled men, but any young Arabs with slight education could obtain well paid posts. M2

Many Bahreini invested their money in gardens and house property which resulted in a land boom. Axis broadcasts were forbidden in public places but most people listened to them in their houses.

To prevent any disturbances, very strong security measures were taken, and the police force numbered some 700 people.

The population sympathized with the Arabs of Palestine in their resistance to Jewish immigration, and in Bahrein, serious rioting broke out in answer to American stands concerning the partition of the Holy Land. Manama synagogue and scores of Jewish shops were wrecked and the Jews were beaten. At the same time, posters appeared on the streets at night denouncing Americans as the "foreigners who steal our oil." 645 722

To forestall any trouble, a Military Government was declared in Bahrein, and extraordinary precautions taken. These measures were resented by the Bahreini who complained to Persia.

The old quarrel over the ownership of Bahrein was revived, and the Cabinet decided on April 18, 1946, to charge taxes and royalties on oil entering Iran from Bahrein. The tax was fixed at $.80 a barrel, plus 20% of the annual net revenue of the Company, that is, the equivalent of the tax collected on the production of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Iran. 648 651

At the end of 1947, a delegation from Bahrein arrived in Teheran. The delegation was headed by a very prominent Sheik who was to represent Bahrein at the Iranian Parliament. He was received in a secret session of the Parliament, but as he was not duly elected, according to Persian election laws, it was decided that Majlis could not take any step in regard to its admission. In the session of April 15, 1948, the Parliament

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M22



adequate motor-bus communications with most of the villages.

Manama is the shipping centre of the Gulf pearl industry,[1] and steamers connect regularly with India, Persia, and Iraq. Bahrain harbour is also the centre of a considerable coastal and pearling trade by dhows, as well as the local headquarters of its fishing industry. Other local industries are dhow-building and the manufacture of sailcloth and reed matting. Much of the import and export trade from al-Hasa and its hinterland passes through Bahrain, and this created an important source of revenue during the years in which Aramco was developing its oilfields on the Saudi coast. Lately, however, the Saudis have perceived the advantage of conducting this trade for themselves. By establishing a high-cost re-entry permit, they have discouraged the foreign staff of the oil company from doing its week-end shopping in Bahrain, and their policy is to increase the port and market facilities of the two Saudi coastal towns opposite the island—Damman and Al Khobar. In Bahrain there is a duty of 5 per cent ad valorem on essential imports such as food and clothing; non-essential imports are subject to higher duties, ranging between 15 per cent on tobacco and liquor, and 10 per cent on luxuries.

*History and Foreign Relations*

The presence in the northern part of Bahrain Island of numerous burial tumuli indicates very early human inhabitants, but their identity, which was at one time thought to be Phoenician, remains unknown. Bahrain's situation and natural harbour facilities suggest that from the earliest days of sea navigation in the Gulf the port was important. Its recorded history, however, dates only from 1507, when the Portuguese occupied the island. They built a fort of which the ruins survive, but were driven out in 1602 by an Arab invasion from Persia. Bahrain was held by Persia intermittently until 1783, when it was conquered by Arabs from the mainland. Since 1816 it has been ruled by the Khalifa family of the Utubi tribe, which in 1820 first entered into treaty relations with the East India Company. But the Persian Government has never ceased to claim sovereignty over the island and at intervals has protested against British treaties with the Shaikh. The Persian claim is based on a British Note of 27 April 1869 in which (the Persians allege)[2] Lord Clarendon recognized their title to sovereignty over the

[1] This has long been important, and in the 1830's the fisheries were estimated to bring in some £300,000 to £400,000 a year.

[2] The Persian claim was disposed of by Sir Austen Chamberlain in a Note of 18 January 1928. See League of Nations, *Official Journal*, May 1928, pp. 606–7.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M 2 2



called 'Red Line' agreement of 1928,[1] was unable to agree to conditions that IPC was in a position to dictate; it therefore sold its option to the Standard Oil Company of California. After negotiations in which the British Government and the American State Department both took a hand, the Bahrain Petroleum Company (BAPCO), a subsidiary of Standard Oil, registered in Canada, was allowed to take up the concession provided that, to conform to Britain's prior agreements with the Shaikh, it employed a considerable number of British subjects. In 1936 the Texas Company acquired a 50 per cent interest in BAPCO. These details are given to explain why the present company is Canadian by nationality and American by management, and employs a large proportion of British staff. The two American companies concerned are two of the four participants in Aramco.

Oil was first discovered in Bahrain in 1932 and first exported in 1934. Production was suspended during the Second World War, but since then it has risen to a steady level of 11 million barrels per year. A refinery was erected before the war, and has (since the Abadan refinery ceased to put through its daily 550,000 barrels) been stepped up to a throughput of over 200,000 barrels per day; it includes a catalytic cracking unit for high octane fuel. It is fed both with BAPCO's own production of oil from the Bahrain field and by a 12-inch under-sea pipeline from Aramco's wells in Saudi Arabia. The jetty for loading tankers lies off Sitra Island on the seaward side of Bahrain Island itself.

Originally, the Shaikh enjoyed the same royalty rate as his neighbour in Kuwait—3 rupees and 4 annas a ton, or 14 cents a barrel. In 1951 reports of the new agreements reached by his neighbours caused him to ask for equality of treatment. In 1952, therefore, he signed a new agreement with the company which established the fifty-fifty profit-sharing arrangement now universal on the Gulf. He also enjoys a payment on each ton of Saudi Arabian oil passing through his territory to the refinery. His revenue has risen relatively less than that of his neighbours because the volume of oil produced in Bahrain has for some years been virtually stationary; nevertheless earnings from oil have risen from $1·4 million in 1948 to $3·8 million in 1951 and $6·3 million in 1952, and three-fourths of Bahrain's national income is now derived from petroleum activities. The social and economic changes brought about by this increased wealth are not so spectacular in Bahrain as elsewhere because

[1] See R. F. Mikesell and H. B. Chenery, *Arabian Oil* (Chapel Hill, University of N. Carolina Press, 1949).

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Maritime Arabs MK2
Kuwait MI 1
Bahrain MZ2



B. B 651 M 228

The nominal tax of a diver's share taken from each Kuwait boat by the Sheikh of that city is simply a tax collected from his citizens. The Bahrein Sheikh collects a small fixed charge from each boat, the amount depending upon the number of men it carries. The Persian Gulf is a British lake as far as police service is concerned, and the British administrators with their usual common sense and practical benevolence have forbidden the introduction of diving bells and dredges. As a result, the banks are worked solely by native boats. By the use of machinery and dredges, diving bells, and the like, undoubtedly the banks could be cleaned out in a few years with large profits to a few individuals, but it would mean the destruction of the whole diving community. The divers have much for which to thank Great Britain, although they do not realize it, much less appreciate it.

About five months are spent in the actual work of diving. Every three weeks or so the boat returns to the most convenient harbor to take on fresh water and food and to have the boat's bottom scraped. With these short intermissions the work is continuous throughout the entire season. The work is officially closed by order of the local sheikh on a certain day, so that the greedy captains cannot keep their men diving in water too cold to be safe. The captain then takes the season's catch to some pearl merchant, and sells it for whatever the market affords.

Not only are the pearl banks a free preserve maintained by the British for the Arab divers, but the markets where the pearls are sold are equally free. The Oriental is particularly unscrupulous in manipulating markets, and in India it sometimes happens that in spite of all the government can do, or at least in spite of all it feels at liberty to do, corners in food stuffs are engineered with sufficient success to bring much profit to the dealers and much suf-

nama, Muharraq and Hedd and the 3 villages of East and West Rafaa and Sakhir was less than 1 per cent. 161 165 163

## Social Economy

Prior to the opening of the Bahrain oil fields, the economy of the islands was based upon pearl fishing and the transshipment of goods between Iran, India and other countries and the neighboring Arabian ports. The waters of the Persian Gulf contain famous pearl fishing banks, and, since ancient times, Bahrain has been recognized as the traditional center of the industry. It constituted the principal source of wealth for centuries, but it reached a low level in the 1920s, due in part to the competition of Japanese cultured pearls in the world markets. Early records are nonexistent, but the former Bahrain pearl fleets probably consisted of 600 to 1,000 vessels. The number has declined progressively: only 83 departed for the banks in 1950. In that year, about 2,000 Bahrainis were engaged in pearl fishing during the season from mid-April to October, undoubtedly a fraction of the total employed when the demand for pearls was at its height. 433 228 489 228

In previous decades, dhow building also was one of the major industries of Bahrain, but its decline has paralleled that of the pearl fisheries. Nine boats were constructed in 1949, as against 100 reported in 1928-29. 396

Today, oil is the foundation of Bahrain's prosperity. The royalties derived from the industry not only have bolstered the declining resources of the government, but have made possible the expansion of public works and social services. Operations are conducted by the Bahrain Petroleum Company, Ltd., which holds long-term concessions from the Sheikh of Bahrain for the development of the petroleum resources of the islands. Oil was discovered in the Jabal ad Dukhan region, near the center of Bahrain Island, in 1932, and production started in 1934. The proven reserves of this field are estimated in the neighborhood of 200 million barrels. The company also operates a 651 653 471 135 000

p. 257(A)

THE COMPANY ALSO OPERATES A
refinery on the eastern side of the island, 315
opposite Sitra. It was expanded in 1945, and 382
80 to 85 per cent of the crude oil processed
is now obtained by pipeline from Saudi
Arabia. The refined petroleum products are
pumped to storage tanks on Sitra Island,
and subsequently to a deep-water loading
terminal 3 miles offshore. Over 6,000 Bah- 464
rainis, as well as some 1,600 British and 651
Americans, are employed in different 185
branches of the industry. Two thirds of the
royalties accrue to the Bahrain government,
half of which are utilized for capital ex-
penditures designed to raise the standards
of living of the people. Reports for 1951
indicate that 68 per cent of the government
income was derived from oil revenues, as
against 26 per cent from customs receipts.

The renewed prosperity of the islands and 471
the concurrent growth in population have
stimulated private enterprise and the
growth of small factories to supply current
needs, particularly as regards building ma- 228
terials. Fishing is an important seasonal 241
occupation of many villagers, and pre-
served fish, fish oils and other fish products 312
are items of export. Agriculture plays a
minor role. Barely 5 to 10 per cent of the
total land area is under cultivation, and
further expansion is restricted by the nature
of the terrain, the concentration of water
supply in limited areas and a feudalistic 241
system of land tenure. Date gardens flourish 654
in oases on Bahrain, Muharraq and Sitra
Islands, but the supply equals less than one
quarter of the local requirements. The gov-
ernment is endeavoring to promote the in-
troduction of other crops, and maintains an
experiment station at Budaiya.

The sea approaches to the archipelago are 504
shallow, making it necessary for ocean ves- 505
sels and oil tankers to anchor 2 to 4 miles
from the shore. Bahrain and Muharraq,
however, have good harbors which accom-
modate dhows and other shallow-draft ves-
sels. Manama is an active trading center: 505
coastal traffic is more or less continuous,
while frequent steamer services are avail-
able to the northern Gulf ports and to India
AND PAKISTAN.

p. 257 (B)

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 MI Middle East
Bahrein MZ 2

*Chapter XV*

# BAHREIN

651
185 IN DISCUSSING IRAN, Iraq and Saudi Arabia, two basic differences were noted between the two former and the latter. The regimes of Iran and Iraq were not as completely autocratic as that of Saudi Arabia; the income from the oil, while very important and constantly increasing, was only one of many sources of income for the Government. In both countries the political leadership realized the importance of the oil revenue to long-range economic development and appreciated their own inability to envision and project plans for development, and they therefore invited foreign experts to prepare large-scale as well as long-range plans for the realization of the economic potentialities of their countries. The basic difficulty in both Iran and Iraq was implementation; both being sovereign and deeply suspicious of foreigners, especially Westerners, they would not voluntarily surrender their powers to foreign specialists to exercise supreme authority in the utilization of the oil revenue for development. They devised means within political-legislative limits and set up authorities to implement the plans prepared by the foreign experts. The limitations of the political leadership in control of these authorities—the Seven Year Plan Organization in Iran, and the Development Board in Iraq—hampered the successful achievement of the desired objectives.

Saudi Arabia differed from Iran and Iraq in two important aspects, and the problem of development became much more acute. Because the country was in a very primitive stage of development, it became almost exclusively (about 90 per cent) dependent on the income from oil. The absolutist King saw no need for foreign experts to work out a long-range program of development; whatever projects were undertaken were decided upon by the ruler, who could not by any stretch of the imagination be considered an economic expert with knowledge, training and experience in development.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrein MZ2



651 185 The British protectorates in the Persian Gulf present still another situation, and because of that the results of the development of these territories are different from those in Iraq and Iran as well as in Saudi Arabia. While in theory the sheikhdoms of Bahrein, Kuwait and Qatar are nominally independent, they are far from sovereign and are subject in different degrees and by different methods to British guidance and authority. While all three have become increasingly dependent on oil revenue for almost their entire governmental budget, the disposal of the revenue is subject to British control, exercised sometimes openly, sometimes subtly, and in consequence a good portion of the income has been used for the economic development of the territories. It should be underlined that this has been primarily due to the efforts and determination of outsiders rather than to the wisdom and foresight of the native rulers.

### *Bahrein*

000 The sheikhdom of Bahrein is composed of a group of islands in the Persian Gulf, situated about fifteen miles off the coast of Saudi Arabia between the province of al Hasa and the Qatar peninsula. The capital, Manama, is on the main island; the second largest island is Muharraq. The islands, with a population estimated at 120,000 are ruled by the al Khalifah family. The traditional economic sources of income were pearling at Muharraq and trading for the Arabian mainland at the port of Manama.

648 Since December 2, 1880 the sheikhdom has been a British protectorate; on that date the Sheikh of Bahrein signed an agreement in which he declared: "I Isa Bin Ali Al Khalifah, Chief of Bahrein, hereby bind myself and successors in the Government of Bahrein to the British Government to abstain from entering into negotiations or making treaties of any sort with any State or Government other than the British without the consent of the said British Government, and to refuse permission to any other Government than the British to establish diplomatic or consular agencies or coaling depots in our territory, unless with the consent of the British Government."[1]

[1] Abbas Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands (750-1951)*, (New York, 1951), 23. This was confirmed by a subsequent agreement on Mar. 13, 1892. *Ibid.*, 123-124.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrein MZ21



*Royalties*

471 The original concession called for 3 1/2 rupees per ton of
648 crude oil produced. This was equivalent to 14 cents per barrel, or $1.05 per ton, before the devaluation of the rupee in September 1949.[12] After the devaluation, and because of the general demands for higher royalties throughout the Persian Gulf region, Bapco increased the royalty to the Bahrein Government from 3 1/2 rupees to 10 rupees, approximately 29 cents per barrel, or about $2.10 per ton, effective as of January 1, 1950. In 1951 another supplemental agreement increased payments by an annual lump sum, and the following year, in line with the general tendency in the area, a 50/50 profit-sharing of net income from production and sale of oil was agreed on, effective as of January 1, 1952.[13]

651 The following table gives an approximate picture of the steady increase in royalties.

Table XIII. *Royalty Payments to Bahrein (selected years)*

| *Year* | *In Dollars* |
|---|---|
| 1933 | 8,800 |
| 1938 | 305,000 |
| 1940 | 1,000,000 |
| 1945 | 780,000 |
| 1946 | 1,200,000 |
| 1948 | 1,508,876 |
| 1949 | 1,500,000 |
| 1950 | 3,300,000 |
| 1951 | 3,800,000 |
| 1952 | 6,300,000 |
| 1953 | 6,500,000 |
| 1954 | 8,100,000[14] |

*Special Committee Investigating Petroleum Resources* (Washington, 1946), 40; U.N., *Summary 1950-1951*, 22; George P. Stevens, "Saudi Arabia's Petroleum Resources," *Economic Geography*, XXV, 221, July, 1949; Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 43; *Le Commerce du Levant*, Oct. 15, 1954; DeGolyer and MacNaughton, *Twentieth Century Petroleum Statistics 1954*, 9; *World Oil*, CXL, 198, Feb. 15, 1955.

[12] U.N., *Summary 1950-51*, 37;—*Review 1951-52*, 61. Faroughy stated that royalty was 3 rupees and 8 annas plus one shilling per ton, *The Bahrein Islands*, 45. Adamiyat, who follows Faroughy closely, also gives the royalty as 3½ rupees and one shilling. Fereydoun Adamiyat, *Bahrein Islands. A Legal and Diplomatic Study of the British-Iranian Controversy* (New York, 1955), 200.

[13] U.N., *Summary 1950-51*, 37-38;—*Review 1951-52*, 61; Adamiyat, *Bahrein Islands*, 200; Economic Cooperation Administration, Special Mission to the United Kingdom, *The Sterling Area. An American Analysis*, 409.

[14] J.H.D.B., "Oil and Bahrein," *The World Today*, VII, 77, Feb., 1951; U.N.,

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrein M2.2



### *Company Policies and Activities*

471 In accordance with the conditions of the concession, laid
464 down by the British Colonial Office, Bapco employed a considerable number of Bahreinis in its undertakings, almost exclusively in the lower grades. The total number of employees in 1948 was 6,078, and of these 4,650 were local employees.
[161] While this was only 4.23 per cent of the total population, then estimated at about 110,000,[18] it was 76.5 per cent of the total employed by the company. The staff was increased in 1951 to 7,749, and of this number 4,937 were Bahrein nationals.[19] This drop in the percentage of native employees, from 76.5 to 64, was not the result of Company policy but was due to the greater demand for workers in the expanded oil-producing areas of the Gulf—Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Qatar. Many Bahreinis, finding the wages offered in other areas more attractive, left their home islands, which made it necessary for Bapco to employ *more* foreigners such as Indians, Pakistanis, Persians and others. This created a peculiar phenomenon: educated and semi-educated Bahreinis sought work abroad, while destitute foreigners flocked to the islands.

471 In addition to direct payments in revenue and indirect pay-
466 ments in terms of wages and purchases of local materials for the operation of the concession, the Company contributed directly to many social and economic projects aimed at bettering the general conditions; these included housing, electric lighting, water supply, and sanitary facilities. It operated a hospital and clinics, and also subsidized the American Mission Hospital. In the field of education it assisted the Government's technical school for native boys; upon graduation students from that school were employed by the Company, which provided further mechanical training.[20] It also cooperated in many agricultural and irrigation projects.[21]

471 However, the impact of the oil industry on the people of
651 Bahrein came primarily from the utilization of the revenue from the oil. The oil payments were divided into three parts:

[18] Max Steineke and M. P. Yackel estimated the population at about 125,000, "Saudi Arabia and Bahrein," in *World Geography* (Princeton, 1950), 226.
[19] U.N., *Review 1949-50*, 60;—*Summary 1952-53*, 58.
[20] The Bapco training program is described by its vice-president, Russel M. Brown, "Schooling in Skills," *Oil Lifestream of Progress*, IV, 6-8, Oct., 1954.
[21] U. S. Senate, *American Petroleum Interests in Foreign Countries*, 288-289.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrein M22



one went to the Sheikh for the maintenance of his household and family; one was for current Government expenses and development projects; and one for investments abroad as a reserve for future contingencies. With the increase in income—directly from oil revenue and indirectly from customs duties—as a result of the Company's activities, Government services increased and a number of development projects were undertaken. By 1951 there were three hospitals on the islands—the American Mission Hospital and the Company hospital mentioned above, a Government hospital for men and women operated by a British staff, including a section for the mentally ill—as well as a number of municipal clinics. General health conditions were not good: malaria and other fevers and dysentery were prevalent; bilharzia, trachoma and hookworm took a heavy toll; and above all, a large proportion of the population was infected with venereal diseases. Medical services were supplied to every Bahreini free of charge.

Though there had been some educational facilities before the development of the oil industry,[22] it was not until 1934 that the Government engaged a number of Iraqi teachers and enlarged the facilities. By 1951 there were nine elementary schools, one secondary school, founded in 1940, and one school for girls opened in 1939, all tuition-free. The schools were staffed with 258 teachers, who instructed some 6,000 boys and girls. The Government, in conjunction with the Company, also provided scholarships to graduates of the secondary schools for study abroad.

The Government built roads, bridges, harbors and a large airport; water was supplied from artesian wells instead of being brought in by boat; and efforts were made to improve housing conditions. Though without a single newspaper in 1951, Bahrein had a broadcasting station, built in 1940 for Allied war purposes, a dial telephone system, forty miles of roads and 2,000 automobiles. Most of the streets of the main towns were electrically lighted, and a sewerage system had been installed. The net result was a higher standard of living for the Bahreinis, not only in comparison with their own pre-oil standard, but also with the people of the neighboring states.[23]

[22] In 1926 there was one school for boys only, and it was poorly attended. James Bell, "He Said Forward! to the Backward," *Life*, Nov. 17, 1952.
[23] U.N., *Summary 1952-53*, 58-59; Sanger, *The Arabian Peninsula*, 148-149;

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 MI Middle East
Bahrein MZ2



652 651 There have also been other implications. The Sheikh, the Government and the people have become increasingly, in fact almost exclusively, dependent on the oil. In 1932 the entire government budget was about $143,600; in 1951 the total government revenue was $5,271,000, of which approximately 61 per cent came from oil and 34.9 per cent from customs duties,[24] which must be considered an indirect result of the oil industry. In 1953 the Government revenue was derived 68 per cent from oil, 24 per cent from customs duties, and 5 per cent from interest on the reserve fund.[25] The oil boom also created inflationary pressures which caused many Bahreinis to seek employment in other oil-producing areas in the Gulf. Because of its central location, the I.P.C. subsidiary, Petroleum Concessions Ltd., which held concessions in Qatar and on the Trucial coast, had made its Gulf headquarters in Bahrein and built large offices and houses for its staff. Bahrein had become a resort and shopping center for the oil employees, especially Americans and Europeans, in Saudi Arabia and Qatar. These not only added to the inflationary pressures, but so greatly increased the social vices of gambling, drinking, prostitution and their concomitants as to cause grave concern to those responsible for the health and welfare of the population.[26]

[464] 458 471 178

185 The Bahrein islands are limited in area and in resources; oil, in a more definitely limited quantity than that of any of the other areas in the Gulf, is the only resource supporting the Sheikh, the Government and its extended services, and also to a considerable degree the people at large. Though perhaps originally a little more advanced than some of their neighbors, the people of Bahrein, prior to the discovery of oil, had a low standard of living and consequently a very low standard of governmental and social services. When the pearling industry suffered a serious setback as a result of the world depression and the development of cultured pearls, Bahrein was in a desperate situation. With the arrival of the Bahrein Petroleum Company,

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aroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 20 *et passim*; "Oil and Bahrein," *The World Today*, VII, 77-79, Feb., 1951; Bell, *loc. cit.*

[24] Bahrain Petroleum Company, Limited, *Bahrain 1952* (pages not numbered).

[25] Angus Sinclair, "The Resources and Their Potentialities. III, Petroleum and Minerals," in *Middle East Resources Problems and Prospects* (Washington, 1954), 46. The 68 per cent of the revenue directly from oil did not include the one-third which went to the Sheikh.

[26] "Oil and Bahrein," *The World Today*, VII, 79, 81-83, Feb., 1951; Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 20 *et passim*.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 Ml Middle East
Bahrein MZ2



Thus the profits of Bapco and Caltex, on an initial limited capitalization of $100,000 and $1,000,000 respectively, though not as fabulous as those of Saudi Arabia, were exceptionally high. In spite of the various measures undertaken by the Company to assist the Bahreinis to improve their standard of living, the latter actually received only a very small portion of the income from the oil, compared with the Company's profits. Only after the 1952 profit-sharing arrangement did Bahrein begin to get a little larger share of the profits from the production and sale of crude. But, since all the oil produced by Bapco was sold to its subsidiary, Caltex, for marketing, the price of Bahrein oil was not that of the open market, but was arbitrarily established by the parent company and the marketing subsidiary. The basis for the calculation of the profits was therefore narrow.[33]

[33] Iran claimed sovereignty over Bahrein and continuously challenged the British rights to the islands. The Iranian Government tried to bring the case to the League of Nations; it protested against the granting of the concession to Standard of California, and during the oil nationalization period agitated for the return of the islands. A voluminous literature has grown up on the subject. Two complete studies which present the Iranian case are those mentioned above: *The Bahrein Islands*, by Faroughy, and *Bahrein Islands*, by Adamiyat. The Iranian Government's note to the League of Nations claiming sovereignty over the islands, which was circulated to all the members of the League, and the British reply, are in League of Nations, *Official Journal*, 9th year, 1928, 1360-1363;—*Official Journal*, 10th year, 1929, 351, 790-793. See also *P.D.C.*, 213, col. 843, Feb. 15, 1928; *P.D.L.*, 81, col. 418, June 25, 1931; *P.D.C.*, 300, col. 776, Apr. 8, 1935. For the protest note to the United States on May 22, 1934, see Arnold J. Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs 1934* (London, 1935), 221-224. For a more recent study, see Majid Khadduri, "Iran's Claim to the Sovereignty of Bahrein," *American Journal of International Law*, XLV, 631-647, Oct., 1951.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



228 pearl-trade during the war. Sea fisheries are also extensive, the fish being taken in nets and in tidal weirs or enclosures (*hadhrahs*) made of reeds, some of which surround large areas in the shallow waters round the coasts; 500 lb. of fish a day were supplied without
241 difficulty to the Indian Expeditionary Force in 1914. Agriculture is carried on by irrigation, the chief products being fruit (dates, citrons, limes, melons, figs, &c., but few of the first quality), lucerne, and a few vegetables; a great belt of date-groves on Bahrein Island runs S. from Manāmah to the village of Būri, a distance of about
231 7 miles. Domestic animals include about 2,000 donkeys, less than 100 horses owned by the Sheikh and his family, about 100 camels, chiefly used in carrying water to Manāmah for sale, and a small but fine local breed of cattle, in high repute for their milking qualities. Of the donkeys, some 200 are of the famous breed imported from Hasa, from 12 to 13 hands, and white in colour.

433 The chief handicrafts are sail-making, weaving of abbas, lungis, and checked sheeting, and the manufacture of mats from Hasa reeds. Palgrave described the *Bahārinah* as excelling in the crafts of the weaver, the tailor, the dyer, and the worker in metal, wood, or leather. Boat-building, with timber imported from India, employs about 200 carpenters; Bahrein builders can turn out an excellent forty-ton boat in less than a month. Many boats are sold to purchasers in El-Qatar and Oman.

504 Trade at the port of Manāmah was for years hindered by the unsatisfactory arrangements for handling cargo, distribution being
439 delayed, and goods left to deteriorate without any proper protection. In 1910 the control was given to a European, but in the following year native sentiment demanded native control, and two Arabs were appointed, with lamentable results. Since then matters have improved; a Hindu has been placed in charge, and the construction of a jetty and storage-shed has modified the worst of the
•[651] former defects. The Sheikh is entitled by treaty to an *ad valorem* duty of 5 per cent. on merchandise. Bahrein is the principal market for the pearl-industry, the export of pearls in a good year attaining about £2,000,000. But it is also an important emporium for the east coast of Arabia, distributing merchandise from India and from countries bordering on the Persian Gulf, to El-Qatar, Qatīf, and 'Oqair, from which last two ports goods are carried into the oases of Hasa and Qatīf, and beyond into southern Nejd. This local trade is carried in native boats without manifests, so that exact statistics cannot be obtained.

439 The total average imports of Manāmah for the three years 1911–14 amounted to £2,061,038, and exports £2,106,766. During the

young business men and merchants are proud of their country and are inclined to be annoyed by visitors who confine their attention to the antiques and "quaint" sights of Bahrain, ignoring modern buildings and new enterprises. Graduates of Bahrain and foreign schools are go-ahead in their outlook and are determined to modernise Bahrain as much as possible; for this purpose they are willing to break with many of the traditions of the past, which are so often of interest to Europeans and Americans. Despite this, the young men of Bahrain appreciate meeting the foreigners who live in or visit their country.

## CHAPTER III

## THE STATE

BAHRAIN has been in treaty relations with the British Government since 1820. Its relations with the British Government and with other foreign governments are conducted through the British Political Agent in Bahrain. Bahrain is also the headquarters of the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, who lives at Jufair.

The Head of the State is His Highness Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed al-Khalifah, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., who was born in 1894, the eldest son of the late Ruler, Shaikh Hamed bin' Isa al-Khalifah, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. He succeeded his father in 1942 and has three sons: Their Excellencies Shaikhs 'Isa, Khalifah and Muhammad, and seven brothers. Shaikh Sulman is the tenth Shaikh of the Khalifah family to rule in Bahrain since it was conquered by his ancestor Shaikh Ahmed bin Khalifah in 1782.

The form of government can be described as a benevolent autocracy; the Ruler governs his State through Arab and British officials, who are in charge of the various departments of State, and by means of councils and committees consisting of elected and nominated members representing the different communities. Shaikhs of the Ruling Family preside over many of the councils and hold posts in the administration.

The principal government departments are the Adviserate (The Secretariat), Customs, Education, Electricity, Finance, Judical, Lands, Police, Public Health, Public Works, Passports, Religious Endowments etc., etc. In the towns of Manama, Muharraq, Hedd and Rifaa there are municipalities; the first of these was established in Manama in 1920.

The revenue of the State is mainly derived from oil royalties, including payments on oil which is imported for refining, and from customs dues on imports. There is no income tax and no land tax but in the towns there is a small municipal tax on houses, shops and places of business. The revenue of the State for the year 1370 A.H. (October 1950—October 1951) was Rupees 25,155,700 (£1,866,000) and the estimated revenue for 1372 (September 1952—September 1953) is much greater owing to a revision of the oil payments by which the

Bahrain Government receives 50% of the profits of the oil industry. 652
The Eastern Bank, since it was established in 1919, has served as the State's Treasury and a Budget is published every year showing the revenue and expenditure of the State.

The Customs Directorate is in the centre of the Manama sea front 651
and there are subsidiary offices in Muharraq Town, at the Airport 439
and at Sitra. All goods of any kind which are imported or exported 504
must pass through the customs. The Customs Pier at Manama, which was originally built in 1917, has frequently been lengthened and enlarged and now extends for a quarter of a mile out to sea. Owing to shallow water, vessels in the Manama harbour have to anchor some three miles from the shore and passengers and cargo are conveyed to and from the steamers by launches, barges and sailing dhows. The port and storage facilities in Bahrain are better than elsewhere in the Gulf and importers are allowed to retain their goods in the customs premises for ninety days before re-exporting them. There are usually about 90-100 sailing vessels and launches alongside and anchored off the pier, these come from other Gulf ports, from the west coast of India and from the Red Sea. Walking down the customs pier one sees many interesting types of vessels and sea-faring Arabs from all parts of the Gulf and beyond it.

On the west of the entrance to the Pier is the Passport Office. 486
Passport Officials go aboard all passenger vessels and are present at the Airport when aircraft arrive. Bahrain has had its own passports since 1929.

On the south side of the Square, which has a little garden in the 344
centre of it, is the "Bab al-Bahrain," the Gateway of Bahrain, consisting of two large blocks of office buildings with an archway in the centre. On the south side of the western block there is a fine old Arab door and on the balconies of the buildings as well as around the garden in the Square there are cement panels containing Arabesque patterns copied from old buildings in Bahrain.

The Bab al-Bahrain contains the finance and accounts department 344
where all payments to the Government for electricity, water, etc., etc., 655
are made, the Land Department which deals with sales and registration 423
of property and questions about boundaries and ownership of land, the registration of sales being compulsory, and several other government offices. His Highness has a reception room overlooking the 643
square on the first floor of the building where he sits on Wednesday mornings. Here he receives any visitors who wish to call on him and sees people who present petitions. On Monday mornings he visits the Municipal Buildings at Muharraq where he holds a similar reception.

East of the Customs, on the sea front, is the Law Courts Building 692
which contains a number of different courts including religious courts presided over by the Qadis of the Sunni and Shia sects. Certain foreigners, including British, Americans, Pakistanis and Indians are under the judicial authority of H.B.M.'s Political Agent. In mixed

## REVIEW OF 1372

000 The two most important events during the year were the conclusion of a new oil agreement between the Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company and His Highness Shaikh Sulman's first visit to Europe to attend the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth.

471 651 439 The new oil agreement was on a 50—50 basis on the same lines as other agreements which have recently been made between governments and oil companies in the Middle East, it also provided for a payment to the State on oil imported into Bahrain for refining. As a result of this agreement the total revenue for the year under review was 373½ lakhs of rupees, approximately £2,800,000, though the new scale of payments was not in operation throughout the whole of 1372.

652 657 Expenditure was higher than in 1371. Excluding the one third of the oil revenue, which is paid to the Privy Purse, 48 per cent. of the State's expenditure was on social and public services; Education, Public Health, Public Protection and grants to Municipalities absorbed 18¼ per cent., 15-3/8 per cent., 10-4/5 per cent., and 3 per cent. respectively, including capital expenditure on new schools, dispensaries and police quarters. The demand for more schools and hospitals is continuous and insistent but few Bahrain people realise the heavy recurrent cost of medical and education services which can be maintained on the present scale only as long as the present revenue continues.

651 511 342 471 Trade flourished and the revenue from customs was higher than in the previous year; during recent years customs collections have risen annually. Local prosperity was apparent from what might be described as a building boom. Many new houses and shops were built in the towns and suburbs by private enterprise. The type of house varied from European style bungalows and blocks of flats, built by merchants and shaikhs for letting, to small stone houses which are gradually replacing barastis, palm branch huts. Several serious fires in barasti areas, which destroyed many dwellings, gave an impetus to building. Working men who owned pieces of ground built small houses and the Government received hundreds of applications from people who wished to buy building plots. Unfortunately the Government owns very little land in and around the towns, much of it having been given away or sold cheaply many years ago.

511 167 161 The standard of living in Bahrain is very much higher than it was a few years ago and the health of the people is noticeably better than it used to be. For these reasons and owing to a steady influx of foreigners, mostly from Oman and the Trucial Coast, who come to Bahrain to work, it is believed that there has been a substantial increase in the population which at the time of the last census, in 1950, was found to be 110,000.

578 The state of public security was good in spite of the presence of large a number of foreigners who are not as naturally law abiding as the people of Bahrain. There were no political or labour disturbances.

648 439 Relations with Quatar deteriorated owing to incidents connected with the visit of a party of Bahrain schoolboys and school teachers to Zubara during the Spring holiday. The commercial development of Qatar tended to reduce Bahrain's transit trade and deprived some of the Bahrain merchants of agencies which used to include both Bahrain and Qatar. Relations with Saudi Arabia and Iraq were friendly, a deputation headed by Shaikh Isa bin Sulman, His Highness's eldest son, represented Bahrain at the coronation of King Faisal in Baghdad.

[Minor's Estates Department]



Disbursements for maintenance amounted to Rs. 108,800, almost exactly the same sum as was paid out in the previous year. At the beginning of the year the number of orphans and widows who were drawing allowances was 442, of these 36 attained majority and took over their property, cash payments to them totalled Rs. 182,500.

The Department built four houses in Manama and Muharraq and carried out repairs to a number of other buildings, the expenditure under this heading was Rs. 78,000.

As usual the funds held by the Department together with funds placed at its disposal by the Government were given out on loan to the public, at interest, secured by title deeds of immovable property or gold. The rates of interest charged by the Department are low in comparison to those prevailing in the market.

During the year the Government placed with the Department a further 2½ lakhs, making its total deposit Rs. 10,80,000.

Interest on loans collected during the year was Rs. 1,46,000, there is a scale of interest depending upon the amount of the loan, the average rate of interest during the year was 6 per cent.

Loans repaid to the Department during the year amounted to Rs. 19,29,000, about 3 lakhs more than in 1371, new loans, made to the public, were approximately 24½ lakhs. At the end of the year 24½ lakhs were on loan to the public.

## DEPARTMENTAL ACCOUNT

| Receipts | | | Expenditure | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Balance from 1371 .. | Rs. | 16, 585 6 10 | Maintenance allowances, etc. | Rs. | 1,08,876 9 0 |
| From estates and compensation cases | | 1,31,249 1 8 | Purchase of properties .. .. | | 9,380 0 0 |
| Rents .. .. | | 1,96,394 13 4 | Upkeep of buildings and additions .. | | 78,325 15 11 |
| Refund of Loans .. | | 19,29,600 0 0 | Payments to the beneficiaries | | 1,82,511 10 0 |
| Interest on Loans .. | | 1,46,040 0 0 | Loans advanced .. | | 24,40,250 0 0 |
| Deposits .. .. | | 2,09,051 12 5 | Balance in the Eastern Bank | | 1,25,205 9 1 |
| Loan from Government | | 2,50,000 0 0 | | | |
| By sale of properties .. | | 50,451 4 3 | | | |
| Debts recovered .. | | 15,127 5 6 | | | |
| Total | Rs. | 29,44,499 12 0 | Total | Rs. | 29,44,499 12 0 |

## LAND REGISTRATION DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Mr. Abdul-Aziz Al Saleh, acting Superintendent of the Department)

**Land Registration.** There were 1,072 transactions during the year which included 628 sales, 262 registration of titles and 182 gifts; the properties which were dealt with consisted of 273 plots of ground, most of them being building sites, 82 gardens, 47 shops and 26 miscellaneous lots. Fees amounting to Rs. 1,27,975 were collected of which Rs. 1,20,781 was derived from sales and Rs. 7,194 from registration of titles, etc

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## ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE—PUBLIC WORKS

### 1373

### NON-RECURRENT

**WORKS IN PROGRESS (COMPLETION OF CONSTRUCTION):**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Staff Quarters | 1,50,000 | |
| School Teachers' Quarters | 1,00,000 | |
| Police Houses (Contract) | 1,50,000 | |
| Palace | 9,00,000 | |
| Customs Shed | 50,000 | |
| Customs, New Jetty, etc. | 1,50,000 | |
| Workmen's Houses | 75,000 | |
| Miscellaneous | 50,000 | |
| | | 16,25,000 |

**NEW CONSTRUCTION WORKS:**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Police Station, etc., Budaiya | 75,000 | |
| Muharraq Primary School Extension | 1,50,000 | |
| Secondary School Extension | 1,00,000 | |
| Girls' School (Part Cost) | 4,50,000 | |
| Primary School, Quadabiya | 4,00,000 | |
| Village Schools (Contract) | 75,000 | |
| Police Houses (Contract) | 1,50,000 | |
| Medical Quarters, Awal Road | 6,00,000 | |
| Women's Hospital | 10,00,000 | |
| Broadcasting Station | 75,000 | |
| Customs Shed | 1,50,000 | |
| Workmen's Houses (Contract) | 4,00,000 | |
| | | 36,25,000 |

| | |
|---|---|
| MISCELLANEOUS APPROVED WORKS | 8,00,000 |
| NEW ROADS | 3,50,000 |
| Rs. | 64,00,000 |

1953-1954 -- Ans. 1-1

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



## MAIN WATER SUPPLY

### OPERATING ACCOUNT

YEAR 1370

| Expenditure | Rs. | Rs. | Revenue | Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| To Establishment Costs | 31,496 4 7 | | By Sales of Water and Rental of Metres | 2,03,761 3 0 |
| To Electric Power at Pump House | 15,622 0 0 | | By Miscellaneous Receipts | 5,460 0 0 |
| To Upkeep and Repairs to Mains | 22,745 0 0 | | | |
| | | 69,863 4 7 | | |
| To Reserves for Bad Debts | 2,105 0 0 | | | |
| To Depreciation on Capital fixtures | 1,13,630 0 0 | | | |
| | | 1,15,735 0 0 | | |
| *Balance being Profit* carried to Profit and Loss Account | | 23,622 14 5 | | |
| | Rs. | 2,09,221 3 0 | Rs. | 2,09,221 3 0 |

### PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT

| | Rs. | | Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To loss at end of 1369 | 1,45,788 14 2 | By Profit for 1370 brought forward | 23,622 14 5 |
| | | By Loss carried forward to 1371 account | 1,22,165 15 9 |
| Rs. | 1,45,788 14 2 | Rs. | 1,45,788 14 2 |

### OPERATING ACCOUNT

YEAR 1371

| Expenditure | Rs. | Revenue | Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Establishment Costs | 51,415 12 4 | By Sales of Water and Rental of Meters | 2,50,422 0 0 |
| To Electric Power at Pump House | 17,435 14 0 | By Miscellaneous Receipts | 3,780 12 0 |
| To Upkeep and Repairs of Mains | 13,585 0 0 | | |
| To Depreciation | 1,29,284 0 0 | | |
| | 2,11,720 10 4 | | |
| *Balance being profit* carried to Profit and Loss Account | 42,482 1 8 | | |
| Rs. | 2,54,202 12 0 | Rs. | 2,54,202 12 0 |

### PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT

| | Rs. | | Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Loss at end of 1370 | 1,22,165 15 9 | By profit for 1371 account | 42,482 11 8 |
| | | By Loss carried forward to 1372 A/c. | 79,683 14 1 |
| Rs. | 1,22,165 15 9 | Rs. | 1,22,165 15 9 |

### OPERATING ACCOUNT

YEAR 1372

| Expenditure | Rs. | Revenue | Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Establishment Costs | 59,876 6 0 | By Sales of Water and Rental of Meters | 2,71,411 1 0 |
| To Electric Power at Pump House | 15,500 10 0 | By Miscellaneous Receipts | 6,322 12 0 |
| To Upkeep and Repairs of Mains | 15,224 11 3 | | |
| To Depreciation (see note below) | 1,67,583 0 0 | | |
| | 2,58,184 11 3 | | |
| *Balance being Profit* carried to Profit and Loss Account | 19,549 11 9 | | |
| Rs. | 2,77,734 7 0 | Rs. | 2,77,734 7 0 |

### PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT

| | Rs. | | Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Loss at end of 1371 | 79,683 14 1 | By Profit for 1372 account | 19,549 11 9 |
| | | By Loss carried forward to 1373 A/c | 60,134 2 4 |
| Rs. | 79,683 14 1 | Rs. | 79,683 14 1 |

NOTE : The rate of depreciation on Water Mains has been doubled this year ; and an extra sum of Rs. 25,000 charged against expenditure, to cover this increase.

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652
377



## BAHRAIN ELECTRICAL DEPARTMENT

### BALANCE SHEET AS ON 1st JANUARY, 1954

| Liabilities | | | | Assets | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **CAPITAL ACCOUNT :** | | | | **PLANT AND MACHINERY :** | | | |
| Bahrain Government | | 60,50,000 0 0 | | *Generation Section :* | | | |
| | | | | Power House and Buildings | 7,96,609 0 1 | | |
| **SUNDRY CREDITORS :** | | | | Power House Equipment | 75,472 1 7 | | |
| Bahrain Government | 32,077 0 9 | | | Oil Tank | 3,180 14 0 | | |
| Bahrain Petroleum Co. | 47,437 8 0 | | | Oil Filter | 7,683 2 2 | | |
| | | 79,514 8 9 | | Water Distillation Plant | 94,854 13 8 | | |
| **RESERVES :** | | | | Cooling Tower Equipment | 60,709 9 1 | | |
| Depreciation Reserve | 7,61,090 7 6 | | | Engine Set No. 4 | 93,082 2 1 | | |
| Operating Reserve | 4,89,748 11 11 | | | Engine Set No. 5 | 1,47,167 4 3 | | |
| Reserve for Bad Debts | 12,774 0 0 | | | Engine Set No. 6 | 1,46,307 0 1 | | |
| | | 12,63,613 3 5 | | Engine Sets Nos. 7 and 8 | 3,61,569 6 9 | | |
| Consumers Dep. | | 1,01,432 10 0 | | Engine Set No. 9 | 3,17,731 4 2 | | |
| | | | | Engine Set No. 10 | 2,49,770 13 9 | | |
| | | | | Engine Sets Nos. 11 and 12 | 6,60,086 1 0 | | |
| | | | | | | 30,14,223 8 8 | |
| | | | | *Distribution Section :* | | | |
| | | | | Feeders, Sub-Stations, Switchgear and Distribution Lines | 21,05,326 3 6 | | |
| | | | | Meters | 2,73,723 13 3 | | |
| | | | | | | 23,79,050 0 9 | |
| | | | | **MOTOR VEHICLES** | | 66,250 0 0 | |
| | | | | | | | 54,59,523 9 5 |
| | | | | **GENERAL STOCK :** | | | |
| | | | | Stock on hand | 14,17,720 6 8 | | |
| | | | | Stock in transit | 1,24,199 5 6 | | |
| | | | | | | | 15,41,919 12 2 |
| | | | | **SUNDRY DEBTORS :** | | | |
| | | | | Energy Debtors | 1,99,111 4 0 | | |
| | | | | Service Debtors | 6,243 0 0 | | |
| | | | | Wiring Debtors | 50,129 6 0 | | |
| | | | | | | | 2,55,483 10 0 |
| | | | | **CASH IN HAND :** | | | |
| | | | | Imprest Account | 8,000 0 0 | | |
| | | | | Eastern Bank (Current Account) | 1,28,200 12 7 | | |
| | | | | Eastern Bank (Con. Dep.) | 1,01,432 10 0 | | |
| | | | | | | | 2,37,633 6 7 |
| | | Rs. 74,94,560 6 2 | | | | Rs. | 74,94,560 6 2 |

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## BAHRAIN ELECTRICAL DEPARTMENT

### SUB-DIVIDED RECAPITULATED PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT FOR 1372 AND PERIOD ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1953

| ELECTRICAL SECTION — Expenditure | | | | | Receipts | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Generation :* | | | | | *Revenue :* | | | |
| Materials, Maintenance and Repairs | | 5,37,173 | 8 | 11 | Sales of energy and rental of Meters | 17,44,322 | 6 | 0 |
| Establishment Costs | | 2,26,764 | 14 | 2 | | | | |
| Insurance | | 23,095 | 12 | 0 | | | | |
| Depreciation—Power House and Buildings | | 19,513 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Power House Equipment | | 3,774 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Oil Tank | | 80 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Oil Filters | | 480 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Water Distillation Plant | | 5,928 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Cooling Tower and Equipment | | 6,070 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Engine Set No. 4 | | 7,757 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Engine Set No. 5 | | 12,264 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Engine Set No. 6 | | 9,144 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Engine Sets Nos. 7 and 8 | | 22,598 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Engine Set No. 9 | | 19,858 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Engine Set No. 10 | | 23,415 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Engine Sets Nos. 11 and 12 | | 10,314 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| | | | | 9,28,229 | 3 | 1 | | |
| *Distribution* | | | | | | | | |
| Materials, Maintenance and Repairs | | 1,08,832 | 6 | 10 | | | | |
| Establishment Costs | | 2,08,683 | 11 | 1 | | | | |
| Depreciation—Feeders, Sub-Stations, Switchgears and Lines | | 1,05,266 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| | | | | 4,22,782 | 1 | 11 | | |
| *Meters* | | | | | | | | |
| Maintenance and Repairs | | 6,032 | 2 | 0 | | | | |
| Establishment Costs | | 43,332 | 9 | 0 | | | | |
| Depreciation | | 13,686 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| | | | | 63,050 | 11 | 0 | | |
| NET PROFIT | | | | 3,30,260 | 6 | 0 | | |
| | | | Rs. | 17,44,322 | 6 | 0 | Rs. | 17,44,322 6 0 |

| WIRING AND MISCELLANEOUS JOBS : | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Materials | 3,37,215 | 0 | 6 | | *Revenue :* | | | |
| Establishment Costs | 60,839 | 5 | 9 | | Wiring, Sundry Sales and Sundry Jobs | 3,38,225 | 8 | 0 |
| | | | 3,98,054 | 6 | 3 | Service | 73,065 | 12 | 0 |
| NETT PROFIT | | | 13,236 | 13 | 9 | | | | |
| | | Rs. | 4,11,291 | 4 | 0 | | Rs. 4,11,291 | 4 | 0 |

| RECAPITULATION | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NETT PROFIT—Added to Operating Reserve | | | 3,43,497 | 3 | 9 | NETT PROFIT—Electrical Section | 3,30,260 | 6 | 0 |
| | | | | | | NETT PROFIT—Wiring Section | 13,236 | 13 | 9 |
| | | Rs. | 3,43,497 | 3 | 9 | | Rs. 3,43,497 | 3 | 9 |

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## FINANCE

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**Revenue and Expenditure 1372.** The total revenue in 1372 was 373½ lakhs. There was an increase in revenue from almost all sources, the largest increase being the the oil revenue which was 39½ lakhs more than in 1371. Customs receipts were 8 lakhs higher ; the income from the Reserve Fund was 3 lakhs more than in the previous year and the all-round increase was 58 lakhs. The additional revenue from oil was due to the new arrangement under which certain payments were received during the year 1372.

Expenditure was considerably higher than in the previous year. Without the payment of one-third of the oil revenue to the Privy Purse, which amounted to over 80 lakhs, and excluding unforeseen expenditure and non-recurrent public works, the cost of maintaining the present administration, Government Departments, Education, Public Protection, Public Health, Maintenance of buildings and roads, etc., etc., was 20 lakhs more than in 1371.

More money was spent upon Education, Public Health and Public Protection which for many years have been the three largest recurrent items in the State's budget. It can, however, be claimed that educational facilities were enlarged and improved, law and order were well maintained and medical work was developed.

In addition to the usual grants to the Municipalities the Government presented a new fish, meat and vegetable market to the Manama Municipality, to cater for the people living in East Manama, and also paid for a new fire engine. Extra grants amounting to Rs. 60,000 per annum were made to the Muharraq and Rafaa Municipalities.

Unforeseen expenditure included 9 lakhs refunded to the Food Control Department to meet a loss on sugar which had been purchased by the Government during the last three years. This payment was in fact a subsidy to keep down the price of sugar ; sugar was also used as barter to encourage meat imports from Persia at a reasonable price. Few people realise that the prices of sugar and meat, and in the past, other essential foods, have since early in the war been subsidised by the Government.

Special legal expenses amounted to two lakhs. The cost of the aerial survey, carried out by Messrs. Hunting Aerosurvey, and the preparation of maps, etc., amounted to 1-1/5 lakhs, ; donations to fire victims and contributions by the Government to the T.B. Fund came to 1½ lakhs ; the expenses incurred by the visit of the Ruler of Kuwait amounted to Rs. 60,000 and the cost of His Highness's official visit to Europe was Rs. 1,18,000.

The total expenditure by the Public Works Department was 50 lakhs. Out of this sum almost 10 lakhs was spent on productive works such as blocks of flats, offices, etc. for letting ; 4 lakhs was spent on stores ; 4½ lakhs on roads and the remaining amount on a number of large and small building projects which included the new Palace, a block of staff quarters at Qudhabia, consisting of six European style flats ; quarters for teachers above the Technical School; extensions to the Qudhabia Palace ; new Customs Sheds ; a Jetty and sea reclamation in the customs area ; additional private wards in the Government Hospital ; married lines for the Police at the Fort, and many additions to schools, dispensaries, offices and other Government premises.

The summary of Revenue and Expenditure shows that by the end of the year the Reserve Fund was 464½ lakhs, invested in British and Indian stock and the Government held over 42½ lakhs in various current accounts. Other assets of the State were the Government's investment in the Electricity Supply Undertaking, over the last 25 years, amounting to 64½ lakhs ; a similar investment in the Manama Town Water Supply of 13 lakhs over the last five years, and an investment of 20 lakhs in the new gas-electric scheme.

**Budget 1373 (Revenue).** The estimated oil revenue is 386½ lakhs of which 310 lakhs is Income Tax, on the 50-50 basis, and 76½ lakhs is the payment on imported oil at the rate of 2 annas per barrel. It is assumed that the quantity of oil produced and imported will be the same as in 1372. The estimated oil revenue is 188½ lakhs more than was estimated in the 1372 budget, which was made before the new 50-50 arrangement was finally agreed upon, and 146 lakhs more than last year's actual oil revenue.

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Customs receipts have continued to rise ; they are estimated at 90 lakhs, a figure which is based on the average of the actuals of the last three years. Last year the Customs produced 105¼ lakhs.

The income from investments of the Reserve Fund has risen from a little more than 12 lakhs, in 1372 to 17¾ lakhs.

Land revenue, which includes registration fees on sales and titles, rents of land occupied by barasti dwellers and proceeds from sales of land has been assessed at 2 lakhs. Last year more than twice this sum was received, mostly from sales of land ; it is unlikely that there will be as many sales as in 1373 as little land remains which the Government is willing to dispose of.

Medical receipts are higher partly because X-Ray charges and sales of drugs are now under "Revenue" instead of being deducted from expenditure.

Under revenue from public works there is a decrease in income from bridge tolls. On his return from England His Highness abolished tolls on private cars, which was a popular move among car owners, who could in fact more easily afford to pay the small toll charge. Rents from buildings have increased. This item is the revenue from leases of blocks of flats and government owned shops ; it is one of the few forms of productive local investment in which the Government can participate.

The total estimated revenue for 1373 is 507¼ lakhs as against an estimated revenue of 304¼ lakhs in 1372. In 1372 however, the actual revenue exceeded the budgeted revenue by 69 lakhs owing to certain payments of oil revenue under the new oil agreement being received during the year.

**Expenditure.** Expenditure has increased considerably, the largest item being the one-third oil revenue which is paid to the Privy Purse of the Ruler ; from this he pays the Civil List which includes a large number of members of the Ruling Family. The oil payment to the Ruler increases according to the oil revenue and now amounts to 128¾ lakhs, slightly under one million pounds.

State Departments will cost about a lakh more than in the previous year ; the reason for this, and for increases in other departmental expenditure, is the automatic annual increment system, applicable to a large proportion of employees, and an adjustment in salaries which was made in 1372 when "cost of living" allowances were abolished and consolidated rates of pay were instituted. This also increased the Government's contributions to the Employees' Provident Fund which is now assessed on their consolidated pay.

Education will cost 35¾ lakhs, 9 lakhs more than in 1372 ; of this increase 6¼ lakhs is on account of boys schools, 1¼ lakhs for girls schools and one-third lakh is for technical education. More boys are being given scholarships to complete their education abroad and more schools are being opened in Bahrain. There is always a demand for more schools from both towns and villages.

The cost of health services is also rising rapidly ; it now amounts to 34 lakhs and has increased by 10-1/3 lakhs since last year. This sum includes provision for considerable development of medical work, but against this figure can be set medical receipts totalling 3¼ lakhs. Neither the Education or Public Health budgets include the cost of new buildings, new schools, hospitals and dispensaries. These works form part of the Public Works budget.

Provision has been made under Public Protection to raise the Police Force to 350 N.C.O's and men, though it is probable that the full complement will not be enlisted during the year.

Subsidies to Municipalities amount to 2¼ lakhs ; they also receive half of the revenue from bridge tolls. Though Manama, and to a lesser extent, Muharraq, are wealthy cities yet their citizens, as represented by the Municipal Councils, expect to be financed almost entirely from Government grants.

651 The allocation to the Transport Department is less than in last year's budget, as in 1372 a quantity of new equipment was bought.

652 A very large programme of work is to be carried out by the Public Works Department during the year. This is described in a separate statement. To cope with it effectively the staff of the department has to be enlarged.

Specifications for the deep water pier near Jufair are being prepared by the Government's Consulting Engineers in London. Only the causeway leading to the pier will be constructed by the Public Works Department, the dredging and the construction of the pierhead will be carried out by outside firms.

It is unlikely that much progress will be made on this project during the year, apart from the causeway, so 20 lakhs has been provided for the scheme.

The sum of 40 lakhs has been set aside for the Electric-Gas scheme which embodies an extension of electric power to all the towns and villages in Bahrain. At present only Manama and Muharraq are supplied with electricity.

During the year it is hoped that 135¼ lakhs may be added to the Reserve Fund.

A fact of interest which emerges from the budget is that if all new works and schemes were excluded from the budget the revenue from sources other than oil would be sufficient to pay for the administration and running of the state on the present scale. The total revenue, without oil, is 121 lakhs, the total expenditure, excluding the one-third of the oil revenue which is paid to the Ruler, new projects and works, and without a contribution to the Reserve Fund, is 119¼ lakhs.

The following figures show, roughly, how the oil and other revenue has been used since the State first received royalties from oil :

**OIL RECEIPTS**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Oil Royalty, less one-third, paid to the Privy Purse, from 1354 until 1368 (15 years) | | Rs. 299,95,000 |
| 1369 Royalty at Rs. 3/8 per ton and Rs. 10/- | | 62,55,000 |
| 1370 Royalty at Rs. 10/- per ton | | 92,26,000 |
| 1371 Royalty at Rs. 10/- per ton | | 94,01,000 |
| 1372 Income Tax | | 103,92,000 |
| 1373 Income Tax received during period ending on 31st December, 1953 (relating to 1952) and payment at the rate of Rs. 10/- per ton on exported oil for the first half of 1953 | | 103,70,000 |
| | | Rs. 756,39,000 |
| Duty on imported oil, less one-third paid to the Privy Purse : | | |
| 1370 | Rs. 10,00,000 | |
| 1371 | 40,00,000 | |
| 1372 | 56,39,000 | |
| Until 31st December, 1953 | 12,56,000 | |
| | | 118,95,000 |
| Total | | Rs. 875,34,000 |
| **Reserve Fund** | | |
| Capital Accounts | | Rs. 562,40,000 |
| Electric Supply, Water Supply and Electric-Gas Scheme | | 96,98,000 |
| **Loans Advanced** | | |
| Foodstuffs Account | 3,46,000 | |
| Gulf Aviation Company | 8,00,000 | |
| Deposit Account | 12,53,000 | |
| | | 23,99,000 |
| Cash in hand | | 47,88,000 |
| Closing Balance, 31st December, 1953 | | Rs. 731,25,000 |

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In addition, during the period between 1935 and 1953 the Public Works Department incurred the following expenditure :

| | |
|---|---|
| Revenue producing projects (shops, flats and buildings for rent) .. | Rs. 46,80,000 |
| Unproductive projects (Public buildings, staff quarters, offices, hospitals, schools, etc.) .. .. .. .. | 149,84,000 |

The principal works which were carried out by the P.W.D. during the period between 1935 and 1953 are shown below. This list does not include projects which were carried out before the State possessed any oil revenue, such as the Manama-Muharraq causeway, which in those days cost only 7½ lakhs.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Shops and Flats on Lease** | | |
| House at Quadabiya .. .. .. .. .. | Rs. 50,000 | |
| Shops and Offices on Barrett Road .. .. .. .. .. | 7,04,000 | |
| Post Office and Flat .. .. .. .. .. | 1,57,000 | |
| Flat over Manama Police Station .. .. .. .. .. | 72,000 | |
| Dilmun House (Flats) .. .. .. .. .. | 8,05,000 | |
| Shops and Flats south of Dilmun House .. .. .. .. | 1,94,000 | |
| Tylos House (Flats) .. .. .. .. .. | 5,61,000 | |
| Awal House (Flats) .. .. .. .. .. | 7,01,000 | |
| Aradus House (Flats) .. .. .. .. .. | 9,25,000 | |
| Workmen's Houses .. .. .. .. .. | 5,11,000 | |
| | | 46,80,000 |
| Government Offices, Bab al Bahrain .. .. .. .. .. | | 5,56,000 |
| Customs Buildings, Sheds, Pier Extension, Jetty, Crane and Railroad .. .. | | 27,50,000 |
| Law Court and Flats .. .. .. .. .. .. | | 1,24,000 |
| P.W.D. Building, Flat and Stores .. .. .. .. .. | | 4,86,000 |
| Transport, Shed, Stores, Officer's flat and Filling Station .. .. .. | | 4,14,000 |
| British Staff Quarters (Old Quarantine) .. .. .. .. .. | | 7,11,000 |
| Quadabiya Palace Extension .. .. .. .. .. .. | | 3,11,000 |
| **Public Security** | | |
| Fort Extension, Police Houses (Fort) and Police and Natur Stations in Bahrain .. | | 11,56,000 |
| **Public Health** | | |
| Hospitals and Dispensaries .. .. .. .. .. | 16,25,000 | |
| Nursing Sisters' House .. .. .. .. .. .. | 2,20,000 | |
| Indian Staff Quarters .. .. .. .. .. .. | 3,83,000 | |
| T.B. Sanatorium and Lunatic Asylum .. .. .. .. | 3,20,000 | |
| Health Office and Flat .. .. .. .. .. | 4,78,000 | |
| Staff Quarters on Rafaa Road (in progress) .. .. .. .. | 1,68,000 | |
| | | 31,94,000 |
| **Education** | | |
| Muharraq and Manama West School Extension: Teachers' Quarters, West School, Budaiya, Rafaa and Village Schools, Muharraq Girls' School .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 5,40,000 | |
| Hostel .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 11,66,000 | |
| Secondary School .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 5,71,000 | |
| Al Zahra School (Girls) .. .. .. .. .. .. | 6,48,000 | |
| Muharraq Boys' School .. .. .. .. .. .. | 5,23,000 | |
| Quarters over Technical School Building .. .. .. .. | 5,24,000 | |
| Staff Quarters, Girls' Education .. .. .. .. .. | 1,10,000 | |
| | | 40,82,000 |
| New Quadabiya Palace (in progress .. .. .. .. .. .. | | 12,00,000 |
| | | Rs. 196,64,000 |

Towards the end of the year His Highness agreed that in future the budget of the State and the annual accounts should be done according to the Gregorian Calendar provided that for the time being, monthly salaries should continue to be paid according to the Hejira Calendar. This somewhat complicated transition is being achieved by a supplementary budget being made to cover the period from 1st January, 1954 till 31st December, 1954.

## SUMMARY OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE FOR YEAR 1372

| Revenue | | | Expenditure | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Balance from year 1371 : | | | Expenditure 1372 | | 248,67,846 10 11 |
| Reserve Fund | 335,87,929 15 2 | | Balance at end of Dhulhaj, 1372 : | | |
| Capital Accounts and Advances | 132,06,458 11 5 | | Reserve Fund | 464,25,675 12 6 | |
| Cash on hand | 38,21,911 5 7 | | Capital Accounts and Advances | 124,06,233 3 10 | |
| | 506,16,300 0 2 | | Cash on hand | 42,82,558 6 2 | |
| Revenue 1372 | 373,66,014 1 3 | | | 631,14,467 6 6 | |
| | Rs. 879,82,314 1 5 | | | Rs. 879,82,314 1 5 | |

Balance explained :—

| | | | Face Value. | Purchase Value. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Reserve Fund* : | | | | |
| 3 per cent. Indian Government Loan, 1963/65 | | | 113,28,200 | 108,57,058 10 11 |
| 2½ per cent. Indian Government Loan, 1960 | | | 10,00,000 | 10,05,315 15 6 |
| 3 per cent. British Saving Bonds, 1955/65 | £6,00,000 | | 80,00,000 | 80,33,615 9 5 |
| 3 per cent. British Saving Bonds, 1960/70 | 14,50,000 | | 193,33,333 | 169,73,712 7 8 |
| 3 per cent. British Transport Stock, 1978/88 | 2,25,000 | | 30,00,000 | 27,69,113 1 0 |
| 4 per cent. Funding Loan, 1960/90 | 5,00,000 | | 66,66,667 | 67,86,860 0 0 |
| | | | 493,28,200 | 464,25,675 12 6 |
| *Capital Accounts and Advances* : | | | | |
| Electric Supply Department | | 64,42,879 6 5 | | |
| Water Supply Department | | 92,92,242 7 8 | | |
| Gas Scheme | | 20,52,000 0 0 | | |
| Foodstuffs Account | | 8,95,332 13 2 | | |
| Deposit Account | | 9,23,778 8 7 | | |
| Loan Advanced to Gulf Aviation Co., Ltd. | | 8,00,000 0 0 | | |
| | | | | 124,06,233 3 10 |
| *Cash in hand* : | | | | |
| Imprest Accounts | | 19,400 0 0 | | |
| Eastern Bank Ltd., London | | 31,91,393 4 6 | | |
| Eastern Bank Ltd., Baghdad | | 341 14 6 | | |
| Eastern Bank Ltd., Bombay | | 10,362 8 10 | | |
| Reserve Bank of India, Bombay | | 5,29,880 14 6 | | |
| Eastern Bank Ltd., Bahrain : | | | | |
| Consolidated Fund | 4,67,518 10 9 | | | |
| Police Account | 53,490 0 11 | | | |
| Education Account | 10,171 0 2 | | | |
| | | 5,31,179 11 10 | | |
| | | | | 42,82,558 6 2 |
| | | | Rs. | 631,14,467 6 6 |

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## STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE—1372

| Revenue | | | | Expenditure | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **OIL RECEIPTS :** | | | | **PAYMENTS TO THE PRIVY PURSE :** | | | |
| Income Tax | 155,84,326 3 7 | | | One-third Oil Income Tax | 51,92,426 15 6 | | |
| Duty on Imported Oil | 84,58,415 11 1 | | | One-third Duty on Imported Oil | 28,19,122 4 10 | | |
| | | 240,42,741 14 8 | | | | 80,11,549 4 4 |
| Customs Receipts including Import Yard Charges, etc. | | 105,44,435 8 0 | | Advocate | | 1,84,091 1 6 |
| Interest on Reserve | | 11,76,952 4 4 | | Accounts and Audit | | 1,72,907 12 9 |
| Interest on Loan | | 40,000 0 0 | | Customs Department | | 7,01,332 4 6 |
| Land Revenue | | 5,40,270 13 0 | | Land Registration Department | | 1,18,924 13 3 |
| Education Receipts | | 25,881 14 0 | | Passport Department | | 1,28,263 15 0 |
| Medical Receipts | | 2,33,756 5 0 | | Food Control Department | | 63,732 10 0 |
| Car Taxes and Driving Licences | | 1,34,118 15 0 | | Awkaf Departments | | 47,653 12 0 |
| Passport Receipts | | 53,989 8 0 | | Minors Estates Department | | 30,148 12 0 |
| Judicial Receipts | | 53,562 2 0 | | Law Courts | | 1,37,687 11 0 |
| Public Works : | | | | Sheraa Courts | | 49,203 5 0 |
| Bridge Tolls | 1,33,145 13 4 | | | Education | | 26,87,906 8 9 |
| Rent of Government Buildings | 1,82,656 8 0 | | | Public Health | | 23,53,249 13 4 |
| | | 3,15,802 5 4 | | Public Protection | | 16,54,893 10 1 |
| Oil Inspection Fees | | 1,43,466 2 0 | | Municipalities | | 4,93,193 15 8 |
| Miscellaneous Receipts | | 61,036 5 11 | | Oil Inspection Department | | 79,674 14 9 |
| | | 373,66,014 1 3 | | Agriculture | | 1,45,137 15 9 |
| Balance from year 1371 | | 506,16,300 0 2 | | Transport Department | | 4,51,979 3 3 |
| | | | | Unforeseen | | 17,32,056 5 0 |
| | | | | **Public Works :** | | |
| | | | | *Recurrent :* | | |
| | | | | Public Works Department | 1,68,711 6 7 | |
| | | | | Shaikh Hamad Bridge | 30,815 15 0 | |
| | | | | Maintenance Roads | 2,34,997 12 2 | |
| | | | | Annual Repairs Government Buildings | 1,69,733 9 9 | |
| | | | | *Non-recurrent :* | | |
| | | | | New Works and Stores | 50,12,663 6 0 | |
| | | | | | | 56,16,922 1 6 |
| | | | | Deep Water Pier | | 7,336 13 6 |
| | | | | | | 248,67,846 10 11 |
| | | | | Balance at end of Dhulhaj, 1372 | | 631,14,467 6 6 |
| | Rs. | 879,82,314 1 5 | | | Rs. | 879,82,314 1 5 |

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| PRINCIPAL HEADS OF REVENUE | Estimates 1372 | Total Estimates 1372 | Actuals 1372 |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| 1. *Oil Receipts* : | | | |
| (a) Income Tax .. .. .. .. | 138,00,000 | | 135,84,300 |
| (b) Duty on Imported Crude Oil .. .. | 60,00,000 | | 84,58,400 |
| | | 198,00,000 | |
| 2. *Customs Receipts* : | | | |
| (a) Customs and Import Yards .. .. | 83,47,500 | | 104,22,100 |
| (b) Miscellaneous .. .. .. .. | 52,500 | | 1,22,300 |
| | | 84,00,000 | |
| 3. *Interest* : | | | |
| (a) Interest on Reserve .. .. .. | 10,75,000 | | 11,77,000 |
| (b) Interest on Loan Advanced .. .. | 40,000 | | 40,000 |
| | | 11,15,000 | |
| 4. *Land Revenue* : | | | |
| (a) Fees from Sales Registration .. .. | 1,25,000 | | 1,28,200 |
| (b) Sales of Government Lands .. .. | 60,000 | | 3,51,100 |
| (c) Rents of Government Lands and Aerodromes | 48,000 | | 61,000 |
| | | 2,33,000 | |
| 5. *Education* : | | | |
| (a) Boys' Schools .. .. .. .. | 10,000 | | 9,100 |
| (b) Girls' Schools .. .. .. .. | 10,000 | | 12,400 |
| (c) Technical School .. .. .. | 5,000 | | 4,400 |
| | | 25,000 | |
| 6. *Medical Receipts* : | | | |
| (a) Nursing Home Fees .. .. .. | 65,000 | | 92,000 |
| (b) General Fees .. .. .. .. | 52,000 | | 63,900 |
| (c) Quarantine Fees .. .. .. .. | 53,000 | | 53,000 |
| (d) Miscellaneous .. .. .. .. | — | | 24,900 |
| | | 1,70,000 | |
| 7. *Car Taxes and Driving Licences* .. .. .. | | 95,000 | |
| 8. *Passport Receipts* .. .. .. .. | | 72,000 | |
| 9. *Judicial Receipts* : | | | |
| (a) Court Fees .. .. .. .. | 35,000 | | 45,900 |
| (b) Fines .. .. .. .. | 10,000 | | 7,700 |
| | | 45,000 | |
| 10. *Public Works* : | | | |
| (a) Bridge Tolls .. .. .. .. | 1,45,000 | | 1,33,100 |
| (b) Rent of Government Shops and Buildings .. | 1,90,000 | | 1,82,600 |
| | | 3,35,000 | |
| 11. *Oil Inspection Fees* .. .. .. .. | | 1,60,000 | |
| 12. *Miscellaneous Receipts* .. .. .. | | 10,000 | |

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## BUDGET—1373

| | Total Actuals 1372 Rs. | Estimates 1372 Rs. | Total Estimates 1373 Rs. | PRINCIPAL HEADS OF EXPENDITURE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 310,00,000 | | 1. *Payments to the Privy Purse* : |
| 0 | | 76,50,000 | | (a) One-third of Income Tax .. .. .. |
| - | 240,42,700 | ——— | 386,50,000 | (b) One-third of Duty .. .. .. |
| 0 | | 89,50,000 | | 2. *State Departments* : |
| 0 | | 50,000 | | (a) Adviserate .. .. .. .. |
| - | 105,44,400 | ——— | 90,00,000 | (b) Accounts and Audit .. .. .. |
| | | | | (c) Customs Department .. .. .. |
| | | | | (d) Land and Registration Department .. |
| | | | | (e) Passport Department .. .. .. |
| 0 | | 17,70,000 | | (f) Food Control Department .. .. |
| 0 | | 40,000 | | |
| — | 12,17,000 | ——— | 18,10,000 | 3. *Judicial Departments* : |
| | | | | (a) Awkaf Departments .. .. .. |
| 0 | | 1,00,000 | | (b) Minors Estates Department .. .. |
| 0 | | 40,000 | | (c) Law Courts .. .. .. .. |
| 0 | | 60,000 | | (d) Sheraa Courts .. .. .. .. |
| - | 5,40,300 | ——— | 2,00,000 | |
| | | | | 4. *Education* : |
| 0 | | 10,000 | | (a) Boys' School .. .. .. .. |
| 0 | | 10,000 | | (b) Foreign Education .. .. .. |
| 0 | | 5,000 | | (c) Religious Schools .. .. .. |
| - | 25,900 | ——— | 25,000 | (d) Girls' Schools .. .. .. .. |
| | | | | (e) Technical School .. .. .. |
| 0 | | 1,00,000 | | 5. *Public Health* : |
| 0 | | 80,000 | | (a) Hospitals and Dispensaries .. .. |
| 0 | | 1,00,000 | | (b) Anti-Malaria Works .. .. .. |
| 0 | | 70,000 | | (c) Quarantine .. .. .. .. |
| - | 2,33,800 | ——— | 3,50,000 | (d) Miscellaneous .. .. .. .. |
| | 1,34,100 | | 1,25,000 | 6. *Public Protection* : |
| | 54,000 | | 75,000 | (a) State Police .. .. .. .. |
| | | | | (b) Natura .. .. .. .. |
| 0 | | 50,000 | | (c) Jails .. .. .. .. |
| 0 | | 10,000 | | |
| — | 53,600 | ——— | 60,000 | 7. *Municipalities* : |
| | | | | (a) Manama .. .. .. .. |
| 0 | | 91,000 | | (b) Muharraq and Hedd .. .. .. |
| 0 | | 2,09,000 | | (c) Rafaa .. .. .. .. |
| - | 3,15,700 | ——— | 3,00,000 | |
| | 1,43,500 | | 1,40,000 | 8. *Oil Inspection Department* .. .. .. |
| | 61,000 | | 10,000 | 9. *Agriculture* .. .. .. .. |
| | | | | 10. *Transport Department* .. .. .. .. |
| | | | | 11. *Unforeseen* .. .. .. .. |
| | | | | 12. *Public Works* : |
| | | | | (a) Public Works Department .. .. |
| | | | | (b) Shaikh Hamad Bridge .. .. .. |
| | | | | (c) Maintenance Roads .. .. .. |
| | | | | (d) Annual Repairs Government Buildings |
| | | | | (e) New Works .. .. .. .. |
| | | | | 13. *Deep Water Pier* .. .. .. .. |
| | | | | 14. *Gas Scheme* .. .. .. .. |
| | | | | 15. *Electric Supply Department* .. .. .. |
| | | | | *Surplus for Investment* .. .. .. .. |
| | 373,66,000 | | 507,50,000 | |

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| Estimates 1372 Rs. | Total Estimates 1372 Rs. | Actuals 1372 Rs. | Total Actuals 1372 Rs. | Estimates 1373 Rs. | Total Estimates 1373 Rs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 46,00,000 | | 51,92,400 | | 103,33,000 | |
| 20,00,000 | | 28,19,100 | | 25,50,000 | |
| | 66,00,000 | | 80,11,500 | | 128,83,000 |
| 2,10,000 | | 1,84,100 | | 2,10,000 | |
| 1,50,000 | | 1,72,900 | | 1,74,000 | |
| 7,60,000 | | 7,01,300 | | 7,82,000 | |
| 1,17,000 | | 1,18,900 | | 1,46,000 | |
| 88,000 | | 1,28,500 | | 1,11,000 | |
| 75,000 | | 63,700 | | 50,000 | |
| | 14,00,000 | | 13,69,200 | | 14,73,000 |
| 44,000 | | 47,700 | | 56,000 | |
| 30,000 | | 30,200 | | 30,000 | |
| 1,30,000 | | 1,37,700 | | 1,52,000 | |
| 56,000 | | 49,200 | | 60,000 | |
| | 2,60,000 | | 2,64,800 | | 2,96,000 |
| 19,60,000 | | 18,29,500 | | 24,70,000 | |
| 2,00,000 | | 2,00,200 | | 2,75,000 | |
| 40,000 | | 27,400 | | 50,000 | |
| 5,25,000 | | 5,48,000 | | 6,70,000 | |
| 96,000 | | 82,800 | | 1,13,000 | |
| | 28,21,000 | | 26,87,900 | | 35,78,000 |
| 20,28,000 | | 20,50,800 | | 28,15,000 | |
| 2,50,000 | | 1,92,500 | | 2,50,000 | |
| 1,00,000 | | 1,30,100 | | 2,50,000 | |
| — | | — | | 75,000 | |
| | 23,78,000 | | 23,53,200 | | 33,90,000 |
| 14,19,000 | | 12,58,000 | | 15,49,000 | |
| 3,94,000 | | 3,77,600 | | 3,92,000 | |
| 34,000 | | 19,100 | | 34,000 | |
| | 18,47,000 | | 16,54,900 | | 19,75,000 |
| 1,00,000 | | 3,09,100 | | 1,00,000 | |
| 1,20,000 | | 1,49,100 | | 1,20,000 | |
| 20,000 | | 35,000 | | 20,000 | |
| | 2,40,000 | | 4,93,200 | | 2,40,000 |
| | 65,000 | | 79,700 | | 70,000 |
| | 60,000 | | 1,45,100 | | 1,00,000 |
| | 79,000 | | 4,52,000 | | 1,20,000 |
| | 1,60,000 | | 17,32,000 | | 1,25,000 |
| 1,95,000 | | 1,68,700 | | 2,20,000 | |
| 35,000 | | 30,800 | | 35,000 | |
| 1,50,000 | | 2,35,000 | | 1,50,000 | |
| 1,00,000 | | 1,69,700 | | 1,45,000 | |
| 56,30,000 | | 50,12,700 | | 64,00,000 | |
| | 61,10,000 | | 56,16,900 | | 69,50,000 |
| | 40,00,000 | | 7,300 | | 20,00,000 |
| | — | | 20,52,000 | | 40,00,000 |
| | 13,00,000 | | 18,77,600 | | — |
| | 52,00,000 | | 128,37,700 | | 135,50,000 |
| | 304,60,000 | | 416,35,100 | | 507,50,000 |

[Page 76 C]

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

## FINANCE

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**Revenue.** Until two years ago almost the whole revenue of the State was derived from the customs dues upon imports whose quantity depended mainly upon the success of the pearl trade. Pearls themselves have never been taxed, although it has frequently been stated in the European press that Bahrain derived its revenue from direct taxation of pearls. It has been the consistent policy of the Government to encourage the diving industry by charging no dues on the import and export of pearls. The pearl trade was formerly the only local industry of any importance in Bahrain.

During the first four or five years of the period under review, for which I give the financial figures for twelve years in this report, Bahrain was in a prosperous condition and dependent for its revenue upon local resources. Probably few countries in the world which can boast of any form of administration have been subject to such slight taxation as Bahrain. Apart from the 5% customs tax on imports, no form of taxation existed in Bahrain except a small municipal house tax in Manamah and in Muharraq. Land tax, date-tree tax, Ashur and Zikat have never been levied, and the country people pay no taxes except the duty on imports. This condition is very different from that existing in neighbouring States such as Persia and Saoudi Arabia.

During the first few years of the period mentioned in this report the average revenue was about eleven lakhs per annum, and this sum in those days was sufficient for the administration of the country as well as for carrying out various important public improvements, including sinking artesian wells, installing electric light and power, and constructing some important works such as roads and buildings.

In 1348 (June 1929—May 1930) there was an alarming fall in the revenue due to the slump in the pearl trade which was owing to general financial depression in Europe, and especially the increasing competition of cultured pearls which were produced in Japan. From then, until money began to pour in from oil, the income of the State decreased rapidly, and the financial future of the State caused the gravest anxiety to those who controlled its finances. In spite of drastic economies, reductions in staff and cuts in the Civil List and in the pay of all Government servants, it became necessary to draw upon the very small reserve fund during two years, in order to provide for the much-reduced annual expenditure which was required for the maintenance of the administration and the protection of the country.

It was fortunate that at that time the State had no heavy financial obligations to meet, such as repayment of loans or outstanding debts on account of public works. By reducing expenditure by cuts in pay and by increasing the 5% *ad valorem* customs duty to 10% on certain luxury articles, and to 15% on tobacco and liquor in 1352 (April 1933—April 1934), and by appropriation from the Reserve Fund, it was possible to weather the storm. This could not have been done without the co-operation of the general public, the Ruling Family, and all Government employees, who appreciated the position and accepted the changes without opposition.

The most acute years of the crisis in Bahrain were 1351 and 1352 (May 1932—April 1933 and April 1933—April 1934). In these years the revenue shrunk to Rs 6,84,000/- and Rs 7,26,000/-. In 1353 (April 1934—April 1935), the Bahrain Government sold to the British Government three large areas on Muharraq island and Manamah, from which the net profit to this Government was just over one lac. Although this sum was not normal revenue, it was included in the revenue of the year and it enabled me to balance the Budget.

During 1354 over five lakhs were received from the oil royalty, the total revenue was Rs 13,40,000/-, which was one lakh more than any previous year. At the end of the year the Reserve Fund was increased from two lakhs to four lakhs, cuts in pay were restored, and increased expenditure was authorised for State Protection and Public Services, including medical and educational services and the monthly grants to the municipalities, which had been reduced by 50%, were restored to the previous amount. The oil payment was made at the very end of the year and it was very much greater than that shown in the Budget for 1354.

The revenue for 1355 (March 1936—March 1937) was Rs 16,47,000/-, of which Rs 6,92,000/- was oil royalty.

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The financial progress of Bahrain during these years has been briefly as follows: five years of prosperity during which the State depended upon the diving industry, two lean years when the pearl market began to droop, two years of crisis during which the revenue did not cover the expenditure, one year of slight recovery followed by a sudden large increase of revenue from oil. It is likely that during the present year the revenue from oil alone will amount to more than double the total revenue of any previous year.

A detailed report on the revenue of these years is not necessary as it has been dealt with minutely in annual reports, but the accompanying figures show the annual income with explanations of any unusual rise or fall. The subject of this report is the last ten years, and it is not proposed in this report to deal with the future, but it may be stated that, in my opinion, the most urgent need for the State is to provide itself with a solid Reserve Fund which will assure it a regular income which can be depended upon even when oil begins to run dry. Unfortunately it is the nature of Arabs to be over-optimistic and to pay small heed to the future, so the need for building up this reserve will not be generally appreciated.

| *Year.* | *Customs Revenue.* | *Other Revenue.* | *Oil Royalty.* | *Total.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs | Rs | Rs | Rs | |
| 1344 | 8,82,000 | 1,80,000 | — | 10,62,000 | |
| 1345 | 10,68,000 | 3,37,000 | — | 14,05,000 | |
| 1346 | 11,43,000 | 97,000 | — | 12,40,000 | |
| 1347 | 11,24,000 | 91,000 | — | 12,15,000 | |
| 1348 | 9,98,000 | 1,36,000 | — | 11,34,000 | |
| 1349 | 6,89,000 | 1,28,000 | — | 8,17,000 | |
| 1350 | 6,85,000 | 1,19,000 | — | 8,04,000 | |
| 1351 | 6,00,000 | 84,000 | — | 6,84,000 | |
| 1352 | 6,08,000 | 89,000 | 29,000 | 7,26,000 | |
| 1353 | 6,57,000 | 1,63,000 | 67,000 | 8,87,000 | |
| 1354 | 6,91,000 | 83,000 | 5,68,000 | 13,42,000 | |
| 1355 | 8,74,000 | 81,000 | 6,92,000 | 16,47,000 | |

## THE STATE POLICE AND PUBLIC SECURITY

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**The Levy Corps.**

In 1926 the armed forces of Bahrain consisted of a Levy Corps, a few Persian police who were originally enlisted by the Municipality, and a body of 'Naturs,' armed watchmen who patrolled the town at night. The Levy Corps provided a guard at the Political Agency and posts at Rufaa and Sitra. The Levy Corps, which consisted of so-called Baluchis recruited in Muscat, was commanded by a British Officer seconded from the Indian Army, assisted by an Indian Officer and several Indian N.C.O.'s from Punjabi regiments. In 1926 the Levy Corps was commanded by Captain Geake, who had succeeded Captain Campbell. The Levy Corps was intended mainly as a defence force in case of any serious disturbance or an attack on Bahrain by the Dawasir Arabs, who once lived at Bedeya but left Bahrain in anger some after Shaikh Hamad assumed control.

[CIT]

In the spring of 1926 it was decided that the Indian Army officer should be replaced by a British official, who would act as assistant Adviser and Commandant of the Levy Corps. Captain L. S. Parke was appointed in this capacity in place of Captain Geake, who returned to his regiment.

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**Political Disturbances.**

There was a general feeling of nervousness and unrest in Bahrain in 1926. Many people were afraid that the Dawasir would make a descent on the coast and a series of armed attacks on Shia villages, organised by disaffected members of the Ruling Family, were still fresh in the public mind. The present Ruler was not yet firmly established, many people were opposed to him, and in certain communities there was a feeling of bitter resentment against the new regime and the various reforms which had been introduced. Conditions were very different to what they are to-day: in the country few people would venture out unarmed at night, and in the towns there were frequent scares of armed attacks.

Little by little, the clashes became more frequent, and from the end of April 1923, fighting took place almost every day. 648

On the fourth of May, a regular fight took place between the inhabitants of the two villages of Badaiya' (populated by the Arabs of Nedj and Sunni), and that of Ali (inhabited by Persians of Shiah creed).

On the 9th of May, a band of armed Arabs attacked the Persians, killing three and wounding thirty-seven. Persian houses were sacked and occupants maltreated. The local government was unable to cope with the situation, and again the Arabs from Nedj received reinforcements from the mainland, and attacked Persian houses, stores, and villages. In this act of vandalism, 10 Persians were killed again, but the intervention of the local police, who were under the authority of the Persian Major, Muhammad Sharif, prevented further disaster by shooting on the assailants.

To reestablish order, the Political Agent had to call on British naval units which arrived on May 12th and 13th. Sheik Isa was held responsible and was asked to abdicate, but he convoked the council of his family, and they decided to refuse the demand. Confronted by the threats of the British Resident, however, he was "persuaded" to relegate his power to his son Sheik Hamed, who was declared Lieutenant of the Realm.

After his forced abdication, Isa, as a protest against the action which violated the rule of friendship, refused for more than five years to receive his son. Eventually, however, a reconciliation took place.

The Persian Mayor was sacrificed and his office suspended. 648
The national and foreign tribunals gave way to a Divan 652
formed by the Sheik and the Political Agent. An office of Ad- [692]
ministration of Finance was created, with a Briton at its head. Civil and military lists were established for the Sheik and his family. The English Bank of Manama, the Eastern Bank, was assigned to function as the Government Treasury. The legal provisions of the Bahrein Order in Council of 1913 were enforced.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 Ml Middle East
Bahrein M22



652 651 There have also been other implications. The Sheikh, the Government and the people have become increasingly, in fact almost exclusively, dependent on the oil. In 1932 the entire government budget was about $143,600; in 1951 the total government revenue was $5,271,000, of which approximately 61 per cent came from oil and 34.9 per cent from customs duties,[24] which must be considered an indirect result of the oil industry. In 1953 the Government revenue was derived 68 per cent from oil, 24 per cent from customs duties, and 5 per cent from interest on the reserve fund.[25] The oil boom also created inflationary pressures which caused many Bahreinis to seek employment in other oil-producing areas in the Gulf. Because of its central location, the I.P.C. subsidiary, Petroleum Concessions Ltd., which held concessions in Qatar and on the Trucial coast, had made its Gulf headquarters in Bahrein and built large offices and houses for its staff. Bahrein had become a resort and shopping center for the oil employees, especially Americans and Europeans, in Saudi Arabia and Qatar. These not only added to the inflationary pressures, but so greatly increased the social vices of gambling, drinking, prostitution and their concomitants as to cause grave concern to those responsible for the health and welfare of the population.[26]

[464] 458 471 178

185 The Bahrein islands are limited in area and in resources; oil, in a more definitely limited quantity than that of any of the other areas in the Gulf, is the only resource supporting the Sheikh, the Government and its extended services, and also to a considerable degree the people at large. Though perhaps originally a little more advanced than some of their neighbors, the people of Bahrein, prior to the discovery of oil, had a low standard of living and consequently a very low standard of governmental and social services. When the pearling industry suffered a serious setback as a result of the world depression and the development of cultured pearls, Bahrein was in a desperate situation. With the arrival of the Bahrein Petroleum Company,

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aroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 20 *et passim*; "Oil and Bahrein," *The World Today*, VII, 77-79, Feb., 1951; Bell, *loc. cit.*

[24] Bahrain Petroleum Company, Limited, *Bahrain 1952* (pages not numbered).

[25] Angus Sinclair, "The Resources and Their Potentialities. III, Petroleum and Minerals," in *Middle East Resources Problems and Prospects* (Washington, 1954), 46. The 68 per cent of the revenue directly from oil did not include the one-third which went to the Sheikh.

[26] "Oil and Bahrein," *The World Today*, VII, 79, 81-85, Feb., 1951; Faroughy, *The Bahrein Islands*, 20 *et passim*.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrein MZ 2



the islands entered a new era. Governmental services, education, health, housing, sanitation and other services gave the Bahreinis one of the best living standards of the area. This was the result not only of the income derived from the Company—although the Company contributed directly to the raising of the standards and the direct revenue from its operations made these improvements possible—but was primarily due to the Government's determination to utilize the income for constructive purposes. This achievement must be ascribed first to the British Government which (in spite of all disclaimers) controls the government of the Sheikh, and, secondly, to the Sheikh's adviser, J. H. W. Belgrave. It was no doubt the British Government's decision to divide the revenue from the oil into three parts, allowing the Sheikh only one-third, earmarking another third for current expenses and general development, and leaving the rest to be invested. This is perfectly illustrated by the Government's expenditure budget for 1953.[27]

But with the improvements also came drawbacks; a serious breakdown in social and religious loyalties, and an alarming rise in the social vices. Education deteriorated to an emphasis on those subjects which guaranteed employment in the petroleum industry. It has been observed that some Bahreini students know more English, even though only superficially, than Arabic; the eagerness for employment caused many parents to take their children out of school long before their graduation even from primary school. Yet even with this limited education and the experience of employment with Bapco, some of the workers began to show symptoms of discontent. They demanded that the Company allow trade unions in its operations, and that Bahreinis have more control over the Company.[28] All in all, considering the conditions of the islands and the general stage of the people's development, one must conclude that the discovery of oil has brought Bahrein pros-

[27] Government operating expenses including administration, courts and public protection, $707,000 (9 per cent); health and education, $1,464,000 (18 per cent); public works, $1,453,000 (18 per cent); two capital works projects—gas supply for the city of Manama and a deep water terminal, $1,260,000 (15 per cent); surplus for investment, $2,846,000 (36 per cent). Sinclair, *loc. cit.*, 46.

[28] In July 1954 it was reported that a general strike had been proclaimed in Bahrein, directed against the ruler, Sir Salman Bin Hamad Al Khalifah, for failure to reform the despotic regime. The strikers demanded that a commission be set up to examine reforms, including improvements of public health and education facilities. *Daily Telegraph* (London), July 12, 1954.

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The people of Bahrain are extremely law abiding and there is very little crime. A force of 300 uniformed police and 200 armed watchmen is responsible for the maintenance of law and order. The Police headquarters is the Fort to the south-west of Manama, this also contains the Traffic Department, the jail for short term convicts and the police barracks. There are police stations in various districts of Manama and Muharraq and in Hedd, Budaiya, Jaw, Sitra and elsewhere in Bahrain.

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Most of the Government buildings in Bahrain are constructed by the Public Works Department whose offices and yards are on the northern shore of Manama south of the Manama-Muharraq Causeway. This department is also responsible for the Manama town water supply and the upkeep of roads and bridges. Close to the Public Works Department, on the opposite side of the Causeway, is the power house and office of the State Engineer. Electricity was first installed in Manama in 1929, later it was extended to Muharraq. The Power Station now generates about 7½ million Kw. per annum.

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In addition to these departments there are others including the Transport Section, near the Police Fort, and the Agricultural Department which runs experimental gardens in Budiaya and Manama and gives advice to Bahrain agriculturalists.

## THE RULING FAMILY OF BAHRAIN

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*The Ruler* :

HIS HIGHNESS SHAIKH SULMAN BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E.

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*Sons of the Ruler* :

HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH ISA BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH KHALIFAH BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH MUHAMMAD BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.

*Uncles of the Ruler* :

HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH ABDULLA BIN ISA AL-KHALIFAH, C.I.E.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH MUHAMMAD BIN ISA AL-KHALIFAH, C.B.E.

*Brothers of the Ruler* :

SHAIKH MUBARAK BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ABDULLA BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ALI BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH IBRAHIM BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH KHALIFAH BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH DAIJ BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH AHMED BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.

*Sons of Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa* :

SHAIKH RASHID BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ALI BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH HAMED BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.

Some twenty years ago a Danish scientific expedition paid two visits to the Persian Gulf to report on the fish found in it. They discovered that there were over 400 species.

## AGRICULTURE

Parts of Bahrain have always been fertile and very probably in ancient times more land was under cultivation than is being used today. The gardens of Bahrain are mentioned by many ancient visitors to the islands. The captains of Alexander's ships described Tylos, the ancient name of Bahrain, as "well-wooded and productive" while Idrisi, writing in the 12th century, says that the "capital of Awal (Bahrain Island) is Bahrain; this is a town well populated whose environs are fertile and produce corn and dates in abundance." It could be that the capital of Bahrain mentioned by Idrisi was Bilad al-Qadim, the description would seem to imply this.

Formerly the Bahrain gardens were irrigated from natural springs and surface wells, the water either flowing from the springs into the gardens or being lifted from wells to the level of the land by various forms of water scoops. The most commonly used is the Shaduf. A man stands near the edge of the well and draws up the water in a sheep skin bag attached by ropes to a counter-balanced pole. In larger wells donkeys or oxen are used, walking endlessly up and down a ramp pulling the water to the surface from where it runs down into irrigation channels. As the rainfall in Bahrain is almost negligible all agriculture depends upon irrigation.

In the 20's and 30's Major Frank Holmes drilled many artesian wells in Bahrain which completely changed Bahrain's system of irrigation. By introducing these wells into the island Major Holmes did much to increase the area of land which could be cultivated, but artesian wells turned out to be a mixed blessing, for in the following years so many wells were drilled that the water head went down and some of the gardens in the south of Bahrain dried up. Today this problem is being met by a government Water Committee which decides whether and under what conditions new wells may be drilled, it tries to ensure that the water resources of the islands are maintained at their present level or even increased by the utilisation of the many large springs of fresh water which lie under the sea around the shores of Bahrain.

The two commonest crops in Bahrain are dates and lucerne (alfalfa). the latter is often grown in the shade of the date palms where its vivid greenness provides a contrast to the brown and grey-green of the date palms. There is little good fruit in Bahrain although a certain number of fruit trees are cultivated, these include citrus, tamarind, pomegranate, fig, guava, terminalia (indian almond) mango, bananas, grapes and kanard (a small apple-like fruit). European vegetables are grown in the cold weather and other ground crops include sweet potatoes, melons, tomatoes, ladies fingers, egg plants, onions, garlic and pumpkins.

of colour and Arab life, and large modern stores stocked with every type of goods from America, Europe and the East. The spice bazaar, the second-hand bazaar behind the Municipality and the shops of the metal workers are typically oriental ; the stores in the larger streets with plate glass windows and fixed prices stock a wide range of modern goods which are generally cheaper than elsewhere in the Gulf owing to the low customs duty. Apart from pearls, mother-of-pearl, gold and silver thread embroidery and model dhows there are few purely local products for visitors to buy. The best way to see the bazaar is on foot, it provides innumerable subjects for photos and neither here nor anywhere else in Bahrain is there any objection to the taking of photos. 366 443

To the south-west of the town is the Qalat ad-Diwan, beyond it, along Awal Road, is the Isolation Hospital, the Public Health Department and a number of blocks of flats. Opposite them is a large garden with two miniature lakes, known as the Water Garden ; this is a popular place during summer evenings. Beyond the flats is the Mental Hospital. It is probable that within the next few years this area will undergo extensive development. 361 517 368

To the south-east is the district of Manama known as Quadabiya, up to a few years ago an area of barren sand and swamp land where mosquitos bred but which today is rapidly developing into a residential and entertainment centre. Going along Belgrave Road one passes the Secondary School and Hostel, the Palace and, where the road joins Jufair Road, many houses and bungalows occupied by employees of European commercial firms. Jufair Road then passes the Race Course and Gymkhana Club and terminates in the suburbs of Umm a-Hasan and Jufair ; at the latter are the headquarters of the Senior British Naval Officer, Persian Gulf and H.B.M.'s Political Residency. 361 368

In the modern districts of Manama there are many wide and well surfaced roads, lined with tree-shaded pavements, while here and there in the town waste plots of land have been made into little gardens with benches, lawns and fountains. Along the water-front runs Sea Road, joining the Muharraq Causeway with the State Hospital at its western end. The Muharraq Causeway took ten years to build, for it served as a relief project when there was unemployment in Bahrain. The Shaikh Hamed Swing Bridge was completed in 1942 by Messrs. Holloways Bros. Many of the principal buildings and offices in Bahrain are on the Sea Road and Prior Road, which is an inland road running parallel to it. In former times the sea extended far into the town, south even of Prior Road, but during the past twenty-five years much of the sea-shore has been reclaimed. In Muharraq similar work can be seen in progress, but in an earlier stage of development. 363 [491] [653]

In the evenings, the busiest part of Manama is Belgrave Road and the part of Quadabiya to its east where there are four cinemas and many coffee-shops, as well as football fields. At sunset the people of the town can be seen strolling along the road to Jufair, or sitting on the benches that line the pavements, later returning to the cinemas 517 [368]

## MUNICIPALITIES

### MANAMA MUNICIPALITY

(From the report of Mr. Mohamed Saleh Shater, Secretary of the Manama Municipality)

At the beginning of the year, owing to sectarian differences between Sunni and Shia members in 1371 which caused the resignation of the Shia members, Municipal affairs were being dealt with by a committee of Sunnis. This was the situation until the middle of the year when the Government succeeded in persuading the Shia members to resume their duties on the Council. They returned on the understanding that they would serve for only one year after which an election should be held.

During the latter part of the year the Council functioned in a more or less normal manner; by shelving all matters which might cause controversy between the sects the Council succeeded in performing its duties without serious differences. The situation, however, was not satisfactory.

**Finance.** The Financial Committee which drew up the budget was formed from the temporary Sunni committee. Estimated revenue for 1372 was Rs. 7,04,000 and expenditure was assessed at the same figure. The actual revenue exceeded the estimate by Rs. 1,16,000, the expenditure was Rs. 61,000 more than was expected and at the end of the year a surplus of revenue over expenditure amounting to Rs. 61,000 was added to the Reserve which was then Rs. 2,83,000.

The increase in revenue was due to a great extent to higher receipts from house and shop taxes. There were many new buildings in the town and higher rents were charged for existing buildings, both for houses and shops. House taxes and shop taxes on buildings which are leased are charged on a percentage basis of the rent. Taxation on houses which are occupied by their owners is extremely low in comparison with that of rented premises. A large proportion of the rented houses are occupied by foreigners and most of the houses in which the owners live are occupied by people of the country.

During the year the Municipality sold land to the public at the price of Rs. 35,200 and it purchased a new fire engine for Rs. 48,000. The Government presented to the Municipality a motor-driven trailer fire pump and jeep, a rubbish carrying vehicle and a gully emptying vehicle.

**Municipal activities.** Town cleaning was effected during the year by two trucks and 30 donkey carts, town rubbish was utilised to reclaim a large portion of sea on the shore at Hora, opposite Cable and Wireless premises. The method of employing donkey carts to carry town refuse is not a satisfactory one. An order was placed in England during the summer for small rubbish-carrying vehicles which can be used in narrow streets.

A number of roads in the town were metalled, the area dealt with was about 380,000 square feet on which was used 480,000 cubic feet of stone and 105,000 cubic feet of sand, the whole costing approximately Rs. 1,76,000.

Some progress was made in widening streets in the bazaar area, 112 new street lights were installed and more trees were planted on the roads, unfortunately each year a number of trees are destroyed, by wind or sometimes by rain which when it falls strongly seems to kill both plants and trees.

There was much building activity both in the town and on the outskirts of the town, numbers of small houses were built for occupation by their owners and more European style bungalows and flats were built for letting. House rents are excessively high, landlords expect to recover the cost of their property in less than ten years, so building houses for letting is at present a profitable investment. However, so many houses are now being built that it seems possible that in a short time there may be more houses than tenants.

During the year permits for new buildings were issued by the Municipality for 144 stone houses and 100 barasti huts and permits for repairs and additions to 186 shops and 717 houses were also granted.

1 [A.D 1951-52 - Analyst]

## PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT

(Report by Mr. S. Hills, Director of Works)

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For the first time for many years the Department failed to show any increase over the preceding year in its expenditure, or—more important—the volume of work carried out. This was due entirely to the failure to increase the size of the supervising staff commensurate with the obligations of the Department. Despite the lack of any expansion, however, the year's figures indicate the P.W.D. had another very busy and productive year. An average number of 1,350 men were employed daily which shows that the Department was still second only to Bahrain Petroleum Company in being the biggest economic factor in the lives of ordinary people of Bahrain. As previously, P.W.D. carried out far more work than any of the local contractors, and continued to set a standard for local development.

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Weather conditions were exceptionally favourable for the Department's activities. The winter months were unusually mild and there was no severe storm at any time during the year. The summer was good, although there were one or two unpleasantly hot and humid spells in July and August.

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Costs continued to rise, but the increase was not so marked as in the two previous years. Indeed, there was a welcome drop in the prices of various imported stores, but locally produced stores—which form so big an item (about 26 per cent.) in the Department's total costs—became considerably dearer. As the cost of these is almost entirely one of labour and transport, it would not have been surprising if this increase had occurred a year or so ago. There was some small rise in labour costs, caused by increased rates being paid to better-grade tradesmen—the basic rate for coolies and second-grade tradesmen remaining the same. This is really a good thing, as the standardisation of wage rates is surely one of the most lamentable features of the modern trend of development ; and a man should be encouraged to expect to be paid according to his ability. As before, the increase in cost was most marked in the smaller works and in maintenance. A feature out of the Department's control, which added to the rise in costs was the quite deplorable shipping situation which developed towards the end of the year. Many ships, carrying stores for Bahrain, failed to discharge their cargos, but overcarried them to Basra where they were transhipped and taken all over the Gulf (and at times as far as Aden) before they were eventually off loaded at Bahrain. Many works were delayed in consequence, with an inevitable rise in costs.

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This question of costs is closely linked with labour and supervision. Labour troubles were rather less than in the last year or two. In the early months of the year, the strength of carpenters, which had fallen so low at the end of 1371, was again built up ; and maintained throughout the year. The most serious shortage, in the year under review, was in good decorators. The standard of painting throughout Bahrain is very poor indeed. The local idea is to apply paint as thickly as possible, but never to worry about first preparing the work, and still less if much of the paint goes on the floor, window glass, or nearby furniture or fitments. P.W.D's annual commitment for decorating is now so large that the poor standard of performance is becoming a serious matter ; and as far as new work is concerned, the better standard of construction now being achieved is all too often spoilt by the indifferent standard of finish. There can only be one answer—constant and exacting supervising, and the Department was not, this year, in a position to give this.

Although the labour strength was just maintained at a level adequate to meet committments, yet the position was always delicate, because of the greatly increased amount of work being done by local contractors, who were only too ready to lure away good P.W.D. men by paying higher wage rates.

During the year, one man, Mohamed Bussager, foreman fitter, went to England for six months, under the auspices of the British Council. He greatly benefitted by his visit. It is hoped that more men may be sent on similar courses during the next few years.

653 As usual, the activities of the Department[1] were diverse and far-reaching. The chief "new" construction works consisted of the completion of flats for investment at Muharraq and Rafaa Road ; offices in Barrett Road ; quarters for masters over the Technical School Workshop ; new private wards at the Hospital, the carrying on of work to the new Palace and additional quarters for masters over the Technical School itself, and the starting of a block of Staff Quarters at Quarantine site, Quadabiya. Very extensive works were also carried out for Customs ; four more stores sheds being erected, a large area of sea reclaimed, and a new jetty for local craft being started. For this Department, several other smaller, but important, works were also done. A larger amount than usual of simple construction work was let to contractors, including 36 workmen's houses, 43 houses for the Police, and various village dispensaries. It is argueable if the results are really satisfactory, and although money may be saved, it is possible only at the expense of a good standard of work. As usual, much work was done for the Electricity Department ; and agricultural development was greatly assisted. The amount of maintenance and decorating was, needless to say, higher than ever before ; and it has to be admitted that over this the Department failed, to some extent, to give a really good service. Fair service was given, but often the quality of work was indifferent. The construction of new roads and pavements, and the maintenance of those existing was energetically carried on. The main water supply was operated very successfully. A much larger amount of water was supplied—both to paying and non-paying consumers—and the accounts of the Water Supply Department (given later) are really encouraging.

653 177 342 Every year the Department tackles a few jobs of unusual character. Of chief interest this year may be mentioned the two large roofs of the new Palace. These are of Mansard design, each 90 feet long, and with a clear span of 32 feet. Sixteen timber trusses were made, hoisted, and placed in position, 26 feet above ground, thanks to the invaluable assistance of the Bahrain Petroleum Company who kindly loaned a mobile crane with a 70 feet jib. The actual time spent on hoisting and fixing was just over twelve hours. Purlins and common rafters were fixed, and the roofs were then close-boarded, felted, counter-battened and battened. Later, green glazed pantiles were fixed. This was the first roofing job of its kind ever done in Bahrain; and it was gratifying to note how quickly the local tradesmen learned to tackle the work. The trusses were well and accurately made ; and the tiling—although done during Ramadhan and in very hot weather—took rather less than three weeks, and the result compares well with tiled roofs constructed anywhere.

000 In conclusion, 1372 has been a year of fair progress, but with some disappointing features. Much was satisfactorily accomplished ; but some results fell short of what is desirable. The very rapid expansion of the Department in the preceding five years is beginning to put a big and increasing strain on its organisation. Such success as there has been this year is largely due to excellent work done by Mr. L. Harris, Assistant to Officer-in-Charge, P.W.D. (who not only ran the Water Supply Department so well but also took charge of P.W.D. for three months at the end of the year) ; Mr. Ahmed Darwish, Office Superintendent (deservedly upgraded from Head Clerk during the year) ; a small number of hard working overseers, foremen, store-keepers and clerks and a nucleus of well proved tradesmen of long service.

Further commitments for P.W.D. are obviously bigger than ever before. To assist in meeting these, some addition to British personnel has been arranged. Extensions to the offices were built late in the year, to provide accommodation and to relieve the congestion in the old office. It is hoped that with the new staff and as a result of more local men taking courses in England, the Department will still prove capable of meeting its obligations and maintaining its tradition for good work and efficient service; and that it will continue to set an example *of good workmanship and decent* and appropriate design.

[1] [The Public Works Department -- Analyst]

651 439 was imposed on luxury articles, liquor, and tobacco at the end of the previous year. From 1352 onwards the revenue increased steadily, and at the end of the present year, 1356, it will probably reach the high level which it attained in 1346.

The decrease in revenue resulting from general trade depression in Europe, and particularly the slump in the pearl trade, was caused not so much by a reduced amount of imports but by a decrease in the price of commodities which continued for several years. The cost of rice, flour, and coffee became lower each year during the depression, and importation of comparatively expensive European cotton goods diminished as cheap Japanese goods increased. The shortage of ready money for several years, and the inability of the local Arabs to spend much money on clothes was the greatest stimulus to Japanese trade in the Gulf, and especially in Bahrain. If the spending power of the people had not been so restricted it would have been very much more difficult for the Japanese to monopolise the trade in piece goods and fancy goods. Though the customs collections declined owing to the low value of imports, the cheapness of goods enabled many people to live who would otherwise have found it difficult to exist. I give a table showing the prices of various commodities in different years. The amount of imports, etc., are published yearly in the Bahrain trade report.

● 653 **Customs Improvements.** The customs pier and the import shed were built about twenty years ago; the pier shed was built in 1924. In 1925 a trolley line system was laid down to facilitate removal of cargo from the pier head to the sheds and to the bazaar. The trolley line resulted in doubling the quantity of daily cargo removals.

In 1927 a small mole and three small docks were constructed on the east of the pier. The mole was too narrow to be of much use, and the docks, which were dry at low tide, were also too small for general use. In 1937 the mole was widened and the new customs house was built on the site of the docks and a large piece of land in front of and on each side of the customs house was reclaimed. The additional area has partially relieved the congestion on the pier, where the area for storing cargo was insufficient.

The lighting of the port was improved in 1931 by the erection of a powerful light on the customs pier, which can be seen from the outer (white) buoy. When electricity was introduced, standard lamps were erected on the pier, enabling work to be carried out at night which was previously done under considerable difficulties. In 1933 the Gray Paul Beacon was lighted with a red flash light which affords great assistance at night to lighterage of cargo. A five-ton crane was purchased in 1930.

505 **Steamship Lines.** In 1924 the port was served only by the British India Steam Navigation Company Limited, with a very occasional Strick Line steamer. In 1925 the first Hansa Line steamer made its appearance. These two lines, and the Strick-Ellerman lines, now call regularly at Bahrain with direct cargo from Europe. In 1934 the Yamashita line, and in 1936 the Mitsui line, commenced regular callings at Bahrain.

In 1931 the British India Steam Navigation Company Limited began the weekly calling here of their subsidiary down-mail which had previously called every fortnight. In October 1932 the first Imperial Airways liner called at Bahrain, and there is now a bi-weekly air service east and west, a service which is expected to become more frequent.

With the development of the Bahrain Petroleum Company, Sitra became the port of oil tankers, and on occasions special permission has been granted for cargo boats to discharge Bahrain Petroleum Company's cargo at Sitra. On these occasions any ordinary cargo not intended for the Company is conveyed by sea to the customs pier in Manamah. Although the Sitra anchorage is more sheltered than the Manamah anchorage, it is not proposed to develop Sitra in any way as a regular port. Customs officials are stationed at Sitra and attend on the aerodrome when ships or aeroplanes are in port.

504 **Future Improvements.** An improvement to the port which has been under consideration on and off for many years is the extension of the existing pier to the edge of the deep water, which is about 400 yards distant from the pier head. Even if the extension were only a narrow one, it would be of great convenience both for passengers

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**Judicial Legislation.**

From time to time the Bahrain Government has issued proclamations which have become regulations guiding the actions of the Bahrain courts. Some of these orders, such as the following, are of considerable importance.

**Diving Regulations.** Several different proclamations on this subject have been issued embodying the various changes and conditions which resulted from the diving reforms.

**Wakils.** A proclamation was issued laying down the conditions under which Wakils should be permitted to appear in courts and specifying their rate of fees. This became necessary after criminal charges had been proved against certain Wakils who had cheated their clients.

**Mortgages.** An important proclamation was issued to the effect that no property could be mortgaged unless it had previously been registered on a Government title deed.

**Appeals.** A regular system of filing appeals from the various Bahrain courts was issued by proclamation.

**Statute of Limitation.** The period was fixed at ten years, and the same period for acquisition of land by squatters' rights.

**Liability of Government Servants.** Liability of Government servants was defined in a proclamation forbidding the public to make loans to Government servants while employed by the Government except at their own risk.

## PUBLIC WORKS

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The Bahrain Government has never had an independent Public Works Department. All buildings, roads, causeways, etc., etc., have been constructed under the supervision of Khan Saheb Mohomed Khalil, the Superintendent of the Land and Survey Department, which has combined the functions of Land Department and Public Works Department. This, in the past, has been a satisfactory and economical arrangement, but in the future, owing to probable expansion, it is proposed to separate the two departments and to start a regular Public Works Department. The Bahrain Government has, during the last ten years, carried out some large and important public works, including the Manamah-Muharraq causeway and the Naval base at Jufair, and the plain, dignified style of the buildings constructed by the Government has greatly improved the appearance of the town of Manamah.

The first important public works were the Palace, the Government offices, and the Manamah sea road. These works were completed during 1925-26 and were undertaken by an Indian contractor. The construction of the sea road was satisfactory, but time has shown that the palace and the Government offices were badly built. Large sums of money have had to be spent on repairing and propping up the Palace, owing to its inadequate foundations, and various defects in the Government offices became apparent after a few years. After this experiment, all building, with the exception of some unimportant work in the villages, has been done by the Government directly. Local building contractors do not exist, and the experiment of employing a foreign contractor proved a failure.

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**Roads.**

Since the Bahrain Petroleum Company commenced its operations in Bahrain the Government has been saved much money and labour as the Company maintains and builds roads in all parts of the concession area as well as keeping up the main road from Manamah to Rafaa, which is the most important road in Bahrain and which formerly cost the Government a considerable sum every year. The Government now confines its road work to areas in which the Company is not interested. The most important recent work is the new road from Jedhafs to Budeya which, instead of making a long detour round the coast, goes straight across country, so that Budeya can now be reached from Manamah in about twenty minutes. This will make it more easy to develop Budeya, where a school is being built. A police post was established last year, and the Government has recently purchased a large derelict garden, which is now irrigated from an artesian well, and is being put under cultivation.

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In the last ten years several new roads have been made by the Government, linking up existing roads, such as the road from Sehlah to a point on the Budeya road opposite the Portuguese Fort and the road from the top of Rafaa hill to East Rafaa, which used to be inaccessible except from down in the valley.

There is still need for several more roads, especially for one connecting Aali with Manamah, which will take the donkey traffic which comes into Manamah from the villages around Aali. The main road to Radm al Koweri cannot be widened any more, except at great expense, as it is bordered on both sides by valuable date gardens, and the mixture of motor traffic and laden donkeys, which disregard all traffic rules, is a constant source of accidents. The country people themselves, through the Shia Wakf committee, have asked that a donkey track should be made so that they need not use the motor road.

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**Buildings. Suk al Khamis Mosque.**

In 1346 (1927-28) the ancient mosque at Suk al Khamis, which was in a dangerously dilapidated condition, was restored by the Government, which at the same time straightened out the main road which previously made a wide detour. Earlier attempts to bring the road past the mosque had been opposed by the Shia villagers, but because they were pleased at the Government's action in repairing the mosque, no objections were made about the road.

This mosque was described by Von Ernst Diez, who visited it in 1914, as being a mosque of the year 740 H. (1339-40). The ornamentation of the wooden pillars and cross beams are of particular importance and interest. Over twenty years ago all the wood in the mosque disappeared. During the last few months I have found, and been able to recover from a neighbouring village, several of the beams and large pieces of wood containing the carvings which were described and illustrated by Diez and which he ascribed to the ninth or tenth century.

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**Idari Water Channel and Mosque.**

During this and the following year the Government, at the request of the landowners whose property is irrigated from Idari spring, built a cement water channel from the main spring to the high road, a distance of about 1,200 yards. The cost of the work, Rs 21,000/-, was paid by the owners of the gardens. At the same time the Government built a small mosque, on the site of an older one, on the bank of the pool. During the last year, further improvements have been made at Idari, and a quantity of flowering trees and bushes have been planted there. The pool during the summer is visited by thousands of people, who bathe there.

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**Manamah School and Workshop.**

The school was begun in 1347 (1928-29) and completed in the following year. The cost of the Manamah School, and a small school which was built at the same time at Suk al Khamis, was Rs 39,000/-. There are ten class-rooms in Manamah, capable of accommodating about three hundred boys, and a large hall which has on one occasion held six hundred people. The building is of stone and cement and is on one floor.

During the present year a workshop has been built close to the school on the opposite side of the road. This became necessary as the carpentry and engineering classes made so much noise when working in the main building that other classes were disturbed.

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**Barracks, Police Station.**

In 1353 (1934-35) a new barrack room was built in the Fort in place of some of the old rooms, which became uninhabitable. The original building was made of stones fastened together with mud, plaster, and covered with a thin coating of lime plaster. Every year for the last ten years portions of the main wall of the Fort have fallen down, and most of the old quarters inside the Fort are in a dangerous condition.

A second barrack room was built in 1936, and also a new armoury and three motor garages, and in 1937 the north-west tower, which had fallen in, was rebuilt and part of the walls were faced with cement and thoroughly repaired.

The larger of the two barrack rooms, which is 114 feet long and 22 feet wide, with three doors and fifteen windows, and also clere windows, accommodates forty men and cost Rs 7,300/-

653 In 1353 (1934-35) a police station was built at Hedd, with a small office, men's quarters, and a lock-up enclosed by a wall, and during the same year a similar police building was built at Budeya.

**New Customs House.** During 1937 several important works were carried out. A new customs house, with a flat above the offices, was built on the shore, immediately east of the pier. The building and the reclaiming of a large area of ground which was required to extend the customs wharves cost Rs 66,000/-.

The new offices are light, airy, and convenient, and the building has done much to improve the appearance of the water front.

In the customs square a round garden with a fountain in the centre has been made, where it is hoped eventually to grow evergreen shrubs, grass, and flowering bushes. The circular garden in the centre of the square was made partly as a means of ensuring the one-way traffic rule, which is necessary owing to the large amount of motor traffic in this neighbourhood, and partly for the purpose of improving the appearance of the square.

**Shops.** Three shops, which have been rented on a long lease as motor showrooms and office, were built behind the old customs house on the site of some rumble-down sheds on the west side of Barrett Street. The Import Yard shed, part of the customs premises, occupies most of one side of this street. This shed, since the construction of the pier shed about twelve years ago, is never filled to its capacity, and space along the road to contain a line of shops could be spared from the shed. As this is now the chief shopping centre in Bahrain, shops in the street are a profitable proposition.

**Palace Wall.** During 1936 a wall, stone base and pillars, with wooden railings, was built in front of the Palace, which has greatly improved its appearance as well as making it possible to keep out crowds from in front of the Palace on public occasions.

**Law Courts.** At the time of writing this report, the new Law Courts are in the course of construction. The building is on a piece of ground which has been reclaimed and which was until recently water, inside the Manamah sea road, between the properties of Kanabi & Co. and Gray Mackenzie. The offices and courts are round three sides of an open courtyard, and when the building is completed all the different courts, with their records, will be housed in one place instead of being scattered in various parts of the town in Government buildings and in hired rooms. Each courtroom has a record room and office opening out of it.

653 347 **Bazaar Buildings.** In the winter of 1936 a serious fire occurred near the Manamah Municipal Buildings which entirely destroyed the 'Suk al Arbaa,' an extensive bazaar, including the vegetable market and a number of shops belonging to H.H. Shaikh Hamad. Although much damage was done, the fire was a blessing in disguise, as His Highness decided to abolish the dangerous and insanitary type of buildings and to build new markets and shops. This work was undertaken, at His Highness's expense, by the Bahrain Government. Some shops were built, and three large iron sheds were erected which are to be used for selling fruits, vegetables, and lucerne. The new bazaar is sanitary and up-to-date, and a water supply has been laid down which makes it possible to sluice the floors of the sheds every day and to wash out the shops. A pipe has also been laid on to the meat market so that it, too, can be washed out daily. In addition to His Highness's shops and sheds, two of His Highness's sons, who owned land in the bazaar, have built lines of new shops in place of the matting sheds which were there previously.

Through the kindness of the Manager of the Bahrain Petroleum Company, one of the Company's English staff has been allowed to superintend the erection of the steel sheds, and worked on the job for some months. This new bazaar is one of the most noticeable improvements in Manamah which has occurred during recent years.

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In addition to these major works, a number of smaller buildings have been made, such as garages, dispensaries, extensions to existing buildings, quarantine station, small country schools, bridges, and water channels.

In all buildings, local material is almost entirely employed. All buildings are made of coral stone, which is cut from the bed of the sea and brought to the shore in boats. Gutch plaster is obtained locally, and also lime, and the wood, although imported, is purchased from local merchants. Steel beams are bought in Europe, and latterly metal fittings have been imported direct from England.

**Jufair Naval Base.** At the request of the naval authorities the Bahrain Government undertook the construction of the Naval base at Jufair. The work lasted from May 1935 till May 1936. The most important buildings were a pier on the southern side of the point, 600 yards long and 10 feet wide, a canteen building with two billiard rooms, an officers' building, clerk-in-charge's house, store, Indian staff quarters, etc., etc. The Bahrain Government, in addition to the building, installed a complete water supply and drainage system; this part of the work was done by the State Engineer. All the houses were built in the usual style, of stone and cement, but tiles, imported from Busra, were used for flooring.

The cost of the most important buildings was approximately as follows:

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| Pier ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | Rs 12,800/- |
| Canteen ... ... ... ... ... ... | 23,200/- |
| Clerk-in-Charge's house ... ... ... ... ... | 11,400/- |
| Officers' building ... ... ... ... ... | 18,800/- |

The above figures do not include the cost of electric and water supply installation.

**Manamah-Muharraq Road.** For many years it had been the wish of His Highness Shaikh Hamad to build a road across the sea, connecting the towns of Manamah and Muharraq, which are separated by a mile and 1,166 yards of sea, much of which is dry at low tide. In the past, connection between the two islands was only possible by boats, and on some occasions, during very low tides or in abnormally rough weather, it was almost impossible to cross the gap. Muharraq town is almost as large as Manamah, and the island contains a number of villages as well as the town of Hedd, which is the third largest town in Bahrain. When Muharraq was used as an aerodrome, the need for easier communication between the two islands became more necessary. When the project of building a road across the sea with some sort of bridge over the deep channel was first discussed, many people considered and said that it was an impossible proposition.

In 1348 the causeway was begun. It was estimated that the cost of completing it, not including the bridge, would be Rs 6,00,000/-. It was built of coral stone, with outside walls of murubas stone and a centre filling of fahri stone surfaced with mud, and provided with culverts at every 100 yards. The width of the road is 32 feet, and the maximum height from the sea bed at the deepest place is 13 feet.

The causeway, without the bridge, was completed and opened for motor traffic at the end of 1936. Work on the road has not been carried out continuously, but during the seven years of its construction when money has been available the work has been continued, and only at times other than the diving season, when much unemployment existed. The total cost of the road from Manamah to the edge of the deep channel and from Muharraq to the channel is Rs 1,99,800/-. Of this amount, Rs 4,000/- was subscribed by a merchant of Muharraq as a contribution from 'thilth.'

It is now possible to reach Muharraq in less than ten minutes, at all times of the day or night and in all weather conditions. There are motor bus services to and from the end of the causeway, and when arrangements have been made for crossing the channel, which are now under consideration, there will be a bus service to Muharraq, Hedd, and other villages on Muharraq island. Already the road has caused an improvement in property values in Muharraq, and people working in

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Manamah in shops and offices who had to leave their houses in Muharraq and live in Manamah owin to the difficulty of crossing to and fro are now able to live in Muharraq and to cross the chann and come into Manamah by bus.

In addition to the convenience of the road, it has provided work for thousands of men, wh cut stone from the sea and bring it ashore in boats during times of unemployment. Everythin in the road, except the cement in the parapet and the wooden beams in the culverts, is produce locally. In my opinion, it can be reasonably supposed that not less than 75% of the money expende has been spent in the Bahrain bazaars by the labourers who earned the money and has stimulate local trade.

## LAND REGISTRATION

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**Survey.** This department began its work about twelve years ago, and for the fir six years it was mainly occupied in making a survey of the villages an cultivated area in Bahrain. The work, with the exception of two small areas, was completed befo the financial depression necessitated reduction of the staff of the Land Department, which pu an end to the survey.

When the survey first began it met with considerable opposition from the Shia villagers, wh were suspicious of the Government's intentions, but after a short time the object of the wor was appreciated by the people and no further difficulties were made.

The results of the work are contained in a quantity of maps showing gardens with the boundaries with reference numbers to registers which contain particulars of owners, water right and details about the property. At the time of the survey, information about boundaries, wate rights, etc., was obtained from the landlords and from their tenants. Usually in Bahrain the landlord know very little about their gardens and rely almost entirely on the tenants for information abou boundaries and water rights. In cases where original documents existed these were examine and checked, but in a great many cases property owners have no title deeds. Before completin the records, the Land Registration Department published a proclamation calling on the publi to notify the department if the particulars for registration were not correct.

In addition to the survey of villages and gardens, the department made a survey and a larg scale map of Manamah town, and also Hedd and Muharraq; the work in the case of these town did not include registration of rights. The map of Manamah was made when the electric schem was first considered and the map was used for planning the layout.

**Reports on Land Cases.** In addition to general survey work, every year the department provide plans and reports to the courts on cases of land disputes. During som years several hundreds of reports have been made, and these report are usually the decisive factor in settling cases. The Land Department deals with cases in th Bahrain courts and also in the Agency courts.

**Registration of Sales and Titles.** The registration of property in Bahrain is not compulsory, but ever year there is an increase in the number of people who apply for th registration of their houses or gardens. The public now realise the valu of a Government title deed, and they appreciate the fact that when the title deed has been issue nobody can contest it. The only people who during the last ten years have attempted to set asid a Government title deed are certain members of the Ruling Family. Their claims failed, but if they had succeeded the valuable work of the Land Registration Department over many year would have been seriously affected.

**Mortgages.** The registration of sales of property was made compulsory in 1929, an in 1931 a proclamation was issued to the effect that no claim for foreclosur of a mortgage on immovable property would be heard in the courts unless the property had bee previously registered on a Government title deed. The result of this is that nobody can mortgag property unless he holds a Government title deed for it. The actual transaction of the mortgag

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

871 which caused considerable resentment among the Shias, although at that time the proportion of Shias at the Government schools was much lower than it is now. If more care had been given to the selection of the candidates, this experiment would have been more successful. The boys remained at Beyrout for two years; a longer course would have been more useful to them but, mainly owing to financial reasons, the Government decided not to extend their time.

Some years have now passed since these boys returned to Bahrain, and the result of their education can now be seen. In my opinion, it was successful in the case of three of the boys, moderately successful in the case of three, and a complete failure in the case of one boy. If the boys had been younger when they left Bahrain, I believe that the experiment would have been a complete success.

871 644 **Education of the Ruling Family.** In 1925, Shaikh Hamad allowed two of his sons to go as boarders to the American Mission school in Basrah. They stayed there for one term and did not return to school.

In 1930 a tutor was obtained from India to teach Shaikh Hamad's younger sons. He was well recommended and highly qualified and had previously been in charge of an Indian princeling. Although the tutor worked hard under difficult conditions and did his best to teach his pupils, it was soon apparent that his employment was a waste of his time and of the Government's money. The tutor lived in Shaikh Hamad's house, but the boys were disinclined to work and so did nothing. It was impossible to bring any compulsion on them to do their lessons. The experiment was a complete failure and, after completing one year, the tutor's agreement was not renewed.

871 185 **Future Development of Education.** There is danger in the creation of a class of semi-educated young men in Bahrain who, because they have a little learning, regard themselves as too superior to do manual work and who will become too many to find employment of a clerical nature. The people, however, especially the Shias, are urgent in their demands for increased education, and more schools, and in reply to this the Government intends to open more small country schools in the villages. A knowledge of reading, writing, and simple arithmetic is all that is needed by boys from the villages, most of whom will eventually become divers, cultivators, and fishermen. In these occupations, school education is unnecessary, though for divers and fishermen a knowledge of figures is some assurance against being swindled.

Boys who attend the town schools in Manamah and Muharraq are mostly sons of shopkeepers, merchants, and pearl traders, and many of them enter their fathers' shops and offices, where they benefit from a knowledge of accounts, book-keeping, and the more advanced education which is given at the two big schools.

If the newly started technical classes are successful, the Government will develop this experiment and, if possible, introduce more subjects which will provide lucrative employment for trained boys when they leave school. It should be possible for boys who have learned carpentry, etc., at school to secure employment with the Bahrain Petroleum Company in place of some of the many foreign artisans who are now employed by the Company.

## ELECTRIC DEPARTMENT

377 ●653 **Original Installation.** The possibility of introducing electricity in Manamah was first considered over ten years ago, and for some time funds were set aside for the purpose; it was not, however, till 1928 that any action was taken by the Government. That year the services of Mr. Stevenson, electrical inspector in Sind, were obtained in an advisory capacity and a scheme was prepared by him in Bahrain, together with plans for the layout and a rough specification. Bahrain was then in a prosperous condition, and it was estimated that the initial load would be not less than 2,000 lamps and 200 fans. The people in Manamah were anxious to form a public company, but after consideration this suggestion was dropped, and eventually it was decided that the scheme was to be undertaken by the Government and the Manamah Municipality.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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A number of well-known firms were invited to tender, but all seemed to consider Bahrain too far off the beaten track, except Callender's Cable and Construction Company who, on their own initiative, sent a representative to Bahrain to examine the prospect. In the summer of 1928, I and Mr. Stevenson discussed the scheme with several electrical engineering companies in London, but none of them were interested. Finally, Callenders' submitted a complete tender, which was accepted by the Government in the spring of 1929; the tender was for £20,607/- and included the power-house, plant, and the installation in Manamah town. In September, 1929, Mr. Jordan, Callenders' resident engineer, arrived, and the power-house was opened and the supply commenced on 11th May.

Unfortunately, during the time between the decision to install electricity and the completion of the work, the prosperity of Bahrain declined. An abnormally bad year on the pearl market resulted in general trade depression and a falling off in revenue. Only 1,200 lights and 200 fans were ordered or installed, and this included street lighting and lights and fans in Government and Municipal buildings.

**Muharraq Extension.** The following year it was decided to extend the electric power to Muharraq. The people of Muharraq protested, with some justification, that they should be allowed to share in the benefit of the scheme which had been paid for out of public funds, to which Muharraq, almost as large a town as Manamah, had contributed a large proportion. Callenders' submitted a tender which was accepted by the Government after obtaining the advice of the Chief Engineer, Iraq. The final amount was for Rs 53,000/-. The extension consisted of a high tension tubular pole line (3,300 volts) along the route of the causeway which was being built between Manamah and Muharraq, with a submarine cable across the deep water channel.

**Share of Municipalities.** The Manamah Municipality had paid 20% of the original capital expenditure, and when Muharraq was added to the scheme the Muharraq Municipality contributed a similar share: 20% of the original expenditure and also 20% of the Muharraq extension, to which Manamah also contributed its share of 20%. The cost of the completed scheme was divided between the Government and the two Municipalities, the Government having 60% interest and the two Municipalities each 20%.

**Progress.** At the end of 1349 (May 1931) the total number of houses wired was 222; 1,497 lamps and 268 fans had been installed. There was a total loss during the year of Rs 27,000/-, but out of this sum Rs 22,000/- represented depreciation, which had perhaps been assessed at an unnecessarily high rate. During the following year there was a slight increase in consumers, but the result of the Muharraq extension was disappointing; 280 points were connected during the year. Electric power was used when an ice plant, which had been acquired by the Manamah Municipality, was installed in the power-house; a reduced rate was charged for power used in the plant as it was regarded as a public utility concern.

**Seate Engineer.** In October 1931, Mr. W. B. Steele, of Callenders' Cable and Construction Company, who had worked for some months in Bahrain as the Company's executive engineer, was appointed as Seate Engineer to the Bahrain Government. From that date Callenders' ceased to work the electric supply in Bahrain, and the Government also took over all wiring and installation work which has produced a small profit, although the price was kept low in order to encourage consumers. The loss in 1350 (1931-32) was Rs 32,000/-, of which Rs 27,000/- was depreciation. The expenditure during the year included several non-recurrent items such as passages for Callenders' engineer, rent of house, etc. The actual loss on running was about Rs 3,000/-

**Progress.** In 1351 (1932-33), though the revenue increased by approximately Rs 5,000/-, there was a loss on running of Rs 5,800/-, not including depreciation which amounted to Rs 20,000/-. A small showroom was opened at the office of the Electric Department for the sale of electrical apparatus. Although the number of lights increased

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considerably, there was not a corresponding increase in revenue owing to the use of cheap low-power Japanese lamps which were bought by the public in place of the more powerful lights which had originally been installed.

In 1352 (1933-34) there was a further increase in revenue: 415 more points were connected and power was used for refrigerators, water-pumps, etc. The Electric Department acquired the sole agency for International General Electric Company's refrigerators which, after experiments with other makes, were found to be the most satisfactory. The increase continued through 1353 (1934-35); revenue from sale of energy amounted to Rs 6,000/- more than during the previous year, but, unfortunately, owing to an experiment which was made by a temporary engineer, there was a loss of over Rs 5,000/- on wiring. A reduction in the price per point resulted in wiring being carried out by the department at an actual loss, and the amount involved was considerable, as the department had undertaken a large amount of wiring work for the Bahrain Petroleum Company in addition to the normal work in Manamah and Muharraq. A large quantity of material was ordered at the same time in expectation of wiring orders which did not materialise.

**First Profitable Year.**

In 1354 (1935-36) the Electric Department made a profit of Rs 4,800/- after covering all charges including depreciation. Sixty new premises were wired, 302 lighting points and 33 fans were installed, and the load increased by 27 kilowatts. The department carried out all the wiring work for the naval base at Jufair and also put in a land telegraph line from the wireless office to the terminus of the subterranean cable on the coast west of Manamah.

In 1355 (1936-37), the seventh year of the undertaking, the net profit was Rs 16,757/-, the load increased by 58 kilowatts, and 91 new premises were wired. A new one-ton ice plant was installed, the existing supply being found insufficient for local requirements, and indications appeared that the public were beginning to use electric power commercially, for example, in carpentry, etc. A three-phase line and underground cable was run from Naim to the new direction-finding station installed by Cable & Wireless Limited, and underground mains replaced the overhead lines in the customs square. During the winter months the generating sets were run continuously, for the first time, in order to encourage the use of power appliances.

**Future Prospects.**

It can be reasonably assumed that during the next two or three years the load will increase. There are still a large number of houses which are not provided with electric light, and all new houses, especially those which are built for letting, are nowadays fitted with electric light. During the last year the two engines have frequently been running at the same time in order to cope with peak loads. This is undesirable and dangerous. It is now proposed to instal a third engine consisting of one 300 BHP Mirrlees set which will obviate any possibility of a breakdown and which will provide for future expansion.

A reduction in the rate charged for heating appliances was made during 1355 (1936-37), but it has not yet been possible to reduce the cost of the unit for lighting or cost of power for other purposes. It may be possible to effect a reduction during the year 1357 (1938-39).

206

**Telephone System.**

In 1351 (1932-33) a public telephone was opened in Manamah, and by the end of the first year twelve lines had been connected and two were in course of erection. The telephone exchange was installed in a room above the Police Station, which was both a safe and central position. Two young men from the schools were trained by the State Engineer as operators. The yearly rent for a telephone, with an unlimited number of calls, was Rs 150/-, which was reduced after two years to Rs 125/-, as it was found possible to reduce the rent and still allow a small profit from the undertaking.

In 1353 (1934-35) an extension of the telephone system was run from the exchange to the aerodrome in Muharraq in conjunction with the Imperial Airways Company, which paid for this additional line. In 1354 (1935-36) the exchange was connected to the Bahrain Petroleum Company Limited telephone system by a trunk line, and another line was erected to the naval base at Jufair. In 1355 (1936-37) a new exchange of 25 lines was installed in Manamah, and a day and night service was instituted. At the end of 1355 (1936-37) it was decided to connect the

nama, Muharraq and Hedd and the 3 villages of East and West Rafaa and Sakhir was less than 1 per cent.

## Social Economy

Prior to the opening of the Bahrain oil fields, the economy of the islands was based upon pearl fishing and the transshipment of goods between Iran, India and other countries and the neighboring Arabian ports. The waters of the Persian Gulf contain famous pearl fishing banks, and, since ancient times, Bahrain has been recognized as the traditional center of the industry. It constituted the principal source of wealth for centuries, but it reached a low level in the 1920s, due in part to the competition of Japanese cultured pearls in the world markets. Early records are nonexistent, but the former Bahrain pearl fleets probably consisted of 600 to 1,000 vessels. The number has declined progressively: only 83 departed for the banks in 1950. In that year, about 2,000 Bahrainis were engaged in pearl fishing during the season from mid-April to October, undoubtedly a fraction of the total employed when the demand for pearls was at its height.

In previous decades, dhow building also was one of the major industries of Bahrain, but its decline has paralleled that of the pearl fisheries. Nine boats were constructed in 1949, as against 100 reported in 1928-29.

Today, oil is the foundation of Bahrain's prosperity. The royalties derived from the industry not only have bolstered the declining resources of the government, but have made possible the expansion of public works and social services. Operations are conducted by the Bahrain Petroleum Company, Ltd., which holds long-term concessions from the Sheikh of Bahrain for the development of the petroleum resources of the islands. Oil was discovered in the Jabal ad Dukhan region, near the center of Bahrain Island, in 1932, and production started in 1934. The proven reserves of this field are estimated in the neighborhood of 200 million barrels. The company also operates a

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN M22

342 flat roofs, surrounded by parapets. Those with two or more stories sometimes have broad balconies.

342 571 In the towns, the poorer people often occupy multifamily houses in the older, congested districts or live in hut settlements on the outskirts. The huts, known locally as *barastis*, are made of bamboo or date-stick poles interwoven with palm leaves, and roofed with palm-leaf matting. They are frequently grouped within pole and matting stockades, the individual huts being separated by narrow alleys. Of the 5,703 houses 342 counted in the town of Manama at the time 571 of the 1950 census, 2,608 were of palm-leaf 361 construction. Although the standards of living have improved among the laboring classes within recent years, most of the rural inhabitants dwell under primitive conditions, as did their forefathers. Palm-leaf huts predominate in the date garden and the fishing villages. They are admirably adapted to the heat of summer, but afford poor protection against the occasional cold winds.

186 361 663 342 The rural Baharna and Arabs live apart in segregated villages, and even in the towns there is a tendency for the different racial and religious groups to form distinct communities. The Bahrain Petroleum Company has created a self-sufficient modern settlement for its British and American employees at Awali, on the edge of the oil field area. The development of modern housing projects is also being promoted by the government, and plans are under consideration for the demolition of certain slum areas and the erection of low-rental dwellings.

## ENVIRONMENT AND SANITATION

### Water Supplies

312 The fame of the sweet-water springs of Bahrain stems from ancient times, and undoubtedly contributed to the early development of Manama as a trading center. No only do abundant sources of water exist in the oases along the northern end of Bahrain

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M22



one went to the Sheikh for the maintenance of his household and family; one was for current Government expenses and development projects; and one for investments abroad as a reserve for future contingencies. With the increase in income—directly from oil revenue and indirectly from customs duties—as a result of the Company's activities, Government services increased and a number of development projects were undertaken. By 1951 there were three hospitals on the islands—the American Mission Hospital and the Company hospital mentioned above, a Government hospital for men and women operated by a British staff, including a section for the mentally ill—as well as a number of municipal clinics. General health conditions were not good: malaria and other fevers and dysentery were prevalent; bilharzia, trachoma and hookworm took a heavy toll; and above all, a large proportion of the population was infected with venereal diseases. Medical services were supplied to every Bahreini free of charge.

Though there had been some educational facilities before the development of the oil industry,[22] it was not until 1934 that the Government engaged a number of Iraqi teachers and enlarged the facilities. By 1951 there were nine elementary schools, one secondary school, founded in 1940, and one school for girls opened in 1939, all tuition-free. The schools were staffed with 258 teachers, who instructed some 6,000 boys and girls. The Government, in conjunction with the Company, also provided scholarships to graduates of the secondary schools for study abroad.

The Government built roads, bridges, harbors and a large airport; water was supplied from artesian wells instead of being brought in by boat; and efforts were made to improve housing conditions. Though without a single newspaper in 1951, Bahrein had a broadcasting station, built in 1940 for Allied war purposes, a dial telephone system, forty miles of roads and 2,000 automobiles. Most of the streets of the main towns were electrically lighted, and a sewerage system had been installed. The net result was a higher standard of living for the Bahreinis, not only in comparison with their own pre-oil standard, but also with the people of the neighboring states.[23]

[22] In 1926 there was one school for boys only, and it was poorly attended. James Bell, "He Said Forward! to the Backward," *Life*, Nov. 17, 1952.
[23] U.N., *Summary 1952-53*, 58-59; Sanger, *The Arabian Peninsula*, 148-149;

two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya. It was the home of the Dawasir tribe who came to Bahrain shortly after it was conquered by the al-Khalifah and established themselves here. The tribe acquired great wealth and prestige, owning many pearling dhows, and by degrees they became so powerful that they were able to raid with impunity the neighbouring Bahrana villages. They even challenged the authority of the al-Khalifah, but Shaikh Hamed, on becoming Deputy Ruler in 1924, threatened to punish them if they did not behave. This they considered as an infringement of their liberties and they therefore announced to the Ruler that if he prevented them behaving as they were accustomed, they would leave Bahrain and settle in Saudi Arabia. Shaikh Hamed refused to give way and the Dawasir left Bahrain. This, however, was not the last of them, for during many years it was believed that they were preparing to invade Bahrain. To prevent this a force was maintained in the Islands. However, the scare eventually died down and Budaiya after lying deserted, was later partly re-occupied by other Bahrainis, while some of the Dawasir gradually returned, many of them settling in Manama and Muharraq.

The ruins of great houses and mosques still remain, while scattered between them are the houses of the new inhabitants, who do much fishing in the prolific waters near the town, and also work in Manama and Awali. Before reaching the Police Post that marks the entrance to Budaiya the road passes through the Government Experimental Garden where new agricultural methods are tried and where cows and sheep, kept under scientific conditions, are studied for their productivity. From the Budaiya Pier launches go to Jidda, the prison island, many of whose inmates come over daily to work in the Budaiya Garden. The Pier is also used by the Ruler when he visits his island of Umm an-Nasaan.

The small Government school at Budaiya just south of the Government gardens, in addition to teaching the usual Primary School subjects gives lessons in agriculture for many of the boys' fathers own or work in gardens in the neighbourhood.

DIRAZ

Diraz is a village about half a mile north of the Budaiya Road and about 1½ miles from Budaiya itself. It consists mainly of stone houses, many of which are two-storied. The village stands on high ground among the sand dunes and is very similar to Beni Jumra which faces it a little way off on the opposite side of the road. It is so surrounded by clumps of date palms that its size is not appreciated from the road. A feature noticeable here, as well as in many other parts of Bahrain, is that date palms grow in groups at the bottom of depressions in the sand and are not irrigated by water channels but obtain moisture from below the surface of the ground.

North-west of the village there are mounds which indicate the existence of a much larger settlement in the past and an extensive area of ground is covered with glass and pottery sherds. Among the ruins



1/ [the town of Budaiya .. Analyst]

63 Simmons et al G-8 (1941 1951) 3954
961 Middle East
BAHRAIN MZ 2

THE COMPANY ALSO OPERATES A refinery on the eastern side of the island, opposite Sitra. It was expanded in 1945, and 80 to 85 per cent of the crude oil processed is now obtained by pipeline from Saudi Arabia. The refined petroleum products are pumped to storage tanks on Sitra Island, and subsequently to a deep-water loading terminal 3 miles offshore. Over 6,000 Bahrainis, as well as some 1,600 British and Americans, are employed in different branches of the industry. Two thirds of the royalties accrue to the Bahrain government, half of which are utilized for capital expenditures designed to raise the standards of living of the people. Reports for 1951 indicate that 68 per cent of the government income was derived from oil revenues, as against 26 per cent from customs receipts.

The renewed prosperity of the islands and the concurrent growth in population have stimulated private enterprise and the growth of small factories to supply current needs, particularly as regards building materials. Fishing is an important seasonal occupation of many villagers, and preserved fish, fish oils and other fish products are items of export. Agriculture plays a minor role. Barely 5 to 10 per cent of the total land area is under cultivation, and further expansion is restricted by the nature of the terrain, the concentration of water supply in limited areas and a feudalistic system of land tenure. Date gardens flourish in oases on Bahrain, Muharraq and Sitra Islands, but the supply equals less than one quarter of the local requirements. The government is endeavoring to promote the introduction of other crops, and maintains an experiment station at Budaiya.

The sea approaches to the archipelago are shallow, making it necessary for ocean vessels and oil tankers to anchor 2 to 4 miles from the shore. Bahrain and Muharraq, however, have good harbors which accommodate dhows and other shallow-draft vessels. Manama is an active trading center; coastal traffic is more or less continuous, while frequent steamer services are available to the northern Gulf ports and to India

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315 382 464 651 185 471 238 241 312 241 654 504 505 505

Bahrain Government receives 50% of the profits of the oil industry. 652
The Eastern Bank, since it was established in 1919, has served as the State's Treasury and a Budget is published every year showing the revenue and expenditure of the State.

The Customs Directorate is in the centre of the Manama sea front 651
and there are subsidiary offices in Muharraq Town, at the Airport 439
and at Sitra. All goods of any kind which are imported or exported 504
must pass through the customs. The Customs Pier at Manama, which was originally built in 1917, has frequently been lengthened and enlarged and now extends for a quarter of a mile out to sea. Owing to shallow water, vessels in the Manama harbour have to anchor some three miles from the shore and passengers and cargo are conveyed to and from the steamers by launches, barges and sailing dhows. The port and storage facilities in Bahrain are better than elsewhere in the Gulf and importers are allowed to retain their goods in the customs premises for ninety days before re-exporting them. There are usually about 90-100 sailing vessels and launches alongside and anchored off the pier, these come from other Gulf ports, from the west coast of India and from the Red Sea. Walking down the customs pier one sees many interesting types of vessels and sea-faring Arabs from all parts of the Gulf and beyond it.

On the west of the entrance to the Pier is the Passport Office. 486
Passport Officials go aboard all passenger vessels and are present at the Airport when aircraft arrive. Bahrain has had its own passports since 1929.

On the south side of the Square, which has a little garden in the 344
centre of it, is the "Bab al-Bahrain," the Gateway of Bahrain, consisting of two large blocks of office buildings with an archway in the centre. On the south side of the western block there is a fine old Arab door and on the balconies of the buildings as well as around the garden in the Square there are cement panels containing Arabesque patterns copied from old buildings in Bahrain.

The Bab al-Bahrain contains the finance and accounts department 344
where all payments to the Government for electricity, water, etc., etc., 655 ●
are made, the Land Department which deals with sales and registration 423
of property and questions about boundaries and ownership of land, the registration of sales being compulsory, and several other government offices. His Highness has a reception room overlooking the 643
square on the first floor of the building where he sits on Wednesday mornings. Here he receives any visitors who wish to call on him and sees people who present petitions. On Monday mornings he visits the Municipal Buildings at Muharraq where he holds a similar reception.

East of the Customs, on the sea front, is the Law Courts Building 692
which contains a number of different courts including religious courts presided over by the Qadis of the Sunni and Shia sects. Certain foreigners, including British, Americans, Pakistanis and Indians are under the judicial authority of H.B.M.'s Political Agent. In mixed

517 and coffee-shops. This activity continues until about eleven o'clock especially in the summer when it is pleasanter to be out in the open air than indoors.

377 Manama is supplied with electric light from the Government Power
●655 House, situated on the point at the north-east end of Manama. The
365 town water supply, also a Government concern, comes from artesian
312 wells in what used to be the Municipal Garden from where it is pumped into large tanks high above Manama and from there distributed by mains to all parts of the town and to numerous drinking fountains and public baths. This water system, which was installed by Holloway Bros., was completed in 1949, before this the water came from private and public artesian wells and was distributed by water carriers.

### QASARI

491 It is logical in describing Bahrain to leave Manama by the main road, Awal Road, but a more interesting drive can be taken by following the 2nd class road which branches off from Awal Road beyond the
361 Mental Hospital. After passing through a number of villages of
312 comparatively little interest the road comes to a shaded lane bordered on one side by a lake. This is Ain al-Qasari, whose pool, although
529 more extensive than that at Adari, is shallow and therefore unsuitable for swimming. Here there is a garden and a pleasant little house overlooking the pool, admittance to which is free, which is much frequented by picnicers. In the pool there are fish, some of which are as much as eighteen inches in length, as well as turtles. These are so accustomed to visitors that when people walk along the edge of the water or sit in the house, they swim lazily to the surface, waiting to be thrown pieces of bread or food. In a country consisting mostly of desert, and where a small and dirty pool usually constitutes the local water supply, the attractive appearance of Ain al-Qasari, particularly at sunset, is very agreeable.

296 There are in fact two springs called Qasari, the second, situated on Awal Road, is better known by the name of the "Dhobis Pool" on account of the large numbers of Indian washermen who mercilessly beat the dirty clothes on slabs of rock, and when they have finished hang them out to dry in long lines by the side of the road. It is a not unusual sight to round a corner of the road and to see before one lines of clothes, billowing in the breeze like wind-socks, and the frantic activity of the dhobis standing in the water in an odd array of clothing attempting to finish their task and dry the laundry before the sun sets.

### BILAD AL-QADIM

361 A short way beyond Ain al-Qasari is Bilad al-Qadim, literally "The Old Town," formerly the capital of Bahrain, which lies between the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, whose twin minarets are a landmark for navigators, and the Khor Mukhtar inlet on the east coast. Bilad al-Qadim can also be approached from Awal Road opposite the Suq

visa either directly to the Bahrain Government or to the nearest British Consulate which will, after reference to the Bahrain Government, accept or reject the application on the latter's behalf. Passengers arriving in Bahrain without visas are likely to find themselves on the next plane outward bound. 486

Travellers from Bahrain who require visas for other countries must apply for them to H.B.M.'s Political Agency. In some cases the Agency is able to issue these visas on behalf of the foreign countries, but in the case of others it will be found necessary to apply for visas directly to the nearest consulate of the country concerned. H.B.M's Political Agency are in a position to inform prospective travellers about the latest regulations on this subject.

## TAXES

There is no income tax in Bahrain, but for owners of houses and other premises within the Municipal areas of Manama, Muharraq, Hedd and Rifaa there is a small Municipal tax. 651

## WATER AND ELECTRICITY

Within the Municipal area of Manama both water and electricity is provided by the State. 312 377

Within the Municipal area of Muharraq electricity only is provided by the State. 655

Rates for these amenities are as follows :—

*Electricity.*

First 50 units per month, 4 *annas* per unit.
Next 200 units per month, 3 *annas* per unit.
Over 250 units per month, 2 *annas* per unit.
Meter rent 8 *annas* per month.
Minimum charge *Rs.*1 or 4 units per month.

*Water.*

1,000 gallons *Rs.*1 / 14.
Meter rent, 8 annas per month.
Minimum charge, *Rs.*1 / 14 per month.

## CURRENCY

Local currency in use in Bahrain at the time of writing is the Indian Rupee, worth, at the current rate of exchange, 1 6d. 436

Coinage is as follows :—

12 pice make 1 anna.
4 pies make 1 anna.
16 annas make 1 rupee.

The following coins and notes are in circulation :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 pice (1/12 anna) | copper | 1 rupee | nickel and note |
| 1 pie (¼ anna) | copper | 2 rupees | note |
| 1 anna | nickel and brass | 5 rupees | note |
| 2 annas | nickel and brass | 10 rupees | note |
| 4 annas | nickel | 100 rupees | note |
| 8 annas | nickel | | |

262 439 Over the past three years the Government has subsidised the price of meat and dates to the extent of approximately £70,000 -, sugar costing from £6 to £7 10s. has been sold to importers of livestock and dates at £3 15s. per bag.

656 That this policy has been wise is shown in the figures of imports of livestock during Ramadhan and Shawal 1372, as under :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Ramadhan* 1372 : | Cattle .. .. | 1019 | head |
| | Sheep and Goats .. | 13327 | " |
| *Shawal*, 1372 | Cattle .. .. | 526 | " |
| | Sheep and Goats .. | 10914 | " |

The retail prices to the public of beef, mutton, and goat meat in Bahrain are very much cheaper, by half at least, than in the neighbouring countries of Saudi Arabia and Kuweit.

Fish supplies were more plentiful than in the previous year, with prices again well below neighbouring states :

Imports of consumer goods increased during the year, and there are signs of over-stocking of certain commodities, particularly piece goods, flour, tea and motor cars.

During the year it was noticed there was a downward trend in the price of certain commodities such as timber, iron bars, windows, joists and muraba wood.

Large supplies of fresh fruits arrived in Bahrain from Lebanon, Persia, Australia, America and India, during the year with prices considerably lower than in the previous year.

Although the Government ended rationing during the year, it still maintains a price control on such essential commodities as meat, fish, rice, sugar, flour, wheat, tea and coffee.

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## STATE ENGINEER'S DEPARTMENT

(Report by Mr. D. Brammer, Assoc.I.E.E., M.A.S.E.E., State Engineer)

### The Electricity Undertaking

377 **The Power Station.** A new 750 K.W. Generating Set was completed and put into commission on 10th Ramadhan, increasing the total installed capacity of the station to 3,750 K.W.

● 655 471 Units generated amounted to 10,58,560, an increase of 28 per cent. on the previous year and the electricity supply to the public was maintained without any major interruption.

A notable achievement was the reduction in transmission losses from 13.25 per cent. to 6.26 per cent., a saving of some 360,000 units.

**Mains Department.** The four skilled linesmen who were recruited in India last year were discharged in Dhul Haj, 1372. Their work had become most unsatisfactory. The work of renewal and maintenance proceeded satisfactorily but the rate of connection of new consumers is still far too low and further efforts are now being made to recruit skilled staff in order to speed up this work.

A new underground H.T. cable was laid from the Power Station to "C" Sub-station and the H.T. overhead line between Muharraq Town and the Royal Air Force Station was re-erected and its capacity doubled.

[365] The H.T. underground cable around Muharraq Town was completed giving an extra supply of 320 k.w. to districts which had never before had an electricity supply, and some two miles of L.T. distribution were erected in the town, together with street lights.

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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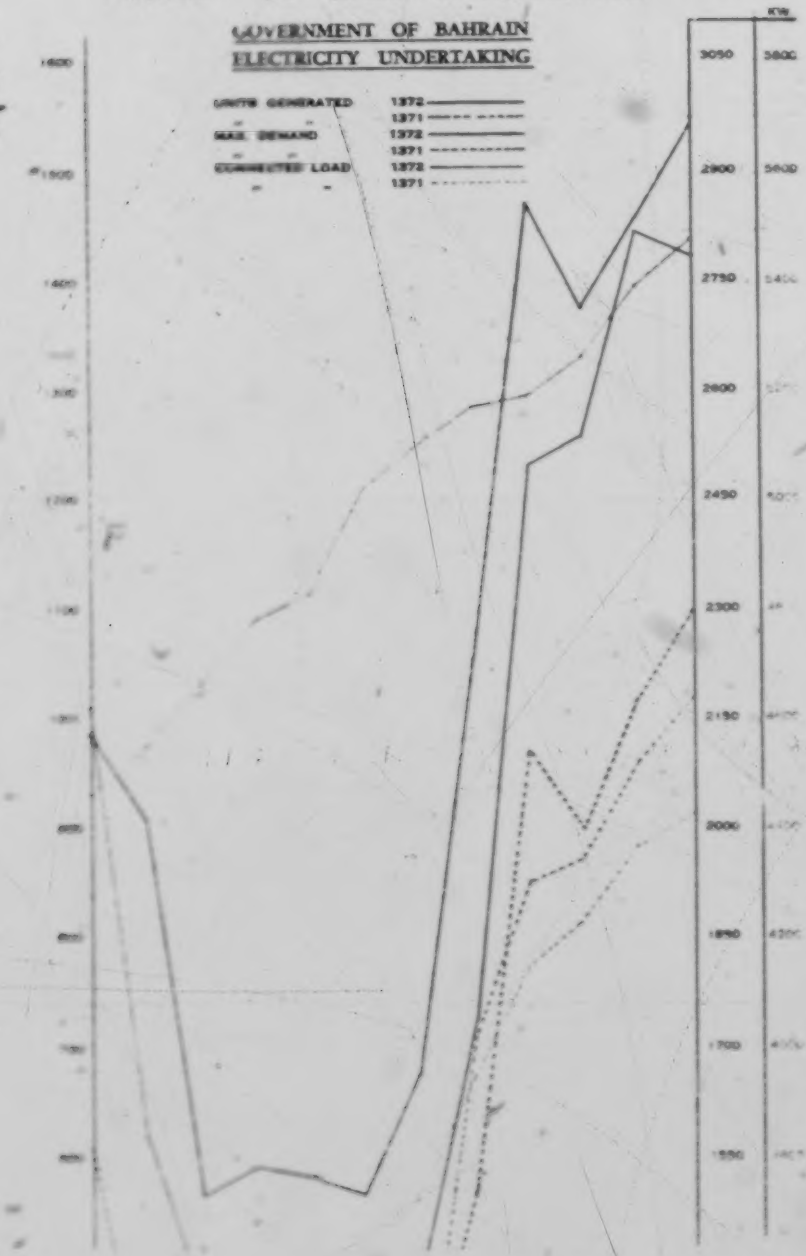
● 655




[facing page 62 Top]

471
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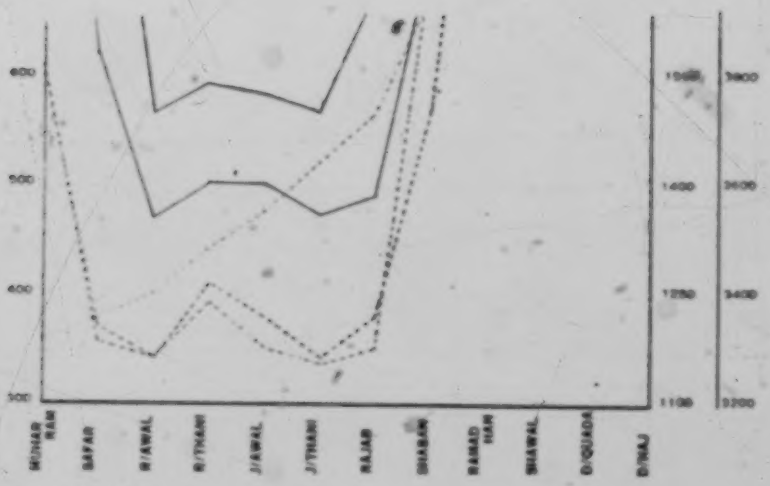


[facing page 62 Bottom]

377 In Manama, Feeder Pillars were erected in various positions about the town and larger transformers installed in many sub-stations to deal with growing loads while larger sized overhead lines were erected in the Al Hadrami Section, Palace Road, Shaikh Daij Road and Shaikh Road. New L.T. Distribution lines were erected in the Quarantine Area and underground cables were laid along Prior Road, Sea Road and Jufair Road. The total capacity of the sub-stations is now 4225 k.v.a. ; 170 new street lamps were erected in various districts and 889 new consumers were connected bringing the total number of consumers to 4514.

The total additional load connected was 1051 k.w.

377 655 **Meter and Consumers Department.** The growth and importance of this Department necessitated an extension to the present premises. The new premises were occupied in Shawal and they consist of two floors with the following accommodation.

(1) Meter Testing and Repairing Room ; (2) Stores for Meters and Meter spares. (3) Office for Installations Staff ; (4) Office for Meter Readers.

In Shawal the meter readers were transferred from the Accounts Department and their supervision and the checking of their work is now the responsibility of the Meter Department. This move should ultimately improve the efficiency of meter reading and accounting.

During the year 1,318 meters were repaired and tested, 1,035 were issued and 57 removed from various premises due to reconstruction, etc. ; 31 consumers complained of excessive electricity consumption and their meters were tested—only ten were found to be inaccurate. Two cases of theft of electrical energy were reported to the Police. 1,385 applications for new electricity supplies were received and at the year-end some 2,266 were still outstanding.

**Wiring, Sales and Services Department.** Electrical Installation work for the following premises was carried out during the year :—

Government Flats, No. 2 Block, Awal Road, Manama.
Government Flats, Sea Road, Muharraq.
Technical School, Manama (additional).
Workers' Houses, Manama.
Tifa Station, Manama.
Dispensary, Muharraq.
Flats over Technical School, Manama.
Government Hospital, Manama (Residence), (additional).
Kindergarten School, Muharraq.
Offices over Government Shops, Barret Road, Manama.
Police Family Quarters, Manama.
Government Transport Petrol Filling Station.
Adviserate, Manama (additional).
Public Works Department, Manama (additional).
Power House, Manama (additional).
H.H. Palace, Quadabiya (additional).
Food Office, Customs, Manama (additional).
New Clerks' Office, Customs, Manama (additional).
Private Male Wards (First Floor) Government Hospital, Manama.
State Engineer's Office and Workshop, Extension, Manama (additional).
Pathological Laboratory, Government Hospital, Manama (additional).
Landing Clerk's Office, Customs, Manama (additional).
Government Hospital, Manama (additional).
Tifa Station, Manama (additional).
A. Kasim's Residence, Government Hospital, Manama (additional).
Dilmun House, Sea Road, Manama (additional).
Government Coffee Shop, Awal Road, Manama (additional).
Shaikh Ebrahim's House, Quadabiya (additional).
Assistant Electrical Engineer's Residence, Belgrave Road, Manama (additional).
Adviserate Office, Manama (additional).
Government Workshop, Manama (additional).
Police Fort Office, Manama (additional).
Police Station, Manama (additional).
H.H. New Palace, Quadabiya.
Government Flats, Quadabiya.
Customs Sheds, Manama.

7 [AD 1952-53 -- Analysis]

Six Wiring Contractors' Licences were issued to local merchants bringing the total to 31. Licences were also issued to 12 additional wiremen who had been successful in passing the Department's tests.

**Future Prospects.** When the 750 k.w. Generating Set, now being installed, is put into commission the present Power Station will have reached its full capacity and no further machines will be installed there.

The new scheme, whereby natural gas will be used to generate electric power, is scheduled to commence operating from a new Power Station, situated near the R.N. Wireless Station, Jufair, during the summer of 1373. Initially this station will contain four 1,000 k.w. Gas Engine Generating Sets. The first two of these will operate as Diesel Generating Sets for some twelve months until the natural gas is available from the oil-field.

The Contracting Engineers for this scheme are Messrs. D. and C. and William Press who, at the end of the year had commenced preparing the site for the new Power Station. The project includes for the distribution of ample supplies of electricity to all parts of Bahrain and it is expected that the initial stages will be completed in some two and a half years time.

The distribution of domestic gas is also being considered as a long-term policy.

**Workshops Department.** This Department continued to carry out new work and repairs for all Departments of the Government and many private jobs were undertaken for local firms.

Work for the Government produced a revenue of Rs. 22,310, while private jobs produced Rs. 15,822, showing an overall loss of Rs. 2,218.

**Transport Department.** There was an increase of 25 per cent. over the previous year of the total number of vehicles, mechanical plant, etc., operated by Government Departments and to cope with this increase the Transport Department continued to expand.

A Petrol Filling Station was constructed by Public Works Department and opened on the 8th Shawal, 1372, for the issue of Petrol, Oil, Air and Water. All Government vehicles now draw from this point.

Eight lock-up garages for the storage of spare vehicles were constructed and a heavy duty vehicle lift, capable of lifting vehicles weighing up to eight tons, was installed in the main shed.

The total number of vehicles on charge at the end of the year is :

| | |
|---|---|
| (*a*) Load-carrying vehicles (Trucks) | 31 |
| (*b*) Buses, Station Wagons, etc. | 13 |
| (*c*) Pick-ups | 15 |
| (*d*) Saloon Cars | 25 |
| (*e*) Land Rovers | 19 |
| (*f*) Motor Cycles | 23 |
| | 126 |

| | |
|---|---|
| The total number of Launches, Mechanical Plant, Machinery, etc., on charge at end of the year | 41 |
| Vehicles written off as being beyond economical repair | 10 |
| The total number of new vehicles ordered was | 33 |
| The total number of new vehicles received was | 38 |
| The total number of service operations carried out on vehicles during the year was | 3024 |
| The total number of repair jobs, both major and minor, carried out on vehicles, machinery, etc., was | 5887 |

## GOVERNMENT OF BAHRAIN—ELECTRICITY SUPPLY DEPARTMENT

### Statement of Energy Sold, etc., for the Year Ending 30th Dilhaja, 1372

| Total Units Generated | UNITS SOLD | | | Units used at Power Station | Units accounted for | Units lost in Transmission and Transformation | Kilowatts for Public Lighting | Total Kilowatts connected | Total Kilowatts Power Station capacity | Total Kilowatts Maximum Demand on Power Station | Total No. of Street Lamps | Total No. of Consumers |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | By Meter for all purposes | For Public Lighting | Total | | | | | | | | | |
| 10,585,560 | 9,503,927 | 146,411 | 9,650,338 | 298,409 | 9,948,746 | 636,814 | 55 | 5,497 | 3,750 | 2,965 | 530 | 4,514 |

MAINS AND TRANSFORMER LOSSES = 6.26 PER CENT.

G-2 (no date) 1951 M22 Bahrain M22-

317
655

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259
655

4: Bahrain G-5 (to date) 1955 M22 Bahrain M22

## BAHRAIN ELECTRICAL DEPARTMENT

### BALANCE SHEET AS ON 1st JANUARY, 1954

| Liabilities | | | | Assets | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **CAPITAL ACCOUNT :** | | | | **PLANT AND MACHINERY :** | | | |
| Bahrain Government | | 60,50,000 | 0 0 | *Generation Section :* | | | |
| | | | | Power House and Buildings | 7,96,609 0 1 | | |
| **SUNDRY CREDITORS :** | | | | Power House Equipment | 75,472 1 7 | | |
| Bahrain Government | 32,077 0 9 | | | Oil Tank | 3,180 14 0 | | |
| Bahrain Petroleum Co. | 47,437 8 0 | | | Oil Filter | 7,683 2 2 | | |
| | | 79,514 | 8 9 | Water Distillation Plant | 94,854 13 8 | | |
| **RESERVES :** | | | | Cooling Tower Equipment | 60,709 9 1 | | |
| Depreciation Reserve | 7,61,090 7 6 | | | Engine Set No. 4 | 93,082 2 1 | | |
| Operating Reserve | 4,89,748 11 11 | | | Engine Set No. 5 | 1,47,167 4 1 | | |
| Reserve for Bad Debts | 12,774 0 0 | | | Engine Set No. 6 | 1,46,307 0 1 | | |
| | | 12,63,613 | 3 5 | Engine Sets Nos. 7 and 8 | 3,61,569 6 9 | | |
| Consumers Dr. | | 1,01,432 | 10 0 | Engine Set No. 9 | 3,17,731 4 2 | | |
| | | | | Engine Set No. 10 | 2,49,770 13 9 | | |
| | | | | Engine Sets Nos. 11 and 12 | 6,60,086 1 0 | | |
| | | | | | | 30,14,223 8 8 | |
| | | | | *Distribution Section :* | | | |
| | | | | Feeders, Sub-Stations, Switchgear and Distribution Lines | 21,05,326 3 6 | | |
| | | | | Meters | 2,73,723 13 3 | | |
| | | | | | | 23,79,050 0 9 | |
| | | | | MOTOR VEHICLES | | 66,250 0 0 | |
| | | | | | | | 54,59,523 9 5 |
| | | | | **GENERAL STOCK :** | | | |
| | | | | Stock on hand | 14,17,720 6 8 | | |
| | | | | Stock in transit | 1,24,199 5 6 | | |
| | | | | | | | 15,41,919 12 2 |
| | | | | **SUNDRY DEBTORS :** | | | |
| | | | | Energy Debtors | 1,99,111 4 0 | | |
| | | | | Service Debtors | 6,243 0 0 | | |
| | | | | Wiring Debtors | 50,129 6 0 | | |
| | | | | | | | 2,55,483 10 0 |
| | | | | **CASH IN HAND :** | | | |
| | | | | Imprest Account | 8,000 0 0 | | |
| | | | | Eastern Bank (Current Account) | 1,28,200 12 7 | | |
| | | | | Eastern Bank (Con. Dep.) | 1,01,432 10 0 | | |
| | | | | | | | 2,37,633 6 7 |
| | | Rs. 74,94,560 | 6 2 | | | Rs. 74,94,560 | 6 2 |

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259
559

**BAHRAIN ELECTRICAL DEPARTMENT**

**SUB-DIVIDED RECAPITULATED PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT FOR 1372 AND PERIOD ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1951**

| ELECTRICAL SECTION — Expenditure | | | | Receipts | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Generation* | | | | *Revenue* | | | |
| Materials, Maintenance and Repairs | 5,17,173 | 0 11 | | Sales of energy and rental of Meters | | | 17,44,522 6 0 |
| Establishment Costs | 2,26,764 | 14 7 | | | | | |
| Insurance | 23,095 | 12 0 | | | | | |
| Depreciation — Power House and Buildings | 10,513 | 0 0 | | | | | |
| Power House Equipment | 3,774 | 0 0 | | | | | |
| Oil Tank | 80 | 0 0 | | | | | |
| Oil Filters | 480 | 0 0 | | | | | |
| Water Distillation Plant | 5,928 | 0 0 | | | | | |
| Cooling Tower and Equipment | 6,070 | 0 0 | | | | | |
| Engine Set No. 6 | 7,757 | 0 0 | | | | | |
| Engine Set No. 5 | 12,264 | 0 0 | | | | | |
| Engine Set No. 6 | 9,166 | 0 0 | | | | | |
| Engine Sets Nos. 7 and 8 | 22,900 | 0 0 | | | | | |
| Engine Set No. 9 | 19,090 | 0 0 | | | | | |
| Engine Set No. 10 | 23,615 | 0 0 | | | | | |
| Engine Sets Nos. 11 and 12 | 40,316 | 0 0 | | | | | |
| | | | 9,28,229 1 1 | | | | |
| *Distribution* | | | | | | | |
| Materials, Maintenance and Repairs | 1,08,852 | 6 10 | | | | | |
| Establishment Costs | 2,06,683 | 11 1 | | | | | |
| Depreciation — Feeders, Sub-Stations, Switchgears and Lines | 1,07,266 | 0 0 | | | | | |
| | | | 4,22,782 1 11 | | | | |
| *Meters* | | | | | | | |
| Maintenance and Repairs | 6,032 | 2 0 | | | | | |
| Establishment Costs | 43,332 | 9 0 | | | | | |
| Depreciation | 13,686 | 0 0 | | | | | |
| | | | 63,050 11 0 | | | | |
| NETT PROFIT | | | 3,30,360 6 0 | | | | |
| | | Rs. | 17,44,522 6 0 | | | Rs. | 17,44,522 6 0 |

| WIRING AND MISCELLANEOUS JOBS | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Materials | 3,37,315 | 0 6 | | *Revenue* | | | |
| Establishment Costs | 60,839 | 5 9 | | Wiring, Sundry Sales and Sundry Jobs | | | 3,30,221 6 0 |
| | | | 3,98,056 6 3 | Service | | | 39,883 12 0 |
| NETT PROFIT | | | 13,236 13 9 | | | | |
| | | Rs. | 4,11,293 4 0 | | | Rs. | 4,11,293 4 0 |

| RECAPITULATION | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NETT PROFIT — Added to Operating Reserve | | 3,43,697 3 9 | NETT PROFIT — Electrical Section | | | 3,30,360 6 0 |
| | | | NETT PROFIT — Wiring Section | | | 13,236 13 9 |
| | Rs. | 3,43,697 3 9 | | | Rs. | 3,43,697 3 9 |

## GENERAL

648 **Distinguished Visitors.** Among the many notable persons who visited Bahrain during the year were H.R.H. The Duchess of Kent and H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, who were on their way to the Far East. H.H. Shaikh Abdulla As Salim, Ruler of Kuwait paid his usual visit to the country; H.E. Ghulam Mohammed, Governor General of Pakistan, stayed for a night on his way to South Arabia. Other visitors were H.E. Dr. Mohammed Fadhel Al Jamali, Prime Minister of Iraq; Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck; His Eminence Jirgis Daoud Kandila, Metropolitan of the Syrian Catholic Church; a group of British Members of Parliament; numerous rulers of the Shaikhdoms of the Trucial Coast; foreign diplomats; journalists of many nationalities and senior British and American Army, Navy and Air Force Officers.

**Coronation of King Faisal.** H.E. Shaikh Isa, the eldest son of His Highness, represented his father at the coronation in Baghdad in June of H.M. King Faisal II. He was accompanied by several of his relations. The Bahrain delegation travelled to and from Baghdad by air.

● 655 **Postage Stamps.** A Bahrain 1½ Anna stamp, for internal postage, bearing a portrait of His Highness Shaikh Sulman, was brought into circulation during the year. Some progress was made in the process of the Government gradually taking over the administration of the postal services.

000 **"Caltex Bahrain."** The new oil tanker, *Caltex Bahrain*, was launched in December, in England. The launching ceremony was performed by Lady Belgrave.

471 274 **Pepsi Cola Factory.** Mr. Husain Ahmedi, a local merchant, built a factory on the south-west of Manama for making Pepsi Cola. This is the first enterprise of this type which has been undertaken in Bahrain.

423 656 **Stamped Paper and Title Deeds.** The Government adopted a new design of stamped paper, which is used for agreements, receipts, powers of attorney, etc. New forms were also introduced for title deeds.

717 **Anglican Church.** The building of an Anglican Church was completed on a site east of the Fort which was presented to the Anglican Community by His Highness Shaikh Sulman.

000 **Agriculture.** No report on agriculture has been included this year as Mr. J. Edmond, the Agricultural Officer, completed his period of contract with the Government and proceeded on leave, pending retirement, on 15th September, 1952.

Mr. Van Ollenbach was appointed Agricultural Officer and began his duties on 5th January, 1953.

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## HIS HIGHNESS SHAIKH SULMAN'S VISIT TO ENGLAND

648 His Highness Shaikh Sulman left Bahrain, by air, on 13th May and arrived back in his country on June 26th. His party consisted of his youngest son, Shaikh Mohammed bin Sulman, Sir Charles and Lady Belgrave, Mr. Husain Yateem and two secretaries.

He travelled by air to Beirut where he stayed for one night; by sea, in S.S. *Esperia*, to Venice where he stayed for three days; by train to Montreux, on the Lake of Geneva, where he spent four days, and on by train to Paris where he stayed for two nights. He reached London on May 28th.

boat, sucking cigarettes or sipping bitter Arab coffee, but when the water is warmer a longer period is spent in the sea. Food is not eaten during the diving hours as it is considered bad for the diver's health. 228

The splash and swirl of the blue waters of the Gulf, often as smooth and clear as glass, the glistening bodies of the sun-burnt divers, the deep-throated chanting of the Saibs and the mounting piles of dark encrusted shells, are sights and sounds never to be forgotten. From time to time the cabin boy, who is found on each boat, collects the shells in sacks and piles them along the sides of the boat. As the sun sets the crew eat their light meal of dates, fish, bread and coffee and then sink down with pleasure into deep sleep along the decks. Then all that there is to disturb the silence of the night is the crackling of the fire burning on the portable mud hearth, the creaking of ropes and the splash caused by the line of the midnight fishermen catching to-morrow's meal.

Next morning the members of the crew are up early and gather around the heaps of shells which are more easily opened after having been left in the night-air, and with deft flicks of little curved knives they examine the oyster's meat so that not even the smallest seed pearl is missed. The despoiled shells are tossed aside, to be collected later and thrown back into the sea. As the pearls are found, their finders stick them between their toes until they have collected a number, which are then handed to the nakhuda or captain. The latter stores them in a great wooden chest, studded with brass nails after tying them in small squares of red cloth, that being the colour which is believed to show pearls to their best advantage. When all the shells have been opened the remains a.e thrown overboard, the decks swabbed down and the day's diving commences.

From time to time boats return to Bahrain to collect fresh provisions and for the medical treatment of the crew. Fresh water, surprisingly enough, is less of a problem, for near many of the pearl banks there are submarine fresh water springs, some of which have been controlled by pipes affixed by the Bahrain Government. The monotony of the diver's day is also broken by the visits of "Tawawish," pearl buyers, who come out in launches to the banks to offer ready cash for their purchases, and by visits of hospital and police launches from Bahrain. The end of the diving season, as well as the date of its commencement, is laid down by the annual proclamation of the Bahrain Government. [312] [437] [656]

Despite the tales of travellers, sharks and saw-fish are not a very great menace to divers, they are in fact a rarity and for many years no diver has been attacked by either fish. The blue jelly-fish is more feared than either, for with its long tentacles it can give a most unpleasant sting, and it is to combat it that in the jelly-fish season many divers wear a form of cotton combinations covering all parts of the body except hands and eyes. The detrimental effect of diving on the men's health is often exaggerated, and with the better diet and medical treatment the divers of today are a healthy set of men and compare favourably with workers in other industries. [136]

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456
178

The Bahrain Government has tried hard to encourage the diving industry, by the remittance of the registration fees on diving boats, by customs concessions and by other means, but it is certain that the industry will never return to its palmy days when so many of the people of Bahrain were connected with it or depended on it.

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431
607

Visitors to the pearl banks are advised to set out at about midnight from Bahrain. Launches can be hired in Manama or Muharraq and if they leave at twelve midnight, the banks will be reached at two or three in the morning. The remainder of the night can be spent lying at anchor and in the early morning the opening of the shells can be watched, followed by the preparations for the day's work and the actual diving. The divers have no objection to being photographed at their work and welcome foreigners on board their boats, they do, however, appreciate a present from visitors and it is a good plan to take out some fresh dates or other fruit, for the boats, particularly at the end of the season, are usually low in fresh provisions and such a gift is very welcome.

## CHAPTER VII

## LOCAL INDUSTRIES

### THE POTTERIES

323
[128]

PEARLING is not the only ancient industry in Bahrain, for the presence in many parts of the islands of pottery sherds indicates that pottery has been made here for many centuries. Today this industry is restricted to the village of Aali whose inhabitants work in the same way as did their forefathers, scorning modern innovations.

[472]

From the hills around Rifaa the clay is brought to Aali ; brown and red clay for the coarser objects and white clay for finer work. The raw clay is beaten and then mixed with water until it is ready for throwing by the younger members of the potter's family, for each pottery is a separate family concern. All the processes which go into the making of pottery take place in small sheds, in each one a potter can be seen at work, his feet in a pit working the wheel which is on a level with his waist. Rapidly he flings lumps of clay on to the spinning wheel and with deft fingers works the shapeless mud into graceful jars, bowls and other utensils. When each piece is completed it is set in the sun to dry before being taken to the oven. Most of the ovens [172] are built in the prehistoric tumuli south of the village, which have been excavated. A hole is made in the roof of the tomb and another at the side; in the former the objects to be baked are placed and the latter is filled with firewood. When the fires are lit the tombs become miniature volcanoes with thick smoke belching from their peaks, slowly the fires die down, the smoke clears and the baked pottery is removed and the ovens are prepared for the next baking.

796 who therefore disapprove of the whole affair, but it is rare that there
795 is any trouble between the two sects, both of them having adopted the principle of live and let live.

796 In the afternoon of the 10th Muharram the more energetic members of the procession go out into the villages where similar smaller processions take place and which are often made more colourful by the use of additional model tombs which are no longer seen in Manama. In the evening, as in every evening of the first ten days of the month, those who took part in the processions are feasted in the martams, and for three more days the orators continue to preach to the people, for it was for three days that Hussein lay on the field of Kerbela. But on the 13th of the month the period of mourning ends, the "props" are returned to the various martams, the collecting boxes are again displayed in the Shiite shops, out of which some of the expenses of Ashura are paid, and the Mullas return home to Iraq.

796 Europeans are permitted to witness the procession on the 9th and
609 10th days of Muharram, but it is illegal to photograph any part of the
656 procession and the State Police remove the cameras or movie-cameras and expose the film of those who break this law. In addition, unwary photographers have often been roughly handled by members of the Shiite faith, who feel that a sacred procession is not a suitable subject for casual snap-shots. It is therefore much more tactful to dispense with artificial means and to rely on one's memory for recording what is an unique occasion, for the procession has been banned in Iraq and Persia and so Bahrain is now one of the very few places where it can be seen.

## CHAPTER X

## BAHRAIN'S STAMPS

205 The generally accepted date for the establishment of the first post office in Bahrain, in the town of Manama, is 1884, and as the Indian Government was at that time responsible for political relations with the Ruler of Bahrain, it naturally followed that Indian stamps were used in the Islands. It was not till 1911, however, that a formal agreement granting the British a monopoly of postal services in Bahrain was signed.

In the first instance Indian stamps were used without an overprint—Indian stamps of Queen Victoria and George V post-marked "Bahrain," and it is only possible to trace stamps used in Bahrain by the post-mark. The two most usual post-marks are a circle with bars outside and two circles with the name at the top and the date across the centre. Fortunately the word Bahrain shows up quite well in most of these, provided that there is enough of the post-mark on the stamp if the latter is not on a cover. These issues were usually limited to 3 pies, ½ anna, 1 anna and 2½ anna stamps.

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

439 656 651

### CUSTOMS REGULATIONS

There is usually little difficulty in importing goods into Bahrain, except the following, which are not allowed :—

(a) Arms and Ammunition,
(b) Alcoholic and intoxicating liquors (except under licence).
(c) Cultured, bleached or tinted pearls and undrilled pearls produced outside the Persian Gulf.
(d) Obscene, indecent or seditious literature or pictures,
(e) Dogs, except with special permission of the Director of Customs which will only be granted in the case of dogs accompanied by a veterinary surgeon's certificate of innoculation against rabies.
(f) Counterfeit coins,
(g) Opium and its allied products and cocaine and its allied products.

Books and printed matter, gold and silver bullion and coinage, samples, undrilled Persian Gulf pearls, implements and tools of trade for the use of the traveller are exempt from customs duties. For those arriving for the first time in Bahrain to take up residence, household effects, new clothing, silver and plate are also exempt from duties.

[676]

All travellers may bring into the country not more than 100 cigarettes, 50 cigars or ½ pound of tobacco, the containers of which must have been opened.

651

All other goods are liable to a customs duty. The duty on tobacco and liquor is 15%, luxuries pay 10% and necessities, 5%, but prospective travellers should not depend upon this as a hard and fast rule but are advised to ascertain the rates for each article. The Bahrain Government published a Customs Ordinance in 1950 in the form of a booklet, price Rs.2, which is obtainable from the Director of Customs, Manama, Bahrain.

### LANGUAGES

191

The official language of Bahrain is Arabic, but some English is spoken in most parts of the State; it is usually possible in cases of difficulty to find an English-speaking Arab

On the other hand the Arabs much appreciate foreigners who take the trouble to learn even the rudiments of their language, which, it must be admitted, is very difficult. For this purpose possibly the best book in print is Van Ess's *Spoken Arabic of Irak*. There are, of course, many other excellent books on Arabic, but for conversational purposes the one above approaches nearest to the particular brand of Arabic spoken in Bahrain.

### PASSPORTS AND VISAS

486

All intending visitors to Bahrain are required to have passports endorsed for Bahrain, and in addition they should apply for an entry

505

**Staff :**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Number of Clerks (Customs) | 106 | |
| Number of Clerks (Food Control) | 10 | |
| | | 116 |

**Menials :**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Customs, including Guards and Crane Crew | 83 | |
| Food Control | 4 | |
| | | 87 |

**Salaries Paid**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Customs Department | Rs. 3,49,193/- | |
| Food Control | 28,998/- | |
| | | Rs. 3,78,191/- |

**Menials Wages Paid**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Customs Department | Rs. 1,25,899/- | |
| Food Control | 7,897/- | |
| | | Rs. 1,33,796/- |

**Bills of Entry.** The total number of Bills of Entry dealt with was 34,728, an increase of 6,080 over 1371.

Particulars are :

| | |
|---|---|
| Steamers | 24,013 |
| Craft | 3,157 |
| Baggage and Aircraft | 7,558 |
| Total | 34,728 |

**Shipping Bills.** The total number of Shipping Bills dealt with during the year amounted to 54,641, an increase of 6,218 over 1371.

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## FOOD CONTROL DEPARTMENT

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439
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Holding ample stocks of rice at the beginning of the year under review, and having in mind the possibility of being able to discontinue rationing, the Government made no large scale purchases of rice and sugar in 1372. In all, only Rs. 6 lakhs were spent in the purchase of a small quantity of Persian rice.

During the year it became more and more obvious that there was plenty of rice available for export from Burma and Siam, so the Government called a meeting of leading importers, and informed them that if they were prepared to import sufficient rice for internal needs (about 65,000 bags, each of 160 lbs. per annum), the Government would cease to purchase and ration this important commodity. The Government would, however, continue to exercise a price control for at least a year. The importers agreed to do this and it was possible to cease rationing by the end of Ramadhan 1372. Since that date supplies have continued to arrive regularly to importers, who have retailed same to the public at prices below the controlled rate.

The Government issued to the public 8 lbs. of rice per adult for the first nine months of the year at prices ranging from Rs. 1.12.0 to Rs. 2.4.0 per ruba, since rationing ceased the price has not exceeded Rs. 2.6.0 per ruba, and is presently being retailed at Rs. 2.4.0 per ruba of 4 lbs.

Sugar was also de-rationed at the beginning of the year, plentiful supplies being available in the local market, and retailed to the public at prices ranging from Rs. 1.10.0 to Rs. 2/- per ruba of 4 lbs. The Government stock of sugar was reserved for *barter* for livestock from Iran and dates from Basrah.

262 439 Over the past three years the Government has subsidised the price of meat and dates to the extent of approximately £70,000 -, sugar costing from £6 to £7 10s. has been sold to importers of livestock and dates at £3 15s. per bag.

● 656 That this policy has been wise is shown in the figures of imports of livestock during Ramadhan and Shawal 1372, as under :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Ramadhan* 1372 : | Cattle .. .. | 1019 | head |
| | Sheep and Goats .. | 13327 | " |
| *Shawal*, 1372 | Cattle .. .. | 526 | " |
| | Sheep and Goats .. | 10914 | " |

The retail prices to the public of beef, mutton, and goat meat in Bahrain are very much cheaper, by half at least, than in the neighbouring countries of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

Fish supplies were more plentiful than in the previous year, with prices again well below neighbouring states :

Imports of consumer goods increased during the year, and there are signs of over-stocking of certain commodities, particularly piece goods, flour, tea and motor cars.

During the year it was noticed there was a downward trend in the price of certain commodities such as timber, iron bars, windows, joists and muraba wood.

Large supplies of fresh fruits arrived in Bahrain from Lebanon, Persia, Australia, America and India, during the year with prices considerably lower than in the previous year.

Although the Government ended rationing during the year, it still maintains a price control on such essential commodities as meat, fish, rice, sugar, flour, wheat, tea and coffee.

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## STATE ENGINEER'S DEPARTMENT

(Report by Mr. D. Brammer, Assoc.I.E.E., M.A.S.E.E., State Engineer)

### The Electricity Undertaking

377 655 471 **The Power Station.** A new 750 K.W. Generating Set was completed and put into commission on 10th Ramadhan, increasing the total installed capacity of the station to 3,750 K.W.

Units generated amounted to 10,58,560, an increase of 28 per cent. on the previous year and the electricity supply to the public was maintained without any major interruption.

A notable achievement was the reduction in transmission losses from 13.25 per cent. to 6.26 per cent., a saving of some 360,000 units.

**Mains Department.** The four skilled linesmen who were recruited in India last year were discharged in Dhul Haj, 1372. Their work had become most unsatisfactory. The work of renewal and maintenance proceeded satisfactorily but the rate of connection of new consumers is still far too low and further efforts are now being made to recruit skilled staff in order to speed up this work.

A new underground H.T. cable was laid from the Power Station to "C" Sub-station and the H.T. overhead line between Muharraq Town and the Royal Air Force Station was re-erected and its capacity doubled.

[365] The H.T. underground cable around Muharraq Town was completed giving an extra supply of 320 k.w. to districts which had never before had an electricity supply, and some two miles of L.T. distribution were erected in the town, together with street lights.

## GENERAL

648 **Distinguished Visitors.** Among the many notable persons who visited Bahrain during the year were H.R.H. The Duchess of Kent and H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, who were on their way to the Far East. H.H. Shaikh Abdulla As Salim, Ruler of Kuwait paid his usual visit to the country; H.E. Ghulam Mohammed, Governor General of Pakistan, stayed for a night on his way to Saudi Arabia. Other visitors were H.E. Dr. Mohammed Fadhel Al Jamali, Prime Minister of Iraq; Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck; His Eminence Jirjis, Daoud Kandila, Metropolitan of the Syrian Catholic Church; a group of British Members of Parliament; numerous rulers of the Shaikhdoms of the Trucial Coast; foreign diplomats; journalists of many nationalities and senior British and American Army, Navy and Air Force Officers.

**Coronation of King Faisal.** H.E. Shaikh Isa, the eldest son of His Highness, represented his father at the coronation in Baghdad in June of H.M. King Faisal II. He was accompanied by several of his relations. The Bahrain delegation travelled to and from Baghdad by air.

655 **Postage Stamps.** A Bahrain 1¼ Anna stamp, for internal postage, bearing a portrait of His Highness Shaikh Sulman, was brought into circulation during the year. Some progress was made in the process of the Government gradually taking over the administration of the postal services.

000 **"Calvex Bahrain."** The new oil tanker, *Calvex Bahrain*, was launched in December, in England. The launching ceremony was performed by Lady Belgrave.

471 274 **Pepsi Cola Factory.** Mr. Husain Ahmedi, a local merchant, built a factory on the south-west of Manama for making Pepsi Cola. This is the first enterprise of this type which has been undertaken in Bahrain.

423 656 **Stamped Paper and Title Deeds.** The Government adopted a new design of stamped paper, which is used for agreements, receipts, powers of attorney, etc. New forms were also introduced for title deeds.

797 **Anglican Church.** The building of an Anglican Church was completed on a site east of the Fort which was presented to the Anglican Community by His Highness Shaikh Sulman.

000 **Agriculture.** No report on agriculture has been included this year as Mr. J. Edmond, the Agricultural Officer, completed his period of contract with the Government and proceeded on leave, pending retirement, on 15th September, 1952.

Mr. Van Ollenbach was appointed Agricultural Officer and began his duties on 5th January, 1953.

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## HIS HIGHNESS SHAIKH SULMAN'S VISIT TO ENGLAND

648 His Highness Shaikh Sulman left Bahrain, by air, on 13th May and arrived back in his country on June 26th. His party consisted of his youngest son, Shaikh Mohammed bin Sulman, Sir Charles and Lady Belgrave, Mr. Husain Yateem and two secretaries.

He travelled by air to Beirut where he stayed for one night; by sea, in S.S. *Esperio*, to Venice where he stayed for three days; by train to Montreux, on the Lake of Geneva, where he spent four days, and on by train to Paris where he stayed for two nights. He reached London on May 28th.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 M22 Bahrain M22

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●656 **Judicial Legislation.** From time to time the Bahrain Government has issued proclamations which have become regulations guiding the actions of the Bahrain courts. Some of these orders, such as the following, are of considerable importance.

**Diving Regulations.** Several different proclamations on this subject have been issued embodying the various changes and conditions which resulted from the diving reforms.

**Wakils.** A proclamation was issued laying down the conditions under which Wakils should be permitted to appear in courts and specifying their rate of fees. This became necessary after criminal charges had been proved against certain Wakils who had cheated their clients.

**Mortgages.** An important proclamation was issued to the effect that no property could be mortgaged unless it had previously been registered on a Government title deed.

**Appeals.** A regular system of filing appeals from the various Bahrain courts was issued by proclamation.

**Statute of Limitation.** The period was fixed at ten years, and the same period for acquisition of land by squatters' rights.

**Liability of Government Servants.** Liability of Government servants was defined in a proclamation forbidding the public to make loans to Government servants while employed by the Government except at their own risk.

## PUBLIC WORKS

G53 The Bahrain Government has never had an independent Public Works Department. All buildings, roads, causeways, etc, etc., have been constructed under the supervision of Khan Sahib Mohamed Khalil, the Superintendent of the Land and Survey Department, which has combined the functions of Land Department and Public Works Department. This, in the past, has been a satisfactory and economical arrangement, but in the future, owing to probable expansion, it is proposed to separate the two departments and to start a regular Public Works Department. The Bahrain Government has, during the last ten years, carried out some large and important public works, including the Manamah-Muharraq causeway and the Naval base at Jidaar, and the plain, dignified style of the buildings constructed by the Government has greatly improved the appearance of the town of Manamah.

The first important public works were the Palace, the Government offices, and the Manamah sea road. These works were completed during 1925-26 and were undertaken by an Indian contractor. The construction of the sea road was satisfactory, but time has shown that the palace and the Government offices were badly built. Large sums of money have had to be spent on repairing and propping up the Palace, owing to its inadequate foundations, and various defects in the Government offices became apparent after a few years. After this experiment, all building, with the exception of some unimportant work in the villages, has been done by the Government directly. Local building contractors do not exist, and the experiment of employing a foreign contractor proved a failure.

G53 4/91 **Roads.** Since the Bahrain Petroleum Company commenced its operations in Bahrain the Government has been saved much money and labour as the Company maintains and builds roads in all parts of the concession area as well as keeping up the main road from Manamah to Rafaa, which is the most important road in Bahrain and which formerly cost the Government a considerable sum every year. The Government now confines its road work to areas in which the Company is not interested. The most important recent work is the new road from Jedhafs to Budeya which, instead of making a long detour round the coast, goes straight across country, so that Budeya can now be reached from Manamah in about twenty minutes. This will make it more easy to develop Budeya, where a school is being built. A police post was established last year, and the Government has recently purchased a large derelict garden, which is now irrigated from an artesian well, and is being put under cultivation.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

in the making of boats, houses, and other construction. A special permit is required to import arms and ammunition; alcoholic liquor is restricted; and cultured pearls forbidden. 439 [C56]

The following table shows comparative figures on Bahrein imports and exports from 1941 to 1947. Figures are in rupees.

Table 6.

| Product | 1946-47 | 1944-45 | 1943-44 | 1941-42 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **IMPORTS** | | | | |
| Rice | 35,82,420 | 13,45,370 | 9,67,870 | 32,48,800 |
| Wheat | 51,96,490 | 45,40,270 | 62,38,560 | 96,410 |
| Wheat flour | 41,960 | 8,22,380 | 17,88,220 | 7,67,420 |
| Coffee | 18,49,240 | 6,63,900 | 11,51,820 | 3,61,630 |
| Dates | 10,78,740 | 10,24,820 | 19,64,820 | 2,17,420 |
| Sugar | 9,48,580 | 15,14,500 | 11,28,170 | 7,74,190 |
| Spices | —— | —— | 7,05,050 | —— |
| Tea | 13,54,330 | 26,11,210 | —— | 5,50,260 |
| Cotton piece goods | 32,31,060 | 48,00,250 | 35,20,260 | —— |
| Silk piece goods | —— | —— | 18,350 | 20,70,680 |
| Cement | —— | —— | 34,280 | 90,100 |
| Other building materials | —— | —— | 670 | 1,09,110 |
| Woolen piece goods | 9,13,440 | 1,21,000 | —— | —— |
| Cigarettes | 13,80,680 | —— | —— | —— |
| **EXPORTS** | | | | |
| Pearls | 6,76,290 | 7,37,890 | 4,79,720 | 2,53,510 |
| Sugar | 9,31,020 | 11,89,710 | 20,20,440 | 5,58,410 |
| Tea | 13,10,890 | 14,73,500 | 2,16,080 | 3,58,100 |
| Wheat flour | —— | 5,34,930 | 14,21,810 | 4,21,700 |
| Cotton piece goods | 9,10,970 | 32,69,390 | 24,94,070 | 23,19,420 |
| Rice | 3,74,440 | 3,01,960 | 1,07,710 | 22,81,880 |
| Wheat | 22,76,390 | 25,00,860 | 29,97,480 | 59,130 |
| Silk piece goods | —— | —— | 7,650 | —— |
| Coffee | —— | —— | —— | 1,01,550 |

## BAHREIN-U. S. TRADE

In 1931 the United States ranked fifth among countries importing goods from Bahrein but in 1933 she began to play an important role in Bahrein trade. The chief factor in bringing this about was the holdings in Bahrein oil by American interests through the Bahrein Petroleum Company.

63 Summaries of all C-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN M2 2

and Pakistan. Regular air communications are maintained to Iraq and Arabia, and the airport on Muharraq Island also serves international airlines with terminals in Europe, the Middle East and the Far East. Motor roads connect the towns and the villages on the different islands, and extend across causeways from Bahrain to Muharraq and Sitra. The local transport facilities are well developed, and motor bus routes link most of the population centers.

### Food and Nutrition

The food habits of the diverse racial groups are varied, but serious undernutrition is seldom encountered, except among the migratory laborers from the mainland and the Baharna and Arabs in the agricultural and the fishing villages. The islands are dependent upon imports for a large proportion of their food supply. The government controls certain essential foodstuffs, as wheat, rice and sugar, and regulates prices through a system of rationing.

The diet of the average Bahraini consists of dates, bread, rice and fish, supplemented by native vegetables in season and limited amounts of meat and milk. Goats are raised in many villages, though their milk is usually scanty and poor in quality. Most of the meat is imported from Iran, and is correspondingly expensive. An assortment of fruits and vegetables is generally obtainable in Manama markets by those who are able to purchase them.

### Housing

Manama is a cosmopolitan town, and the changes which have come about within the last two decades are reflected in the construction of increasing numbers of modern-type dwellings. Muharraq, in contrast, is a distinctly Arab community. Coral blocks, coral slabs and plaster are the usual building materials in the older houses, while cement is used extensively in the newer buildings. The typical Arab-style homes are built around inner courts and have utilitarian

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN M2 2

Island, but fresh-water springs, said to originate in the mountains of Arabia, are found in the shallow waters about a mile from the shore. Up to around 25 years ago, most of the water used in the towns was brought by donkey carts from wells or springs in the oases; sometimes by boats from the offshore springs. Water for domestic and irrigation purposes is now obtained from springs and shallow wells, and to an increasing extent from deep wells: several hundred artesian wells have been sunk within recent years on Bahrain, Muharraq, Sitra and other islands. In 1948, a special Agriculture and Water Committee was created in the government to control the water supply and prevent unnecessary wastage.

Manama has a municipal water supply, the initial stages of which were completed in 1948. Water, derived from artesian wells, is piped to about 70 per cent of the houses and to community fountains in the older, congested districts and *barasti* settlements. In other towns, water from private wells is used, or day-by-day supplies are purchased in 5-gallon cans from commercial peddlers.

Most shallow wells and spring supplies are unprotected and seriously polluted. Since the installation of a piped water system in Manama, many of the shallow wells have been closed, with a resultant decrease in anopheline breeding and in prevalence of intestinal infections. However, numerous opportunities for contamination still occur in the distribution of water from community sources. Distilled sea water is produced by a plant at Manama, but its sale for household purposes has been restricted since the town supply became available.

### Waste Disposal

The methods of sewage disposal are generally primitive. Septic tanks are employed in connection with many of the newer houses, and in the oil company installations. Cesspits or simple privies are in use in the bazaar districts and the *barasti* quarters, as well as in the smaller towns and villages.

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63:Simmons et al G-8 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHREIN M2 2



spraying campaign. The existing species have not been determined: several are probably implicated in the spread of intestinal and eye infections. All forms of human lice are present. Numerous species of fleas occur, including presumably *Xenopsylla cheopis*, the usual vector of plague, which was frequently epidemic in the past.

### Food Sanitation

The sanitary supervision of the markets, coffee shops, bakeries and other premises where foods are prepared or sold is the responsibility of the municipal authorities in Manama and Muharraq. Little governmental control has been attempted, but the new public health division plans to develop inspection services. Most of the meat used is imported, and is not subject to inspection in Bahrain. There are slaughterhouses, however, in Manama and Muharraq which are operated under the supervision of the municipal officers. No regulations exist governing the sale of milk. It is obtained from small herds of goats, and is often contaminated.

## HEALTH SERVICES AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

### Health Organizations

The Public Health Department of the Bahrain government is responsible for the protection of the health of the inhabitants and the enforcement of international quarantine regulations. It is administered by the Chief Medical Officer, whose headquarters are located at Manama. The department came into being in 1936, when the government hospital was erected, but, with the exception of malaria control measures, its functions were concerned primarily with the operation of medical care facilities until its reorganization in 1952. In that year, public health services were developed within the department, which now incorporates separate curative and preventive divisions. The port health authority, formerly under the Indian Medical Services, was taken over by

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-1 Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

to buy liquor for their own use. In Awali liquor is sold through the medium of BAPCO, while residents in Manama must apply for a permit to buy liquor from H.B.M.'s Political Agent.

It is a serious offence in Bahrain for a Moslem to be found in possession of liquor, or "under the influence" and it is also illegal for non-Moslems in possession of liquor to give or sell it to Moslems.

### MEDICAL FACILITIES

There are in Bahrain a number of private and public hospitals, as well as dentists, doctors and chemists.

For the benefit of the people of Bahrain the State Department of Health maintains a number of medical institutions in various parts of Bahrain. At the western end of Manama is the Naim Hospital for men and women, containing both public and private wards and equipped to deal with all emergencies. This hospital is used by the foreign community, except those employed by BAPCO, as well as by the people of the country. Also in Manama there are isolation hospitals, a mental hospital, a T.B. Sanatorium and the Office of Public Health. There are also State Hospitals in Muharraq and Hedd and dispensaries in the three towns and various villages.

For the use of its employees, both Bahraini and foreign, BAPCO has two hospitals in Awali.

The oldest hospital in Bahrain is that run by the mission of the Dutch Reformed Church of America in Shaikh Isa Road, Manama. This hospital contains both public and private wards. There are also several dentists and doctors practising privately in Manama.

### RATES OF POSTAGE

| | Letters | Rs. | As. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Inland : | Not exceeding 1 oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 1½ |
| | For each additional oz. | 0 | 1 |
| Foreign : | | | |
| *Seamail* : | | | |
| | Kuwait, Dubai and Muscat, not exceeding 1 oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 1½ |
| | For each additional oz. | 0 | 1 |
| | Great Britain and Eire, British Empire and territories under British Mandate, U.S.A. and Egypt, not exceeding 1 oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 2½ |
| | For each additional oz. | 0 | 1 |
| | All other countries, not exceeding 1 oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 4 |
| | For each additional oz. | 0 | 2½ |
| *Airmail* : | | | |
| | Europe, per half oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 6 |
| | Australia, New Zealand, per half oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 12 |
| | Canada, U.S.A., per half oz. or fraction thereof | 1 | 0 |
| | India, per half oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 6 |
| | Saudi Arabia, Irak, Cyprus, Dubai, Egypt, Lebanon, Kuwait, Syria and Jordan, per half oz. or part thereof | 0 | 3½ |

## REVIEW OF 1372

000 The two most important events during the year were the conclusion of a new oil agreement between the Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company and His Highness Shaikh Sulman's first visit to Europe to attend the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth.

971 651 437 The new oil agreement was on a 50—50 basis on the same lines as other agreements which have recently been made between governments and oil companies in the Middle East, it also provided for a payment to the State on oil imported into Bahrain for refining. As a result of this agreement the total revenue for the year under review was 373½ lakhs of rupees, approximately £2,500,000, though the new scale of payments was not in operation throughout the whole of 1372.

652 657 Expenditure was higher than in 1371. Excluding the one third of the oil revenue, which is paid to the Privy Purse, 48 per cent. of the State's expenditure was on social and public services; Education, Public Health, Public Protection and grants to Municipalities absorbed 18½ per cent., 15·3/8 per cent., 10·4/5 per cent., and 3 per cent. respectively, including capital expenditure on new schools, dispensaries and police quarters. The demand for more schools and hospitals is continuous and insistent but few Bahrain people realise the heavy recurrent cost of medical and education services which can be maintained on the present scale only as long as the present revenue continues.

651 511 342 471 Trade flourished and the revenue from customs was higher than in the previous year; during recent years customs collections have risen annually. Local prosperity was apparent from what might be described as a building boom. Many new houses and shops were built in the towns and suburbs by private enterprise. The type of house varied from European style bungalows and blocks of flats, built by merchants and shaikhs for letting, to small stone houses which are gradually replacing barasti, palm branch huts. Several serious fires in barasti areas, which destroyed many dwellings, gave an impetus to building. Working men who owned pieces of ground built small houses and the Government received hundreds of applications from people who wished to buy building plots. Unfortunately the Government owns very little land in and around the towns, much of it having been given away or sold cheaply many years ago.

511 167 161 The standard of living in Bahrain is very much higher than it was a few years ago and the health of the people is noticeably better than it used to be. For these reasons and owing to a steady influx of foreigners, mostly from Oman and the Trucial Coast, who come to Bahrain to work, it is believed that there has been a substantial increase in the population which at the time of the last census, in 1950, was found to be 110,000.

578 The state of public security was good in spite of the presence of large a number of foreigners who are not as naturally law abiding as the people of Bahrain. There were no political or labour disturbances.

648 439 Relations with Qatar deteriorated owing to incidents connected with the visit of a party of Bahrain schoolboys and school teachers to Zubara during the Spring holiday. The commercial development of Qatar tended to reduce Bahrain's transit trade and deprived some of the Bahrain merchants of agencies which used to include both Bahrain and Qatar. Relations with Saudi Arabia and Iraq were friendly, a deputation headed by Shaikh Isa bin Sulman, His Highness's eldest son, represented Bahrain at the coronation of King Faisal in Baghdad.

## DIVING INDUSTRY

228 464 There is little to report on this subject. Under present conditions it seems probable that in a few years the diving Nakhudas will find that it is impossible to obtain any recruits for diving in Bahrain. During the season only 12 boats went out to the banks from Bahrain and most of the divers who were engaged were from Persia and the Trucial Coast. So much money can be earned on shore that few men are willing to leave their shore jobs in order to dive during the summer months.

651 439 228 The tax on imported pearls imposed by the Government of India was in force throughout and after the diving season and this contributed to a large extent to the slackness in the pearl trade. Taking into consideration the small number of boats employed in diving the catch was moderately good and pearl prices were not much lower than in the previous season.

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## MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

### 1372

(Report by Dr. R. H. B. Snow, M.B.E., Senior Medical Officer)

**Summary of the Year**

185 751 A change is gradually infiltrating and making itself evident in the scope and policy of medical work which is increasing in every department and subconsciously affecting the life of the Island. Traditions are now being established which the new generation are growing up with, and health ideas which once were revolutionary are now accepted as the normal course of reasonable upbringing.

657 The medical department which started in a small way, and expanded slowly is seeing results which are very satisfying but which are taken for granted, although they took years of striving to achieve. From its small beginnings and tiny nucleus of key staff it has now spread out from something rather personal to more of a departmental outlook. This in the course of things is bound to be, but its danger is that lack of co-ordination may develop or that the department may absorb the individual expression. At present there seems to be no signs of this because the various heads of departments meet together continually to exchange ideas and align themselves in a common policy, and also they are readily accessible to the public.

743 758 Lines of expansion have shown themselves everywhere. The surgical work has been given great impetus by the advent of an F.R.C.S. specialist, Mr. R. D. Wilkins.

The operation theatre now runs a staff rota for every 24 hours of the day, made possible by recruiting Sister Ford and Sister Johnson from England. Sister Edwards was appointed to the Nursing Home to replace Sister Millson. The X-Ray department has an English Radiographer in charge—Mr. Havey. The Laboratory has a staff of six technicians. Four new Indian doctors arrived, one lady doctor for the Women's Hospital, and the others, male, were appointed to the Boys' Schools, The Port, and the Hospital. Mr. Burgin replaced Mr. Hanvey as Public Health Inspector, and Mr. Nambiar became the new Anti-Malaria Supervisor. Both hospitals recruited many more Indian trained nurses. The lack of sufficient staff has now been made good and at present meets all needs which recently have been very pressing. It meant also that more specialised apparatus could be installed being safely handled by expert hands. Such things include a more powerful X-Ray plant, a modern anaesthetic apparatus to administer all gases and curare, an electro-cautery unit and an electro-cardiograph.

## HIDD MUNICIPALITY

651 693 **Finance.** The total revenue was Rs. 28,739, slightly higher than in 1972. At the end of the year there was a surplus of Rs. 6,102. The amount expended was almost the same as in the previous year. At the end of the year His Highness granted Rs. 25,000 to the Municipal funds for building property to increase the Municipal revenue.

The town was clean and well kept and some progress was made in widening the one main street which passes through the length of the town.

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## RAFAA MUNICIPALITY

### which includes East, West and North Rafaa

(From the report of Shaikh Abdulla bin Khalid, President of the Municipal Council)

651 693 363 This Municipality, the last one to be formed in Bahrain, having been established in 1371, carried out its duties successfully during the year. Its revenue was Rs. 37,000 of which Rs. 20,000 was a grant from the Government.

Houses were registered and numbered for the purpose of charging house tax and a piece of land below East Rafaa was laid out as a building area, in conjunction with the Land Department. The Municipality began work on widening the road which passes through East Rafaa and removed part of some houses in order to widen this road.

365 Repairs were carried out to Ain Hinainiyah, the old well on the plain below East Rafaa which provides fresh drinking water, which used to be sold in Manama at a high price, being of superior quality to the artesian well water.

364 Ancient rubbish heaps, which disfigured the edge of the town, were removed and the material was used to fill in deep pits, inside the town, where mud had been dug for building houses.

The Municipality began to establish a regular town cleaning service.

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## MINORS' ESTATES DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Mr. Mohammed Dowaiger, Superintendent of the Department)

471 657 The Department took over the administration of 19 new estates and dealt with 28 compensation cases relating to persons in the employment of the Bahrain Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The value of the estates was Rs. 131,000. Compensation paid by the Bahrain Petroleum Company in cases of death or disablement of employees is passed by the Government to the Minors' Estates Department which pays the persons who are entitled to receive compensation.

657 427 Rents of property administered by the Department produced almost 2 lakhs, the number of properties, including shops, houses, gardens, etc., was 530. The Department sold nine lots of property during the year, for approximately half a lakh and made purchases amounting to Rs. 9,000. The sum of Rs. [illegible]00 was recovered from divers who were in debt to various estates.

657 736 Disbursements for maintenance amounted to Rs. 108,800, almost exactly the same sum as was paid out in the previous year. At the beginning of the year the number of orphans and widows who were drawing allowances was 442, of these 36 attained majority and took over their property, cash payments to them totalled Rs. 182,500.

657 682 The Department built four houses in Manama and Muharraq and carried out repairs to a number of other buildings, the expenditure under this heading was Rs. 78,000.

As usual the funds held by the Department together with funds placed at its disposal by the Government were given out on loan to the public, at interest, secured by title deeds of immovable property or gold. The rates of interest charged by the Department are low in comparison to those prevailing in the market.

During the year the Government placed with the Department a further 2¼ lakhs, making its total deposit Rs. 10,80,000.

Interest on loans collected during the year was Rs. 1,46,000, there is a scale of interest depending upon the amount of the loan, the average rate of interest during the year was 6 per cent.

Loans repaid to the Department during the year amounted to Rs. 19,29,000, about 3 lakhs more than in 1371, new loans, made to the public, were approximately 24¼ lakhs. At the end of the year 24¼ lakhs were on loan to the public.

## DEPARTMENTAL ACCOUNT

| Receipts | | | Expenditure | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Balance from 1371 .. | Rs. 16, 585 6 10 | | Maintenance allowances, etc. | Rs. 1,08,876 9 0 | |
| From estates and compensation cases | 1,31,249 1 8 | | Purchase of properties .. .. | 9,330 0 0 | |
| Rents .. .. .. | 1,96,394 13 4 | | Upkeep of buildings and additions .. | 78,325 15 11 | |
| Refund of Loans .. | 19,29,600 0 0 | | Payments to the beneficiaries .. | 1,82,511 10 0 | |
| Interest on Loans .. | 1,46,040 0 0 | | Loans advanced .. .. | 24,40,250 0 0 | |
| Deposits .. .. | 2,09,051 12 5 | | Balance in the Eastern Bank .. | 1,25,205 9 1 | |
| Loan from Government | 2,50,000 0 0 | | | | |
| By sale of properties .. | 50,451 4 3 | | | | |
| Debts recovered .. | 15,127 5 6 | | | | |
| Total | Rs. 29,44,499 12 0 | | Total | Rs. 29,44,499 12 0 | |

## LAND REGISTRATION DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Mr. Abdul-Aziz Al Saleh, acting Superintendent of the Department)

423 651 **Land Registration.** There were 1,072 transactions during the year which included 628 sales, 262 registration of titles and 182 gifts; the properties which were dealt with consisted of 273 plots of ground, most of them being building sites, 82 gardens, 47 shops and 26 miscellaneous lots. Fees amounting to Rs. 1,27,975 were collected of which Rs. 1,20,781 was derived from sales and Rs. 7,194 from registration of titles, etc.

At the end of the year the amount in the Police Provident Fund was Rs. 2,11,507. The balance of the Police Fund was Rs. 11,563/-, the sum of Rs. 5,744/- was paid out in loans to Police and Naturs, most of the payments being for building or repairing houses. 625 657

**Crimes and Accidents.** There was a slight increase in the number of serious crimes which is thought to be partly due to the large influx of foreigners, especially Omanis, during recent years. 674 186

On 25th January, 1953, some Omanis who were living in the brothel area, missed one of their party, Abdulla bin Salim. They went to his house which was found to be locked. One of them climbed over the wall and on entering the house he found Abdulla with his throat cut. The victim was a bad character, a procurer in the brothel area. Police investigations produced no evidence to justify a prosecution.

On 13th December, 1952, a youth named Abdul Husain bin Isa, who worked as a car cleaner and who habitually slept in a garage in Manama, was found by the owner of the garage, when he came to take out his car, lying dead on his bed with a wound in his back and signs of having been throttled. The garage doors were locked, one key was in the possession of the youth and the owner of the garage had another key. The garage, however, could have been entered by an inner door. There appeared to be no motive for the murder as the victim was not of the type to be associated with an affair of sex. The Police arrested the owner of the garage and his brother and laid a charge of murder against them in the Bahrain Court. The family of the murdered man were insistent that he had been murdered by the owners of the garage. The case was heard and the accused were acquitted owing to lack of evidence. 674 695 681

On 17th May, 1953, one Abdul Husain bin Haji Sulman bin Khalaf, a local Bahraini, was walking in a lane near his house, at night. His brother, Ibrahim, came on him from behind and stabbed him twice with a knife. He was seriously injured but after hospital treatment he recovered. The reason for the attack was a family quarrel. The attacker was sentenced to four years imprisonment with hard labour.

On 7th November, 1952, two men were cleaning their hands with petrol at one of the garages in Manama. Another man lit a match which ignited the petrol causing serious burns to both of the men one of whom subsequently died in hospital.

An Omani came from Dubai and reported to the Police that two years before his son, aged 18, who was working in a garage in Bahrain, died from burns. It was established that the boy had died in hospital as a result of burns but no evidence was forthcoming about the cause of the burns.

A man who was arrested for pickpocketing attempted to commit suicide by cutting his throat with a razor blade, in the Police Station.

There were two deaths from electrocution. A boy of 12 years caught hold of an electric wire in a shop and was killed, and a man climbed an electric standard, in order to catch birds, touched a live wire and was killed immediately. [165]

Five cases of accidental drowning occurred, two men were lost when their small fishing craft capsized, an old man, reputed to be nearly 100 years old, fell into the sea from a fishing boat during stormy weather off Barbar and two children were drowned on the shore west of Manama town. In none of these cases was there any suggestion of foul play.

On 23rd August, 1953, some boys were out shooting on the shore near Jasrah. A shot from the gun of Mohamed Ahmed Al Ghatam entered the neck of one Ibrahim bin Mohamed Al Khalifah and killed him. The owner of the gun immediately left Bahrain. His father was ordered to pay Rs. 5000 to the relatives of the victim and to remove himself from Jasrah and an order was passed against the son forbidding him to return to Bahrain for an indefinite period. The families were related and were branches of the Ruling Family.

There were 280 cases of theft reported to the Police against 303 cases in 1371. Of these cases 55 were presented in Court, 133 cases were undetected and 92 cases were not proceeded with for lack of evidence. Most of the cases were pickpocketing and thefts of clothes.

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN MZ 2

Responsibility for the protection of the health of the people resides in the Public Health Department of the Bahrain government. It has curative and preventive divisions, and is administered by a Chief Medical Officer with headquarters in Manama. Four general hospitals—government, mission and industrial—with an aggregate capacity of 324 beds were functioning in 1951. In addition, the government services operated 5 special hospitals with 86 beds, maternity clinics and scattered dispensaries for men and women. Water supplies are obtained from large numbers of artesian wells, as well as from springs and shallow wells. The town of Manama has a piped artesian supply which serves over 70 per cent of the houses. Sewage is disposed of by primitive methods, and most well and spring water sources are polluted.

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p. 265(A)

692 cases if the defendant is a Bahrain citizen and the plaintiff is a foreigner the case is heard in a Joint Court. The language of the Bahrain Courts is Arabic and no barristers or wakils who are not Bahrainis are allowed to appear in them.

647 At the eastern end of the sea road[1] is the Adviserate, the Ruler deals with affairs of State in this office on Tuesdays and Saturdays. Beyond the Adviserate is H.B.M.'s Political Agency which was built early in the century.

743 At the western end of the Sea Road is the Government Hospital. It includes a men's and women's hospital, administrative offices, X-Ray, laboratories, operating theatres and out-patients' rooms. There are beds for men and for women, with a few private rooms in each section. The Indian Staff occupy a large three storied building close to the hospital and behind the Women's Hospital is the house of the British nursing sisters. On Awal Road there is a large Public Health Office and beyond it a T.B. Sanatorium and a Mental Hospital. Opposite the Police Fort there are also two small isolation hospitals. In Muharraq there is a maternity hospital in the centre of the town and a clinic on the sea front. In Hedd and in some of the villages there are also small clinics. The Government Medical Staff includes a number of British and Indian doctors and nurses.

871 Education in Bahrain is not, at present, compulsory, but every year
658 the number of boys' and girls' schools increases. The oldest school in Bahrain is the Muharraq Boys' School in North Muharraq town, which was built in 1919, and there are now 28 government schools including village schools, town schools, a boys' secondary school, and a technical school where carpentry and engineering are taught. At the beginning of the 1952-53 term there were 4000 boys and 2,500 girls attending government schools. Except in the secondary school, education is free and every year scholarships are given by the Government and BAPCO to enable students to obtain advanced education at the American University of Beirut. There is a students' hostel in Manama which accommodates about 100 boys, here students from the villages and other towns are housed while they attend the more advanced town schools.

[875] Most of the teachers are Bahrainis though there are a certain number of teachers from neighbouring Arab countries. English is taught in the higher classes as well as the usual subjects. All the schools close during the summer from about the middle of June till the end of September. Some of the government schools are among the most noticeable of the modern buildings in Manama.

871 In addition to the Government schools there are a number of private schools including a European day school at Awali, Catholic, Persian and Indian schools in Manama and a girls school run by the mission of the Dutch reformed Church of America. The Oil Company also has a trade school for its Arab employees.



[1] [at Manama -- Analyst]

## EDUCATION

### Boys Schools

(From the report of Mr. Ahmed Umran, Director of Education).

**Schools.** Three new village schools, at Sanad, Tubli and Karzakan, were built and presented to the Government by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The schools were fully furnished and in each place there was space for a playground near the building. His Highness Shaikh Sulman was present at the opening of the Tubli school and His Excellency Shaikh Abdulla, Minister of Education, attended the openings of the other two schools. The gift of these three buildings was much appreciated by the Government and by the people of the villages for which the schools provided education.

A large new school, on the Muharraq sea front, for small boys, was opened at the beginning of the term, with this school and three new village schools, and some additional class rooms in existing schools, it was possible to increase the total number of boys in the state schools by 610.

The building of these three schools roused immediate demands from other villages for schools to be built in their districts. Some of these requests came from villages within easy walking distance from schools. The desire for schools and sometimes for dispensaries is not always governed by real need; the existence of a school now seems to confer on a village a certain cachet. It was decided by His Highness on his return from England that three more village schools should be built by the Government, at Jidhafs, Asker and Jaw, the last place being the most distant inhabited village on the western coast. Towards the end of the year work was begun on these schools.

The growth of schools in the villages has had some repercussions. In the past the Shia villages provided the tenants and labourers in the date gardens, most of which are owned by Sunni Arabs. Landlords now realise that when the village boys acquire education they will no longer be content to work in the gardens, or as fishermen, as their fathers did before them. There is already a shortage of local labour for the date gardens and little competition to lease them. The town-dwelling landlords therefore do not view with enthusiasm the spread of education in the villages.

**Staff.** Every year the expansion of education makes it necessary to employ more teachers; those who complete their training in Bahrain are insufficient and have not enough experience to fill all the posts so each term the number of foreign teachers increases. Among most people this is regarded with disfavour, although there is a tendency among some to assume that because a teacher comes from abroad he must necessarily be better than any local product. Again in 1372 more teachers were recruited from neighbouring countries. The Director of Education, with the valuable assistance of the British Council in Beirut, enlisted 22 Lebanese, Syrians and Palestinians and he obtained from Cairo 5 Egyptians teachers to fill vacancies made by retirements and to provide staff for larger schools. At the end of the year the number of teachers in the boys schools was as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Egyptians | 10 |
| Indians | 2 |
| Syrians | 6 |
| Lebanese | 24 |
| Palestinians | 23 |
| Others | 3 |
| Bahrainis | 136 |
| Total | 204 |

There was a continued improvement in the standard of English in the Secondary School, due principally to its being taught by a British teacher lent to the Government by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. This arrangement has proved extremely successful.

1 [A.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst]

875 **Teachers Training Courses.** Eight students graduated at the end of the school year from the teachers training class for secondary school students. They were posted to village and primary schools. At the beginning of the next term fifteen new students joined the class.

Evening classes for teachers were held during the term with an examination for certificates on the completion of the course.

**Special Courses.** In March, 1953, for the fourth time, the British Council Representative in Basra arranged a week's English course in Bahrain. This time the course was taken by Mr. W. R. Keight, M.B.E., of the British Council and Mr. W. Hedley, the British teacher lent by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The aim of the course was to teach masters and students in training for teachers, the correct use of the Oxford University English Course books.

In the summer eleven senior primary school teachers attended a refresher course at the American University of Beirut which was arranged for teachers from Bahrain and other Arab states. They lived in the British Council Hostel and had their meals in the University.

873 **Higher Education.** Four more boys, who passed out of the Secondary School, went to Beirut University for further education, three of them had scholarships from the Government and one had a scholarship from the Bahrain Petroleum Company. Two students were nominated for scholarships in Baghdad schools, allocated by the Government of Iraq to boys from Bahrain. One of these boys, however, did not take up the scholarship but entered the American University of Beirut at his own expense.

Again some of the Shaikhs and merchants sent their sons, sometimes after finishing only primary education, to schools and colleges abroad, in Beirut, Syria, Egypt and England, in one case a member of the Ruling Family was sent to a University in America. Privately made arrangements for educating young men abroad are not always successful, students who go to Europe, not under the auspices of the Government, seem disinclined to stick to one line of learning, sometimes they wander from one school to another which is an expensive waste of time.

873 177 183 It is very doubtful whether at present the education of Bahrain boys at schools in England is beneficial to them or desirable. A few boys who were at school in England have returned to Bahrain and if they can be taken as typical of the results of a European education then it is clear that the experiment is not usually successful. Parents, who in many cases have never been in Europe, send their sons to English schools with the hope that they will return equipped and eager to help their fathers in their business. The boys return. They have acquired some education, sufficient to make them critical and contemptuous of many things in their own homes and country, they resent having to resume the life which they used to lead and they have no inclination to settle down in Bahrain.

871 The Bahrain schools provide primary education for all and secondary education for a limited number of boys. The standard of education is about on a level with that in similar schools in other states in the Middle East. It is not proposed that higher education should be introduced in Bahrain, this can be obtained in neighbouring Arab countries, particularly at the American University of Beirut where 31 boys from Bahrain are now studying, 16 hold scholarships from the Government, four have scholarships from the Bahrain Petroleum Company and 11 are studying there at their own expense. In addition, the Government has sent six young men to study religion in Mecca and in Iraq.

872 Another 20 Bahrain boys are being educated, at their own expense, in schools and colleges in England and in the Middle East.

658 The policy of the Government is to give scholarships for higher education to boys from Bahrain schools to universities in the Middle East; it does not send boys to schools in England. It does, however, send young men from various government departments to do courses in England in the type of work on which they are employed in Bahrain. These candidates are sent at Government expense or, sometimes, they are granted bursaries by the British Council. This arrangement has produced satisfactory results in the case of men from the Passport Department, Municipalities, Technical School, Electric Department, Public Works Department and State Police. Men who have held positions of some responsibility for some years in Government service are improved by such courses in England and do not return to Bahrain with unsettled minds.

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



**Secondary School.** At the end of the year there were 168 boys in the school. At the end of the school year 20 boys graduated; nine became school teachers, seven went to Beirut, Egypt and Iraq for higher education and four either joined their parents in business or obtained employment in Saudi Arabia. 873

A new class with a special teacher, was started with the aim of providing a two years commercial course. The 12 students who joined this class are being taught typewriting, book-keeping and business methods. The course appeared to be very successful and it was decided that a second class, on the same lines should be started next year.

**School Hostel.** There were 84 boarders in the hostel throughout the year, distributed as follows:— 871

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Attending | Secondary School .. .. .. | 37 |
| „ | Technical School .. .. .. | 15 |
| „ | Primary Schools .. .. .. | 25 |
| „ | Teachers Training School .. .. | 7 |

Yusuf Shirawi continued temporarily to hold the post of Warden, which he relinquished when he went to the United Kingdom to enter Glasgow University.

**Town Primary and Village Schools.** In the towns the four primary and three infants schools were full to capacity throughout the year. In Muharraq a new infants school was opened, owing to lack of space in the Muharraq primary school classes of the lower primary stage were opened in two of the infants schools. In Manama it was not possible to take in all the children who were on the waiting list for admission. 872

Consideration is being given to building more primary and infants schools in Manama and Hidd.

In some of the village schools full primary courses were introduced, up to third form standard. In future village schools will provide a six years programme similar to the course in the town schools.

**Transport.** One of the difficulties in opening more village schools is the matter of transport. Almost all the teachers live in the towns of Manama and Muharraq and even those teachers who came originally from the villages almost invariably move to the towns when they obtain employment as teachers. Local bus services are unorganised and erratic and cannot be depended on. The department has to maintain an expensive transport system for taking teachers to and from schools and for conveying boys to special classes and to games. [489] 872

**Medical.** A school doctor was appointed, under the supervision of the Senior Medical Officer and a system of medical records has been started. The doctor paid regular visits to all the schools and dealt with minor ailments, other cases were passed by him to the Government hospitals.

The health of boys during the year was satisfactory.

**General.** During the Spring holiday a group of boys from the school hostel visited Zubara, on the coast of Qatar, where they camped for several days.

Other young boys went into camp at Safra, near Rafaa.

**Finance.** The amount spent during the year on boys' schools, excluding the cost of building and excluding the Technical School, was Rs. 20,22,500/-. 658 871

The cost of educating one boy at school in Bahrain for a school year, of nine months, was approximately Rs. 400/-.

1 [A.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst]

172 southwest toward Arabia[1] — an indication that it was from there that the people originally came. The existence of similar tombs along the Arabian coast tends to support this hypothesis. Finally, for what it is worth, there is an Arab tradition that the tribe of Thamud, driven out of Yemen and across the desert, found a home on the island of Bahrein about the beginning of the second millenium B.C.

Attempts to date the Bahrein tombs by the nature of the contents have brought to light only contradictory evidence. The finding of a jar that resembles a Babylonian jar of 2500 B.C. must be weighed against the finding of bronze weapons dating from 1500-1200 B.C. It is possible that future explorations of the thousands of tumuli will yet supply an answer to the riddle, but the meager results obtained from the examination of 134 of them can hardly be called encouraging.

## EDUCATION

658 The Bahrein government decided in 1934 to engage a number of Iraqi teachers for its schools. Iraq had done all in her power to attract the emirats of the Gulf into her orbit, and by 1934, when the British and Persians were fighting over the question of sovereignty over Bahrein, Iraq had made known her intention of creating a consulate in the island and establishing a school for the children of Iraqi subjects residing there. This was an effort to compete with the Persians, who since the end of World War I had conducted a school, "Tarbiat," founded originally for the education of Persian children but open also to children of other communities.

871 658 875 Bahrein today has nine elementary and one secondary school, the latter founded in 1940, and one school for girls, opened in 1939. The program of study of the Iraqi schools was adopted. At the end of 1937, a group of fifteen Syrian teachers were engaged by the government to teach in the newly founded schools. In 1940, the government engaged six Iraqi teachers to

1. According to Cornwall W.25°s. is the most frequent reading: were they oriented toward Mecca?

organize the secondary school system. The teachers received from £25 to £30 a month and "bed and board" paid by the Bahrein government. Interestingly enough, the first director of the first school opened at Muharraq was the present Saudi Arabian Minister to London, Sheik Hafiz Wahba.

At present, there is no newspaper in Bahrein. A weekly newspaper, Al Bahrein, was founded in 1939, but ceased its publication after the death of its publisher, Abdallah Za-id. In 1940 a broadcasting station was built, and the Al-Bahrein Radio started short-wave broadcasts on a 23-m, 50 band on November 4. During the war, Radio Bahrein was most useful to the Allied cause, since its four daily news broadcasts in Arabic and Persian were heard more easily throughout the Near East than those of Egypt.

Besides the schools, two "circles" for the discussion of political and literary matters were established in 1935 under the patronage of the brother of the Sheik. There was already a Cercle Israelite in the island.

## ECONOMY

The geographical features and the geological formation of the islands greatly reduce the economic value of Bahrein. The scarcity of water and the sandy nature of the soil exclude agricultural development. The application of modern methods of agriculture and the utilization of artesian wells and gasoline operated pumps are too recent and too inadequate to make Bahrein even partially independent of imported food. For many years to come, and probably forever, the islands will be dependent on food, meat, vegetables, and fruits brought chiefly from the Persian or Arabian mainland.

Fortunately, in most of the islands of the Persian Gulf and the surrounding regions, wherever water is found naturally or captured artificially, date palms grow with astonishing ease. The northern part of Bahrein Island, thanks to natural springs and more recently to artesian wells, is practically a string of oases with palm groves numbering several hundred thousands.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Maritime Arabs MK 2
Bahrain MZ2



such a number of chronic running ears. The lungs are often affected, and all along the diving coast pulmonary tuberculosis is common. This is not remarkable when we know that in the opening days of the season the men frequently dive in water that is so cold that they spit blood. Many return from their summer of semi-starvation and unsuitable diet of rice and dates with their gums sore and bleeding from scurvy.

Living conditions in the community are what might be expected. Disease is common. The death rate is high. Poverty is universal. In good years the standard of life is none too high. In bad years it is reduced almost to the starvation point. During a hard year the food of the divers is poor in quality and scanty in amount almost to the degree of partial starvation. They usually live in date-stick huts, and in the winter must frequently shiver in unwarmed houses because they have no money for fuel.

In such communities there is little or no interest in education. A diver has reason enough, one might suppose, for wanting to know how to read and write and keep his own accounts, but it is rare that one of them knows as much as that, and apparently it is equally unusual to find one who is trying to educate his children so that they may escape the slavery that binds him. The boys are frequently taken out to learn pearl diving while they are still under twelve. In Bahrein the American Mission has tried for many years to develop educational work of an elementary sort, but has found it practically impossible because there is no demand for such things. The considerable Persian community in the city has made efforts from time to time to establish educational work for its own boys. The Persian schools exist for a little

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bahrain rnz2
Maritime Arabs Mk2



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871 time and then break up and disappear. Few care whether
185 they live or die. One of the Bahrein sheikhs made a visit
658 to England at the invitation of the British Government about three years ago. On his return he collected nearly a hundred thousand dollars for the founding of a free public school. A large building was projected, but by inefficiency and carelessness, if not worse, the entire sum was spent on the first story of that building. Now the project languishes and seems about to die, purely because nobody cares whether it lives or not. Even Koran schools are few in number and poor in quality. There is nothing like the diffusion of education that prevails in the inland
M desert towns.

463 Although the vast majority of the people in these towns
226 are pearl divers, there are a few fishermen and a smaller number who gain a precarious livelihood as sailors in Arab sailing ships. There are abundant supplies of fish in all these harbors, but fishing is a very unpopular occupation. It is hard, disagreeable work, and the men must frequently be out in the little boats all night. When times are good and the captain's allowances liberal, nobody is willing to fish. When the pearl catch is bad or the price low every one feels poor, many eke out their small resources by this additional work, and fish becomes plenti-
M ful and cheap.

505 There were once many sea-going sail boats engaged in carrying various cargoes from port to port in this district, for the Arabs are bold navigators and can travel in these ships from India to the Suez Canal. They still bring goods from the various East African ports to Arabia, and rarely fail to make these long trips successfully, but the work is hard, and since the steamers of the "Ingleez" have absorbed more and more of the better

proximately 26,000 residents, and Hedd, a pearl fishing center, around 10,000. The population exceeded that of the 1941 census by almost 20,000: the increase was confined mainly to the towns of Manama and Muharraq, and was attributed in large part to immigration.

Since the organization of the first government school in 1919, education has made considerable progress, but expansion is handicapped by a shortage of trained teaching personnel. In 1950, the Bahrain government supported 13 primary schools for boys —8 in the towns and 5 in the villages. Educational facilities were made available to girls in 1928, and at present 6 primary schools are in operation. Of the 5,770 pupils registered in government schools in 1950-51, slightly over 1,700 were girls. A few private schools are established in Manama, while Koranic schools are found in most towns and villages. The government also maintains a secondary school, a technical school and a school hostel for boys, and provides scholarships for qualified students for advanced study at the American University of Beirut and in Great Britain. In the recent census, the literacy rate in the indigenous population was estimated at 10 per cent.

### Vital Statistics

The registration of births and deaths is not compulsory in Bahrain, and no data for the calculation of vital statistics are obtainable. Local medical authorities agree that the mortality rates in infancy and early childhood are uniformly high. Observations made by the census enumerators in 1950 suggest that the infant mortality is particularly serious in the rural villages, in contrast with the towns, where living conditions have improved within recent years. The maternal mortality rates are correspondingly high.

The size of the population remained practically stationary in the rural districts in the 9-year interval between the first and the second census surveys. The rate of increase in areas outside the towns of Ma-

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The people of Bahrain are extremely law abiding and there is very little crime. A force of 300 uniformed police and 200 armed watchmen is responsible for the maintenance of law and order. The Police headquarters is the Fort to the south-west of Manama, this also contains the Traffic Department, the jail for short term convicts and the police barracks. There are police stations in various districts of Manama and Muharraq and in Hedd, Budaiya, Jaw, Sitra and elsewhere in Bahrain.

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Most of the Government buildings in Bahrain are constructed by the Public Works Department whose offices and yards are on the northern shore of Manama south of the Manama-Muharraq Causeway. This department is also responsible for the Manama town water supply and the upkeep of roads and bridges. Close to the Public Works Department, on the opposite side of the Causeway, is the power house and office of the State Engineer. Electricity was first installed in Manama in 1929, later it was extended to Muharraq. The Power Station now generates about 7½ million Kw. per annum.

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In addition to these departments there are others including the Transport Section, near the Police Fort, and the Agricultural Department which runs experimental gardens in Budiaya and Manama and gives advice to Bahrain agriculturalists.

## THE RULING FAMILY OF BAHRAIN

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*The Ruler* :

HIS HIGHNESS SHAIKH SULMAN BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E.

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*Sons of the Ruler* :

HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH ISA BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH KHALIFAH BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH MUHAMMAD BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.

*Uncles of the Ruler* :

HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH ABDULLA BIN ISA AL-KHALIFAH, C.I.E.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH MUHAMMAD BIN ISA AL-KHALIFAH, C.B.E.

*Brothers of the Ruler* :

SHAIKH MUBARAK BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ABDULLA BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ALI BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH IBRAHIM BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH KHALIFAH BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH DAIJ BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH AHMED BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.

*Sons of Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa* :

SHAIKH RASHID BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ALI BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH HAMED BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.

3: Bahrain G-5 (1950) 1950 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# BAHRAIN'S SECOND CENSUS

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THE 1359 (1941) CENSUS. The first General Census of Bahrain was taken on the 22nd January 1941. Previous to this there were no accurate figures about the population of Bahrain although figures were given in various books of reference showing the number of inhabitants as being as much as 200,000. The basis of these estimates, which were so wide of the mark, is not known; they were not calculated from the numbers of births and deaths because the registration of births and deaths is not yet compulsory in Bahrain, it is however a measure which the Government hopes soon to introduce.

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In 1359 the Government announced by proclamation that there was to be a counting of the people. The news was received with disapproval and suspicion by a large proportion of the community. Few people, except those who had been abroad, believed that the only reason for the census was because the Government wanted to know how many people lived in the country. Many rumours, some of them very wild, became current, especially in the villages. It was said that conscription was to be introduced, that taxation was to be imposed, that a municipality was to be set up in every village and, finally, that no woman in future would be allowed to give birth to a child except in one of the Government hospitals. Some of the rumours were deliberately spread by mischief makers. Another factor which affected the census was the rationing system which allowed a larger ration of cereals to adults than to children under a certain age. Eventually after many public meetings, talks from the Bahrain Broadcasting Station, which was then in action, articles in the local paper and intensive propaganda intended to remove doubts and suspicion this first census was carried out.

659/162 The census was taken during the night of 22nd January, 1941. The figures which were obtained showed a total population of 89,970 persons; 27,835 lived in Manamah and 17,775 were in Muharraq. There were 48,267 males and 41,703 females but only 20,519 children; 74,040 persons were of Bahrain nationality; 41,944 were Sunnis and 46,354 were Shias, 15,930 were foreigners, including Europeans, Indians and Arabs from other Gulf states. The total number of houses in Bahrain was 14,482, of these 4,051 were in Manamah and 3,185 were in Muharraq. The number included both stone houses and palm branch huts. About 9,500 people claimed that they were literate, a proportion of somewhat over 10% of the total population. There was much surprise and some indignation because the census revealed a very much smaller population than most people had expected. It is probable however that a certain number of men did not register because they believed that they might be conscripted.

## THE 1369 (1950) CENSUS

659 PRELIMINARY WORK. Preparations for the new Census were begun several weeks before the appointed date. The census staff consisted of about 150 clerks and officials from the various Government departments, the forms which were used were those which had been left over from the first census. The first work to be done was the numbering of all houses and occupied buildings in all the towns and villages and the division of the larger towns into sections. In addition to Manamah and Muharraq which together contain about half of the population there are about 80 villages situated mostly at the north end of Bahrain Island and along the eastern and western coasts. Many of the villages are in the centre of groups of date gardens and are not visible from a distance. With a few exceptions there are no nomad tent dwellers in Bahrain

659 which made the work of counting easier. After numbering the houses a preliminary registration of the names of the [561] occupants with details of age, sex etc., was made. The question of age was a problem as the majority of the people had no idea how old they were, often they asked the clerk to put down what he thought best. People who could read and write, however, especially children, eagerly volunteer- [961] ed information. Occupation, in the case of men, was easily answered, but in some cases husbands described the occupation of their wives as "eating and sleeping". The first investigation took some time to complete.

The particulars which were required included the person's religious sect, also the full names of both men and women. In the first census the names of women had not been recorded. In some of the Arab Sunni villages and in Muharraq, which is predominantly Arab, strong objection was taken to enquiries about the names of women, but the Shia Baharna raised no objections to this question. There was also a certain amount of organised agitation about recording sects, although in the first census nobody had objected to giving this information. Some of the young town Arabs feared that the census might show a higher proportion of Shias than of Sunnis. By dint of talks and explanations, in which His Highness took an active part, public feelings on these matters were allayed.

THE COUNTING. A Friday night when there was a full moon was fixed for the census. Shops in the towns normally close from noon time on Fridays and fishermen and men employed in cutting coral stone in the sea take a day off. In the moonlight it was easier for the counters to find their way about in the narrow lanes in some of the towns and villages and to see the numbers written in red paint on the doors of the houses. The date and time of the census was announced by proclamation some weeks before

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and on two days before the census town criers in Manamah and Muharraq reminded the people that on Friday night from 8 p.m., until midnight they should stay indoors. Cinemas coffee shops and all public places were ordered to close, taxis were not allowed to ply for hire during the hours of the census and crews in the boats in the harbours were ordered to remain on board their vessels. The counting and checking in all the towns and villages was done by the census staff but certain foreign communities such as the Royal Air Force in Muharraq, the Bahrain Petroleum Company, the Jufair Naval Base etc., agreed to make their own arrangements for filling in the census forms.

All available police and the census staff assembled at the Government Offices in Manamah and at the Muharraq Municipal Building an hour before the work began. Clerks who were responsible for distant villages were sent off earlier in the day in Government cars and those who were counting the crews of boats in the harbour had launches allocated to them. there were about 80 sailing vessels in the port at the time of the census. A policeman in uniform was told off to accompany every counter and the remainder of the police, including the mounted section, patrolled the streets. The public gave the fullest possible cooperation and no trouble of any kind was encountered. Not a person or a vehicle was visible on the roads and streets during the four hours except the census clerks moving from door to door with their electric torches. In most houses the man of the house was expecting the visit and, although it was unnecessary, in many cases children and even women came to their doors apparently eager to be counted. Most of the counters finished their work at about midnight and returned to their bases where they handed in their books. The preliminary registration made the work of the actual census very much easier.

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



659 133 **Aerial Survey.** One of the most important items in general use is a map, and throughout history it has been found that the mapping of new areas has been among the first of man's activities.

114 The first reliable maps of Bahrain was produced in 1905, following a survey of the island which was carried out under the direction of Lieut. Colonel F. B. Longe, R.E., Surveyor-General of India. This map, copies of which can still be obtained in the Land Department, is a very good map and shows towns, villages, tracks, mounds and contours, but as it was produced many years ago, since when there have been many changes in the towns and villages and in the area under cultivation, it was thought desirable to carry out a new survey. Messrs. Hunting Aerosurveys Ltd., were commissioned to make an aerial survey of Muharraq Island, Manama town and the area south of Manama as far as the coast. This work was carried out in December 1951. In May 1952 the survey was extended by arrangement with the Bahrain Petroleum Company to cover the whole of Bahrain Island and the neighbouring islands.

During the first survey both vertical and oblique photographs were taken and by the end of 1952 a considerable amount of interesting material had arrived in Bahrain. It consisted of 51 oblique photographs produced in two sizes, 10-in. × 12-in. and 5-in. × 5 in. The series of vertical photographs covered the whole of the area which had been included in the survey.

From the vertical photographs maps were produced, one covering the whole of Muharraq Island, Muharraq town in seven sections at a scale of 200 feet to an inch, the area south east of Manama as far as Jufair, also in seven sections, on a scale of 200 feet to an inch and the town of Manama in thirteen sections, one for each district, a scale of 100 feet to an inch. In addition, mosaics of Manama and Muharraq were produced. All these photographs and mosaics are on sale to the public and can be obtained from the Land Department.

Following the first survey, the Bahrain Petroleum Company made available to the Government all the material which they had obtained from the aerial survey which had been carried out on their behalf and they also provided valuable information from their land surveys which included an initial survey of the town of Manama which was done some months before the aerial work. Last year all the available information was collected and a map was hand-drawn on the basis of this information. Hunting Aerosurveys was instructed to produce a map of Bahrain, in four colours, on the scale of 1 inch to the mile. The map is now in the hands of the printers. It will cover the whole of Bahrain and Muharraq islands as well as the nearby smaller islands, but not the Hawar group. It will contain inserts showing the town areas of Manama, Muharraq and Awali. This map will be on sale in London and New York, as well as in Bahrain, on plain paper or mounted on linen or folded on linen. To produce this map information has been obtained from the Survey of India Office, the Royal Geographical Society and the Bahrain Petroleum Company and from the War Office map of 1939 and with the information now available it will be a reasonable task to revise the map, in future, should it require again bringing up to date after some years have passed.

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## SUNNI WAQF DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Shaikh Atiyyatallah bin Abdurrehman AlKhalifah, Superintendent of the Department)

647 871 795 The Department is controlled by a committee of Sunni merchants and by a Superintendent and clerical staff, the latter are paid by the Government. All Waqf property is administered by the Department which pays out of the revenue collected from the property the salaries and emoluments of mosque officials, it also contributes towards the cost of the religious school in Manama and towards the expenses of some young men who are studying religion abroad.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# SOCIAL CLASSES AND TENSIONS IN BAHRAIN

*Fahim I. Qubain*

(See map, facing p. 239.)

ONE OF THE more interesting principalities in the Persian Gulf is the tiny island shaykhdom of Bahrain. Its geographical location, its maritime commerce, and its ancient pearl industry have all combined to create a multi-group society of its small population of about 110,000. On the whole, the country is well and efficiently governed, the various groups in the population have by generations of experience learned to tolerate each other, and crime in the Western sense of the word is almost nonexistent. At the same time, latent tensions exist that can be exploited if the proper circumstances arise. For instance, riots broke out between the Sunnis and the Shi'is during Muharram in September 1953. It took the use of the whole police force and the imposition of a curfew to bring peace back to the country.[1] In July of the following year, when some Shi'is were convicted for being involved in a fight with Sunnis, the whole Shi'i sect staged a demonstration, conducted an attack on a police post during which four Shi'is were killed, and finally all Shi'i workers went on strike.[2] Six months later, in December 1954, another general strike took place in support of demands made to the government for certain reforms which had already been promised by the ruler.[3] We propose, in this article, to examine the nature of these tensions and to evaluate their seriousness for the future.

## *POPULATION BREAKDOWN AND DISTRIBUTION*

Until 1941 only estimates existed regarding the population of the Bahrain cluster of islands. In that year, the government, primarily for food control purposes, conducted the first census in the history of the islands; in 1950 a second census was taken. At that time the population was 109,650.[4] (See Tables I, II, and III.)

[1] Government of Bahrain, *Official Gazette*, September 24, 1953, p. 3.
[2] *Times* (London), July 13, 1954, p. 7.
[3] *Ibid.*, December 6, 1954, p. 7.
[4] Government of Bahrain, *Census 1950* (Bahrain, 1950).

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[See p. 270, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



An interesting development in recent years is the stress of the dominant
186 group, the Sunnis, on the unity and brotherhood of all Muslims and Arabs.
659 In 1950, when the second census was made, it was planned to count the two groups separately. This proposal, however, was construed as a British scheme to divide the Muslims and set them against each other. Strong objections were made by both groups, but primarily by the Sunnis, to the government and consequently this aspect of the census was abandoned. No such objections were raised during the census only nine years earlier.

186 Two factors can perhaps account for this rather nascent stress on unity: emerging nationalism and new economic forces. The conception of nationality is a Western contribution and a new arrival in the Persian Gulf. In Bahrain it is still a vague idea and certainly has not replaced to any degree the existing loyalties. It manifests itself in two ways: first, negatively in a desire to expel the foreigner (this has considerable appeal: it is concrete, intellectually easy to grasp, can be used as a rallying cry, and above all does not conflict with established social patterns); and second, positively, in a confused ideal of a pan-Arab, pan-Islamic union. No clear distinction is drawn between the two last concepts and the terms are used interchangeably. It must be admitted, however, that the pan-Arab aspect of the ideal predominates. This new spirit of nationalism has had the effect of creating a greater emphasis on unity among the native population. Furthermore, through this intellectual device the two groups can now present a common front against foreigners to protect their rights and interests, whether real or imaginary.

565 The new economic force for unity is the oil industry. On the surface
178 things seem as they have always been. In fact a change, subtle and hard
464 to detect, has taken place. The oil industry, as indicated previously, has
186 opened the doors of employment to the Shi'is. This has resulted in bettering slightly their economic condition and consequently their relative status vis-à-vis other groups. Furthermore, such employment has meant that they are no longer restricted to agriculture. They can now sell their labor and skills as everyone else in a wider and more favorable market. On the job at the company installations, Shi'i and Sunni are brought together as laborers or artisans and placed on the same footing. For the first time in their history it has become possible for individuals from both groups to collaborate in certain areas of action, not as Shi'is or Sunnis, but as members of an economic group.

### *THE JEWS*

162 A third native religious group is the small Jewish minority comprising
563 about 250 persons. Its members are well known for their industry, their
463 higher standard of living, their higher rate of education, and their amenability to Western influences. They are exclusively engaged in trade and money changing.

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East,
BAHRAIN M22

proximately 26,000 residents, and Hedd, a pearl fishing center, around 10,000. The population exceeded that of the 1941 census by almost 20,000: the increase was confined mainly to the towns of Manama and Muharraq, and was attributed in large part to immigration.

Since the organization of the first government school in 1919, education has made considerable progress, but expansion is handicapped by a shortage of trained teaching personnel. In 1950, the Bahrain government supported 13 primary schools for boys —8 in the towns and 5 in the villages. Educational facilities were made available to girls in 1928, and at present 6 primary schools are in operation. Of the 5,770 pupils registered in government schools in 1950-51, slightly over 1,700 were girls. A few private schools are established in Manama, while Koranic schools are found in most towns and villages. The government also maintains a secondary school, a technical school and a school hostel for boys, and provides scholarships for qualified students for advanced study at the American University of Beirut and in Great Britain. In the recent census, the literacy rate in the indigenous population was estimated at 10 per cent.

### Vital Statistics

The registration of births and deaths is not compulsory in Bahrain, and no data for the calculation of vital statistics are obtainable. Local medical authorities agree that the mortality rates in infancy and early childhood are uniformly high. Observations made by the census enumerators in 1950 suggest that the infant mortality is particularly serious in the rural villages, in contrast with the towns, where living conditions have improved within recent years. The maternal mortality rates are correspondingly high.

The size of the population remained practically stationary in the rural districts in the 9-year interval between the first and the second census surveys. The rate of increase in areas outside the towns of Ma-

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6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Indian enactments relating to the administration of civil justice, and so on, are applied "as if Bahrein were a district in the Presidency of Bombay."

However, if the two parties accept "a question of local custom," they can be sent to the Majlis of Urf for consideration or report, and a dispute over accounts between pearling masters and divers may be sent to the Salefah Court for adjustment. Finally, Article 70 gives to the Political Resident the power of issuing regulations (called King's Regulations), having for their object "the peace, order, and good government of persons to whom this Order applies," and relating "to any native or local law or custom, whether relating to trade, commerce, revenue, or any other matter."

To summarize, any difficulty of a civil or criminal nature arising between a subject of Bahrein and a person to whom the Order applies, is regulated by a kind of collaboration between the Political Agent and the Sheik of Bahrein. The Political Agent, according to the nature of the case, can judge it himself with the help of the Sheik, or send it to a Joint Court, submit criminal cases to the Qazi, if the two parties are Moslem, refer civil cases to the Majlis of Urf, or submit cases relating to pearl fishing to a Salefah Tribunal.

The application of these measures provoked a local spirit of nationalism. Protests were organized in many places. The principal of Bahrein adopted the following resolutions and urged twelve of their number to try to enforce them by use of "all legal means".

1. Continuation, as before, of local government without intervention by the Political Agent;
2. Re-establishment of the laws based on religious principles (*Shar'*) and in conformity with their instructions;
3. Election of a representative chamber to insure the rights of the people;
4. Creation of a tribunal for pearl fishing (*Qaus*) composed of persons familiar with the problems relating to the industry;

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

668 5. Efforts to bring the Political Agent into conformity with the treaty between England and Bahrein, and to prevent his intervention in the internal affairs of the island.

The British considered the resolutions to be an act of rebellion against Sheik Hamad, and acted vigorously. Several people, among whom, Ali, nephew of the Sheik of Bahrein, and Ziani, the leader of the liberation party, were exiled to India, and coercive measures were taken against the others. The insurrection was put down, and the nationalist movement strangled. Since then, a number of the measures called for have been put into practice, but Bahrein, *de facto* if not *de jure,* has become a British Crown Colony.

648 Differences between Persia and England, regarding Persian sovereignty over Bahrein arose in the same year. The pretext was a clause in the Treaty of Jaddah signed May 20, 1927, between England and Ibn Saud, which read as follows: "Ibn Saud undertakes to maintain friendly and peaceful relations with—Bahrein, who is in special treaty relations with His Britannic Majesty's Government."

Persia, in a note addressed on November 22, 1927 to the British Minister at Teheran, affirmed her rights over Bahrein, declared that "the article is contrary to the territorial integrity of Persia," and asked that the British Government "promptly take necessary measures to relieve its implications."

In a note sent the following day to the General Secretary of the League of Nations, she invoked Article 10 of the Covenant, guaranteeing the territorial integrity of all member states. Persia asked the League to "guarantee her undisputed rights over Bahrein."

In a reply dated January 18, 1928, England tried to repudiate the Persian claim, and confirmed her own position, which was "to insure that the pacific development of the island and the prosperity of its Arab inhabitants are not troubled by unjustified advances coming from her neighbors and having in view the subordination of the inhabitants to foreign domination."

The British reply was followed by a new Persian note on

4. Unification of judicial systems and the formation of a High Council in which each Sheikdom should be represented;
5. A Chamber whose membership would be elective or nominative by each Sheik (or having both elective and nominative members) in charge of establishing financial laws and approving the laws proposed by the High Council. The Government of each Sheik must submit to the chamber, whose members would be responsible to their respective rulers.

In the meantime, a law of citizenship hostile to Persian elements was promulgated in Bahrein.

Persia once again addressed a note to the General Secretariat of the League of Nation, protesting the intervention of British advisers in the internal affairs of the islands. Persia condemned the laws as "contempt of the right of the sovereignty of Persia over the island."

The arbitrary measures adopted by the Political Resident in Bahrein provoked a new series of writings.

From the fifth to the seventh of November, 1938, the merchants of Manama closed their shops as a sign of protest against the Political Agent, Belgrave, who had arrested three Bahreini notables. The demonstrators advocated the formation of a native committee to direct education; the administration of justice by native Bahreinis; the creation of trade unions; formation of a Legislative Council; replacement of the British Political Agent; expulsion of unskilled foreign workers in the service of the oil companies and their replacement by subjects of Bahrein. The English declared martial law, and many persons were arrested and a few exiled. A group of these refugees, with the help of sympathizers, formed at Basra, in Iraq, in 1939, an "association to Help the Arab of the Gulf" for the purpose of propagandizing in favor of the Arabs oppressed by the British.

However, at the outbreak of the second World War, each of the Sheiks of the Gulf sent messages of fidelity to the British

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Among a small but vociferous section of the public there is a demand for a Code. This would be of great help to the Magistrates in the Court but as most of the cases which they hear are civil cases some sort of civil code is required even more than a criminal code. There is also criticism of the lack of legal qualifications of the magistrates, who are members of the Ruling Family. None of them have had legal training though some of them have had long experience of local court work. This is a relic of the days when the chief men of a tribe used to dispense justice to the members of the tribe. In the past the arrangement worked well enough but times have changed and the type of people who now appear in court are better educated, more sophisticated and more critical than they used to be.

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## POLICE AND PUBLIC SECURITY

(From the report of Shaikh Khalifah bin Mohamed AlKhalifah, Director of Police and Public Security)

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**Strength.** At the end of the year the strength of the Police and Natur forces was as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Superintendents .. .. .. .. | 3 |
| Inspectors .. .. .. .. | Nil |
| Sub-Inspectors .. .. .. .. | 3 |
| N.C.O's and Men .. .. .. .. | 299 |
| Followers, Clerks, Boatmen, etc. .. .. | 46 |
| Armed Naturs .. .. .. .. | 261 |

Three Police Inspectors were promoted to Superintendents and the post of the State Superintendent of Police was changed to Director of Police and Public Security.

During the year 53 recruits were enlisted, 30 men were granted their discharge, 2 were dismissed, 4 deserted and one died. The Naturs were increased by 7 men.

**Duties.** There was no change in the regular police duties which, as before, absorbed about half of the force. These duties included police posts, standing guards, police station personnel, traffic and jail duties and land and sea patrols. Musketry courses were fired by 271 N.C.O's and Men and by 4 Officers.

The camel section, which eventually became a picturesque but expensive survival, was done away with ; 11 camels were sold and one died and the men were posted to other sections. Patrol work previously done by the camel section can be carried out more economically and more efficiently by car patrols.

The health of the Police was good, the sick parade average was 5.7 per cent. against 6.2 per cent. in the previous year ; 44 men were in-patients at the Government Hospital as against 52 in 1371.

An N.C.O. with many years service in the force, Naik Juma Ali Taimoor, was run over by a car, when he was sitting outside a shop, and killed.

Earned leave was taken by 80 men of the State Police, most of them spent their leave in Bahrain ; 71 Naturs took earned leave.

Pay, rations and allowances were the same as in 1371.

**Stores.** Among the stores which were purchased during the year were blankets, boots, saddlery and spares for guns and rifles. Brass numerals to be worn by every N.C.O. and policeman were imported from the United Kingdom. In the past no numbers were worn.

5 Bahrain C-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# JUDICIAL

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The impartial administration of justice in the Bahrain courts is, in my opinion, the most difficult problem which is dealt with by the Government. The impartiality of magistrates and members of various courts is constantly liable to be affected by causes outside the court. Too often claims are not decided only on the merits of the case but partly by the amount of outside interest which the parties can bring to bear on members of the courts. The reason for such interference in cases is chiefly due to the fondness of the local inhabitants of Bahrain of concerning themselves in their neighbours' affairs: people who are not really affected by a case frequently involve themselves in it with the laudable desire to make a compromise, and if the case is already being heard, such action causes complications. When, as is often the case, the intercederes are the relations of the magistrates it is difficult for the magistrates to disregard outside pressure. Other matters which make the work of the courts difficult are the jealousy which the Shera courts feel towards the civil courts, the sectarial differences between the Sunnis and the Shias, and the fact that because Bahrain is such a small place—especially in the courts such as the Meglis Tajara, whose members are a number of local merchants—the parties in most of the cases are usually connected with one or more of the members of the court either by relationship or through commercial or other channels. Another practice which affects the administration of justice is the ingrained habit of the Arabs of Bahrain of visiting the Ruler themselves to complain about the judgments in his courts instead of making an appeal to him in the prescribed manner. Perhaps, however, it is not surprising that the people of Bahrain have not yet become legally minded, as regular Bahrain courts have only existed for a little more than ten years.

**Institution of Courts.**

The first regular Bahrain court to be instituted was the Joint Court, presided over by the Ruler and the Political Agent, to deal with cases brought by foreign subjects against Bahrain nationals. In 1926 the Bahrain Court was created to judge cases between Bahrain subjects. In the beginning it consisted of myself and Shaikh Mohammed bin Abdul Rahman, a somewhat obscure member of the Ruling Family. There was also a court known as the Meglis Urfi, which consisted of three or four local merchants. This court, in one form or another, had been in existence for many years, and in 1926 it acted in an advisory capacity in cases where questions of local practice or commercial custom were involved. The Shera courts consisted of the Sunni and the Shia Kadhis. The former, Shaikh Jasim, was over eighty years old and quite blind, and the latter, Shaikh Khalaf, was not much younger; both these Kadis were more influential than any of their predecessors have been. They had no regular courts or records, and heard cases in their houses or in mosques. Diving cases were decided by the Political Agent or by the Bahrain Court.

**The Bahrain Court.**

The Bahrain Court is the highest court of the Bahrain Government, from whose decisions appeal lies only to the Ruler himself. In the last ten years it has seen various changes. In 1926 (1344-45), owing to a family dispute, Shaikh Mohammed bin Abdul Rahman gave up court work and his place was taken by Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed, who sat on the court, intermittently, for about eight years. On several occasions he retired from the court for some months. During the summer of 1934 he sat alone on the court while I was absent on leave, and in the autumn of that year a certain faction of the Shia Baharna of Manamah organised a disturbance and made serious complaints about various different matters, including the administration of justice by the Bahrain Court. Shaikh Sulman again retired from the Court, and since then he has shown no inclination to return to it. In 1935 Shaikh Rashid bin Mohammed and Shaikh Abdulla bin Shaikh Hamed were appointed as magistrates on the Bahrain Court, both having sat for several years on other courts, and since then they have occupied this post, an arrangement which seems to be generally satisfactory. They deal with most of the cases themselves, but for the hearing of appeals from lower courts and certain important cases I join them in the court.

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The following different kinds of cases are tried by the Bahrain court; usually, about 1,400 cases are heard during the year.

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**1. Criminal Cases,** including capital offences, except cases of a trivial nature which are heard by the Small Court, are tried by the Bahrain Court. Death sentences are submitted to the Ruler for confirmation before promulgation.

**2. Civil Cases,** including estate cases, bankruptcy, inheritance, and divorce, are heard by the Bahrain Court, but the divorce and inheritance claims are passed on to the Shera Courts for judgment. Several very important cases have been settled by the Bahrain Court during the last ten years, including the Siadi case, in which the amount involved was over ten lacs.

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**3. Diving Cases.** These cases are frequently refetred to the Meglis Tajara, which has a special committee who are experts in diving law.

**4. Land Cases.** Land cases are very numerous and often very complicated, but in time they should decrease as by degrees more property is being registered in the Land Department, which reduces disputes. These cases include boundary disputes, water rights, Wakf claims, and rights of way. The local custom regarding the different divisions of water is in itself a complicated affair, and it has never been embodied in any regulation or code. All sales are registered after publication of proclamation calling on persons having a claim to the property to make it within a given time; but in addition to the proclamation, every sale or voluntary registration of ownership is submitted to the Bahrain Court after the proclamation has expired, and the court verifies, by hearing witnesses, the statement of the seller, with special regard to the interest of any women or minors. Although this may appear to be a cumbersome procedure, its value has been frequently proved by the court discovering that property of women or minors is being disposed of without the knowledge of the owners. Sales by foreigners, as well as by Bahrain subjects, pass through the Bahrain Court.

**5. Fish-Trap Cases.** These cases are numerous and are decided according to a local code governing the use of fish-traps. The rules of fish-trap ownership have not yet been recorded, but they are generally known to persons connected with this industry. The court usually appoints a committee to report on cases, but this practice, on the whole, is not satisfactory, as members of the committees are too susceptible to outside influence.

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**The Bahrain Small Court.** The court was instituted in 1927 (1346) to relieve the Bahrain Court of some of its work. In the beginning it dealt with civil cases in which the amount concerned was not more than Rs 100/-, but in 1935 its powers were extended and it now gives judgment in cases up to Rs 400/- and also hears minor criminal cases, but not diving cases. When the court was first started it was presided over by the Assistant Adviser, Captain Parke, and the Amir of Muharraq, Shaikh Mohammed bin Jabr.

**Shera Court, Sunni.** In 1926 it became evident that the Sunni Kadi, Shaikh Jasim, was no longer capable of carrying out his duties on account of his age and blindness. It was found that dishonest persons were able to obtain his seal and used it for their own purposes. The Government appointed three Sunni Alims, Shaikh Abdul Latif bin Mohammed Al-Saad of Manamah, Shaikh Abdul Latif bin Ali Al-Joudar of Muharraq, and Shaikh Abdul Latif bin Mahmood of Hedd as Kadis, and from that time they have sat together in the Sunni Shera Court. It was found that three Kadis on one bench was more satisfactory than a single Kadi. Their work, on the whole, has been satisfactory, but the public complain, with justification, of the slowness of the court. Simple cases are often before the court for over a year before a judgment is delivered, and the court usually has between two and three hundred pending cases on hand.

**Shera Court, Shia.** There have been many changes in the Shia Court during the last ten years. In 1926, Shaikh Khalaf was the only Shia Kadi. He had been Kadi for many years, although he had twice been dismissed for irregular practices, but each time, after an interval, he returned to power. His influence was very great; he was regarded as almost divine. In 1926, charges of accepting bribes and misappropriation were brought against him and proved in the court. He was finally dismissed and ordered to leave Bahrain. He retired to Iraq for some years, but eventually returned to Bahrain, where he is now living.

them local merchants and many of them members of the two municipal councils, found it impossible to give up a whole morning every week to this voluntary work, but now that they only sit once every fortnight their attendance is more regular. 671 692

The Mejlis Tajara deals with cases both from Bahrain courts and from the Agency courts. It relieves the other courts of much work and is frequently successful in effecting compromises between parties, which saves time and trouble. In its present form the Mejlis Tajara is a satisfactory institution. 693

**Small Mixed Court.** This court was started in 1928 and deals with civil cases up to Rs 400/-. The Bahrain magistrate, a junior member of the Ruling Family, sits with a representative of the Political Agent, usually the Indian Assistant. This court has been a useful training ground for some of the younger shaikhs who, after working in it for some years, have been promoted to more responsible positions.

**Laws and Codes.** At present, except in the Shera courts, which decide cases according to Islamic law, none of the Bahrain courts follow any regular law or code. In important criminal cases the Bahrain Court is guided by the Sudan Penal Code, which is almost identical to the Indian Penal Code, but in minor criminal cases it gives sentences which it considers suitable and compatible with local opinions and conditions. Frequently these punishments differ very greatly to those which would be inflicted on foreigners found guilty of exactly the same offences who are tried and sentenced according to the Indian Penal Code. As an example of this, it is the practice of the Bahrain Court to sentence any person who contravenes the Bahrain liquor regulation, for instance, by being in possession of liquor, to undergo eight months' hard labour in the case of a first offence. 671

Civil cases are judged according to local custom and practice and, in cases which are applicable, especially in land disputes and diving cases, according to the various Government proclamations which are issued from time to time. Unfortunately, these proclamations have never been coded and not all the public are conversant with them.

Until about two years ago the practice of the courts of dealing with cases without a regular code was not objected to by the public, but during the agitation raised by a small faction of the Manamah Shias in 1935 a demand was made for a code of laws to be adapted by the Bahrain courts. A committee was appointed by the Government consisting of Shaikh Abdulla bin Shaikh Hamad and two Arabs and two Baharna, assisted by the clerk of the courts. It was intended that they should first codify all the existing proclamations, but it soon became apparent that the proclamations themselves, with the exception of the Diving Laws and a few other detailed regulations such as land registration rules, etc., were inadequate even to form a basis of a simple code for the courts. The committee have been meeting once a week for over a year and they have accomplished much valuable work, but it will probably take them another year to complete their task. The code which they are drafting refers only to civil matters such as rules regarding fishing rights, court rules, etc., etc., and it is not proposed that they should compose a criminal code. If a criminal code is necessary, and in my opinion it is not, it would save time and trouble if the Sudan Penal Code was altered to suit local conditions and then adapted. It has the advantage of being available in Arabic.

**Police Regulations.** The Bahrain police are not subject to or instructed in any regular form of regulations. As 90% of them are illiterate, it would be difficult to make them conversant with such regulations as the Indian Code of Criminal Procedure, but the police deal with an ever-increasing number of cases in which foreigners, including Europeans, Americans, and Indians, are involved. Only one of the N.C.O.'s has any knowledge of Indian rules and regulations affecting police cases and prosecutions, and as the courts in which foreigners are normally charged with criminal offences are governed by the Indian regulations, the position of the police is liable to become increasingly difficult. The Bahrain courts do not allow any foreigners to appear before the courts as pleaders or Wakils, but if in the future any professional Indian pleaders should appear in cases connected with the Bahrain police, he would probably be able to pick holes in the method of presenting cases. 671 693 695

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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The Government then appointed Seyed Adhnan of Jedhafs as Shia Kadi. He was a progressive young man of a well-known family, with more education than most of the Shia Alims. He was interested in education and had travelled abroad. Through his influence the Government was able to start the Shia Wakf Department, and he himself compiled a list of the Wakf property in Bahrain. Unfortunately he died suddenly in 1928.

For some months no successor was appointed, but finally the Government chose Shaikh Ali bin Hassan al-Mousa and Shaikh Abdulla bin Mohammed Saleh; the former was appointed Kadi for the villages and the latter as Kadi of Manamah. Shaikh Ali bin Hassan still retains his position and is one of the three Shia Kadis who are now officiating.

Shaikh Abdulla acted as Kadi until 1935, when he was dismissed from his post in disgrace, having been prosecuted on a charge of criminal misappropriation. While he occupied the post of Kadi he was helpful and intelligent, but he became a rich man during the period of his office by stealing the property of orphans and minors.

After the dismissal of Shaikh Abdulla, Shaikh Ali bin Hassan was transferred to Manamah and two more Kadis were appointed, Shaikh Ali bin Jaffar and Shaikh Baqer al-Asfur. This arrangement is not very satisfactory as the three Kadis are all on bad terms with each other and the local political parties among the Baharna continually stir up trouble and play off the Kadis against each other in order to further their personal interests.

It is not surprising that the prestige and influence of the Shia Kadis has declined to a remarkable extent during the last ten years. The Kadis in the past, whatever their faults, had a tremendous influence over the Shia community; now this influence only exists over a few of the country people. The decline of influence is due partly to the change in the mental outlook of the young men in Manamah, but the main cause is the dishonest and unsuitable behaviour of certain of the Kadis.

These conditions will continue until men can be appointed as Kadis who are properly educated and versed in Shera law and legal procedure. The present Kadis, both Shia and Sunni, possess less general education than the present generation of young Arabs, and even their knowledge of the Shera law is, in the case of some of them, very slight. The only way to improve the status and reputation of the Shera Courts is for the Government to arrange for the education abroad of some suitable young men who will eventually become Kadis. The Government is at present trying to arrange for the education of the son of Seyd Adnan with this end in view.

**The Mejlis Tajara and Diving Court.** The Mejlis Tajara is probably the oldest judicial institution in Bahrain, excepting the Shera Courts. Originally it was known as the Mejlis al Urfi, and consisted of two or three local merchants who dealt with commercial cases. At that time it was not connected with the Salafeh al Ghoos, or Diving Court, which was a notorious institution consisting of one or two old pearl merchants whose judgments were invariably in favour of the merchants and Nakhudas and against the divers. This diving court was abolished at the time of the reforms, and for some years it ceased to exist. About ten years ago the Mejlis al Urfi was put on a different footing, and a shaikh of the Ruling Family was appointed as President of the Mejlis. Previously there had been no president. A year or two later further changes were made; the number of members was increased from eleven to twenty-two, divided into two committees, of which one committee sits once every fortnight. At the request of members, the Mejlis became known as the Mejlis Tajara, and on each of the two councils two or three members were appointed who belonged to the diving industry and were capable of dealing with diving cases. Thus the old diving court was amalgamated into the Mejlis Tajara. Another innovation at this time was the introduction of foreign members on the committee which had previously consisted exclusively of Bahrain subjects. Shaikh Rashid bin Mohammed al Khalifah was for many years President of the court until about a year ago, when he was appointed to the Bahrain Court and his place was taken by Shaikh Mohammed, the eldest son of Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa. The court is governed by regular rules, the President has the casting vote in cases of a divided opinion, and occasionally in important cases all the twenty-two members appear together. The increase in the members was made to ensure more regular attendance. The members, all of

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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**Judicial Legislation.** From time to time the Bahrain Government has issued proclamations which have become regulations guiding the actions of the Bahrain courts. Some of these orders, such as the following, are of considerable importance.

**Diving Regulations.** Several different proclamations on this subject have been issued embodying the various changes and conditions which resulted from the diving reforms.

**Wakils.** A proclamation was issued laying down the conditions under which Wakils should be permitted to appear in courts and specifying their rate of fees. This became necessary after criminal charges had been proved against certain Wakils who had cheated their clients.

**Mortgages.** An important proclamation was issued to the effect that no property could be mortgaged unless it had previously been registered on a Government title deed.

**Appeals.** A regular system of filing appeals from the various Bahrain courts was issued by proclamation.

**Statute of Limitation.** The period was fixed at ten years, and the same period for acquisition of land by squatters' rights.

**Liability of Government Servants.** Liability of Government servants was defined in a proclamation forbidding the public to make loans to Government servants while employed by the Government except at their own risk.

## PUBLIC WORKS

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The Bahrain Government has never had an independent Public Works Department. All buildings, roads, causeways, etc., etc., have been constructed under the supervision of Khan Saheb Mohomed Khalil, the Superintendent of the Land and Survey Department, which has combined the functions of Land Department and Public Works Department. This, in the past, has been a satisfactory and economical arrangement, but in the future, owing to probable expansion, it is proposed to separate the two departments and to start a regular Public Works Department. The Bahrain Government has, during the last ten years, carried out some large and important public works, including the Manamah-Muharraq causeway and the Naval base at Jufair, and the plain, dignified style of the buildings constructed by the Government has greatly improved the appearance of the town of Manamah.

The first important public works were the Palace, the Government offices, and the Manamah sea road. These works were completed during 1925-26 and were undertaken by an Indian contractor. The construction of the sea road was satisfactory, but time has shown that the palace and the Government offices were badly built. Large sums of money have had to be spent on repairing and propping up the Palace, owing to its inadequate foundations, and various defects in the Government offices became apparent after a few years. After this experiment, all building, with the exception of some unimportant work in the villages, has been done by the Government directly. Local building contractors do not exist, and the experiment of employing a foreign contractor proved a failure.

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**Roads.** Since the Bahrain Petroleum Company commenced its operations in Bahrain the Government has been saved much money and labour as the Company maintains and builds roads in all parts of the concession area as well as keeping up the main road from Manamah to Rafaa, which is the most important road in Bahrain and which formerly cost the Government a considerable sum every year. The Government now confines its road work to areas in which the Company is not interested. The most important recent work is the new road from Jedhafs to Budeya which, instead of making a long detour round the coast, goes straight across country, so that Budeya can now be reached from Manamah in about twenty minutes. This will make it more easy to develop Budeya, where a school is being built. A police post was established last year, and the Government has recently purchased a large derelict garden, which is now irrigated from an artesian well, and is being put under cultivation.

## TRAFFIC BRANCH

(Report by Superintendent J. Hyde, Officer-in-charge of the Traffic Section)

363 **Vehicles.** During the year 1372 there was a 32.8 per cent. increase over the previous year
164 in the registration of motor vehicles, bringing the total to 2,822, at the end of the year.

682 **Accidents.** There was an increase in road accidents. The total for the year was 142,
672 27.9 per cent. more than in 1371. Unfortunately, there were ten fatalities as compared with four for the previous year, the highest since 1364. The number of persons seriously injured was 29, an increase of 20.

Thirty-nine pedestrians were involved, three more than in the previous year. Of these, 12 were children of 15 years or under. There were three fatalities with children, including a girl aged 3 years. The only other female casualty was a child aged 6 years, who was injured.

One hundred and fifteen of the total accidents occurred during the day, the remainder, 27, were during the hours of darkness.

Of the fatal accidents, three occurred on the Awal Road, one at night. One near Manama Bus Station, one behind the West Primary School, Manama, one near Ahmedi's Ice Factory, Manama, one near Muharraq Petrol Station (during darkness), one inside the R.A.F. Camp and one on the Sitra Causeway.

Eight cases were taken to Court. In three cases, the drivers were found not to blame.

One cases is still pending.

Five motor-cycles, 11 pedal cycles and six donkey carts were involved in accidents during the year.

Fifty-five cases were prosecuted in the Courts as a result of accidents. In ten cases the persons were acquitted.

363 **Traffic Offences.** One hundred and twenty-eight traffic offences were taken to the Courts.
681 The total fines amounted to Rs. 19,896/-. In four cases the offenders were sentenced to terms of imprisonment.

Thirty-two driving licences were suspended for various traffic offences.

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## PUBLIC SERVICE VEHICLES

494 **Taxi Cabs and Buses.** There was a considerable increase in the number of these vehicles, especially taxi cabs.

It becomes more difficult each year to provide stands for taxi cabs, and it will soon be necessary to restrict their number.

Arrangements are in hand to fit all taxi cabs with fare meters.

**Driving Tests.** One thousand three hundred and fifty-four driving tests were carried out during the year. Five hundred and twenty-three passed the required standard.

1 [A.D. 1952-1953 -- Analyst]

At the end of the year the amount in the Police Provident Fund was Rs. 2,11,507. The balance of the Police Fund was Rs. 11,563/-, the sum of Rs. 5,744/- was paid out in loans to Police and Naturs, most of the payments being for building or repairing houses.

**Crimes and Accidents.** There was a slight increase in the number of serious crimes which is thought to be partly due to the large influx of foreigners, especially Omanis, during recent years.

On 25th January, 1953, some Omanis who were living in the brothel area, missed one of their party, Abdulla bin Salim. They went to his house which was found to be locked. One of them climbed over the wall and on entering the house he found Abdulla with his throat cut. The victim was a bad character, a procurer in the brothel area. Police investigations produced no evidence to justify a prosecution.

On 13th December, 1952, a youth named Abdul Husain bin Isa, who worked as a car cleaner and who habitually slept in a garage in Manama, was found by the owner of the garage, when he came to take out his car, lying dead on his bed with a wound in his back and signs of having been throttled. The garage doors were locked, one key was in the possession of the youth and the owner of the garage had another key. The garage, however, could have been entered by an inner door. There appeared to be no motive for the murder as the victim was not of the type to be associated with an affair of sex. The Police arrested the owner of the garage and his brother and laid a charge of murder against them in the Bahrain Court. The family of the murdered man were insistent that he had been murdered by the owners of tne garage. The case was heard and the accused were acquitted owing to lack of evidence.

On 17th May, 1953, one Abdul Husain bin Haji Sulman bin Khalaf, a local Bahraini, was walking in a lane near his house, at night. His brother, Ibrahim, came on him from behind and stabbed him twice with a knife. He was seriously injured but after hospital treatment he recovered. The reason for the attack was a family quarrel. The attacker was sentenced to four years imprisonment with hard labour.

On 7th November, 1952, two men were cleaning their hands with petrol at one of the garages in Manama. Another man lit a match which ignited the petrol causing serious burns to both of the men one of whom subsequently died in hospital.

An Omani came from Dubai and reported to the Police that two years before his son, aged 18, who was working in a garage in Bahrain, died from burns. It was established that the boy had died in hospital as a result of burns but no evidence was forthcoming about the cause of the burns.

A man who was arrested for pickpocketing attempted to commit suicide by cutting his throat with a razor blade, in the Police Station.

There were two deaths from electrocution. A boy of 12 years caught hold of an electric wire in a shop and was killed, and a man climbed an electric standard, in order to catch birds, touched a live wire and was killed immediately.

Five cases of accidental drowning occurred, two men were lost when their small fishing craft capsized, an old man, reputed to be nearly 100 years old, fell into the sea from a fishing boat during stormy weather off Barbar and two children were drowned on the shore west of Manama town. In none of these cases was there any suggestion of foul play.

On 23rd August, 1953, some boys were out shooting on the shore near Jasrah. A shot from the gun of Mohamed Ahmed Al Ghatam entered the neck of one Ibrahim bin Mohamed Al Khalifah and killed him. The owner of the gun immediately left Bahrain. His father was ordered to pay Rs. 5000 to the relatives of the victim and to remove himself from Jasrah and an order was passed against the son forbidding him to return to Bahrain for an indefinite period. The families were related and were branches of the Ruling Family.

There were 280 cases of theft reported to the Police against 303 cases in 1371. Of these cases 55 were presented in Court, 133 cases were undetected and 92 cases were not proceeded with for lack of evidence. Most of the cases were pickpocketing and thefts of clothes.

674 The following were some of the more serious cases of theft ; clothing and money were stolen from people staying in a local hotel in the bazaar, money was stolen from a house in Rafaa and a radio and carpet was stolen from the house of a member of the American Mission. In all these cases the thieves were caught and the stolen property was recovered. In 11 other cases thefts of money, jewellery, wearing apparel, etc., were reported to the Police. In some instances persons were prosecuted for theft, but acquitted and in other cases no evidence was obtained.

Five Pakistanis were prosecuted for "bilking" shop keepers.

674 273 Fewer persons than in the previous year were convicted for contravention of liquor and drug regulations, this does not, however, indicate any decrease in the habit of drinking which among certain classes is becoming almost universal. Altogether 24 persons were prosecuted for distilling, selling and being in possession of liquor and for dealing in hashish and opium.

548 276 In one case a Palestinian was found to be in possession of 15 lbs. of opium. There is every reason to believe that an active trade in opium is carried on through Bahrain to the West. It is brought to Bahrain from Persia and India via the Trucial Coast and then conveyed on to ships in the harbour which carry it to Europe or the United States.

731 **Fires.** There were a number of serious fires during the year in which many people lost their barasti houses and their possessions. Most of the fires were caused by pressure stoves or lamps which ignited Saaf (palm branch) houses. There were no cases of arson.

The most serious fire was in the Telegraph area where 75 houses were completely destroyed together with their contents. A very strong wind fanned the fire which was only prevented from spreading over another area of barasti houses by wide roads on three sides of the site. This was one of the worst fires known in Bahrain. It appears to have been caused by an old blind man who knocked over a fire or a lamp in his house which lit the palm branch walls of the building. No lives were lost. In the village of Mahooz 55 houses were destroyed in one fire a few of these houses had mud and stone walls and matting roofs. In other fires, some of them in Manama and some in the villages, 17, 12, 15 and 14 houses were destroyed. In none of these fires was there any loss of life. In a fire in a launch, anchored off Manama, one man lost his life. More supplies of fire fighting equipment, hose pipe, etc., etc., which had been ordered in England were part of the cargo of a Strick Line ship which caught fire near Sitra and which burned for several days.

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**AGENCY COURT**

**RESULT OF PROSECUTIONS IN 1372**

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| No. | Nature of Offences. | No. of Cases. | No. of persons accused. | No. of persons convicted. | No. of persons acquitted. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Causing Death by Rash or Negligent Act | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 2 | Theft | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 3 | Cheating | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 4 | Criminal breach of trust | 2 | 2 | 2 | — | |
| 5 | Use of criminal force and assault | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | |
| 6 | Liquor drinking and possession of | 6 | 7 | 6 | 1 | |
| 7 | Charas and Opium | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | |
| 8 | Affray | 1 | 3 | 3 | — | |
| | | 14 | 18 | 15 | 3 | |

**NATIONALITIES :**

| | |
|---|---|
| British | 1 person |
| Indian | 3 persons |
| Pakistan | 2 ,, |
| Palestine | 1 ,, |
| Transjordan | 1 person |
| Iran | 10 persons |
| | 18 |

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## THE BAHRAIN COURT

### RESULTS OF PROSECUTIONS IN 1372

| No. | Nature of Offence | No. of Cases. | No. of accused. | No. of convictions. | No. of persons acquitted. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Murder | 1 | 2 | — | 2 | |
| 2 | Attempted Murder | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 3 | Attempted Suicide | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 4 | Culpable Homicide | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 5 | Causing death by rash or negligent act | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | |
| 6 | Theft | 50 | 76 | 53 | 23 | |
| 7 | Attempted Theft | 8 | 8 | 6 | 2 | |
| 8 | Forgery | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | |
| 9 | Receiving Stolen Property | 3 | 4 | 2 | 2 | |
| 10 | Cheating | 6 | 7 | 6 | 1 | |
| 11 | Criminal Breach of Trust | 11 | 16 | 6 | 10 | |
| 12 | Use of Criminal Force and Assault | 104 | 170 | 124 | 46 | |
| 13 | Misappropriation | 11 | 15 | 9 | 6 | |
| 14 | Un-natural Offence | 11 | 11 | 9 | 2 | |
| 15 | Adultery | 13 | 15 | 7 | 8 | |
| 16 | Public Nuisance | 38 | 62 | 52 | 10 | |
| 17 | Distilling Liquor | 2 | 3 | 3 | — | |
| 18 | Liquor Drinking and Possession of | 6 | 6 | 5 | 1 | |
| 19 | Charas and Opium | 4 | 4 | 4 | — | |
| 20 | Gambling | 7 | 24 | 22 | 2 | |
| 21 | Profiteering | 4 | 5 | 2 | 3 | |
| 22 | Affray | 9 | 17 | 11 | 6 | |
| 23 | Obstructing Public Servant | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 24 | Assault of Police | 5 | 5 | 5 | — | |
| 25 | Mischief by fire | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| 26 | Mischief by cattle | 2 | 2 | 2 | — | |
| 27 | Offences affecting decency and morals | 3 | 13 | 7 | 6 | |
| 28 | Entering Bahrain without passport | 8 | 43 | 32 | 11 | |
| 29 | Begging | 2 | 2 | 2 | — | |
| | | 317 | 521 | 376 | 145 | |

### NATIONALITIES :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bahrain | 354 | persons |
| Iran | 7 | ,, |
| Trucial Coast | 108 | ,, |
| Muscat | 22 | ,, |
| Saudi Arabia | 19 | ,, |
| Kuwait | 4 | ,, |
| Qatar | 6 | ,, |
| Yemen | 1 | ,, |
| | 521 | |

The number of applications for driving licences increase each year. At present no less than fifty tests are taken each week. 494

**Non-Traffic Offences.** Sixteen persons were prosecuted in both Courts for non-traffic offences. These included four liquor offences, one of being in possession of hashish, and two cases of criminal Breach of Trust, etc. 674

Prison sentences and fines amounting to Rs. 2,525/- were imposed. The total fines in both Courts for all types of offences amounted to Rs. 22,421/-.

**Traffic Section Strength.** The Traffic Section Strength is one British Superintendent, three Arab Sub-Inspectors (the one temporarily attached), three N.C.O's and 41 men. 494

Superintendent Hyde was absent on U.K. leave from 10th June, 1953, till 2nd September, 1953.

Six traffic posts are maintained during daylight at Manama and Muharraq.

**Transport.** One Land Rover, seven motor cycles and two pedal cycles are allotted to the Traffic Department.

**Traffic Department Revenue.** Cash receipts for the year amounted to Rs. 125,928/1/-.

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**REGISTRATION RETURN—1372** 493

| | 1371 | 1372 |
|---|---|---|
| TOTAL NUMBER OF VEHICLES IN BAHRAIN .. | 2,124 | 2,822 |
| New vehicles registered during year .. .. .. | 421 | 778 |
| Private motor cars .. .. .. .. .. | 941 | 1231 |
| Taxi Cars .. .. .. .. .. | 145 | 212 |
| Private Buses .. .. .. .. .. | 77 | 78 |
| Taxi Buses .. .. .. .. .. | 82 | 100 |
| Private Lorries .. .. .. .. .. | 293 | 390 |
| Taxi Lorries .. .. .. .. .. | 120 | 205 |
| Pick-ups .. .. .. .. .. | 204 | 274 |
| Other Vehicles (Cranes, Tractors, Road Rollers, etc.) .. | 103 | 144 |
| Motor Cycles .. .. .. .. .. | 159 | 188 |
| Vehicles notified as "EXPORTED" .. .. .. | 106 | 63 |
| Vehicles notified as "IMPORTED" .. .. .. | 119 | 292 |
| Vehicles scrapped (by Police or by owners) .. .. | 112 | 17 |
| Pedal Cycles in Bahrain ((Registered) .. .. .. | 4,690 | 5,278 |

**DRIVING LICENCES AND TESTS** 494

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of Driving Licences issued during year .. .. .. .. | 738 |
| Number of Driving Tests during year .. .. .. .. .. | 1,354 |
| Number of Successful Applicants .. .. .. .. .. | 523 |
| Number of Failures .. .. .. .. .. .. | 831 |
| Number of Driving Licences issued on Production of Foreign Licence .. | 215 |

701 625 suit them, they spoke no Arabic, and were regarded by the people of Bahrain as expensive foreign mercenaries; they were useless at ordinary police work, and the Indian Officers and N.C.O.'s caused constant trouble by incessant quarrels and intrigues. The Indians were enlisted for four years, but before this period had expired I began to enlist a force of local men as police, a project which I always strongly advocated. It was from this time that the present force was started, but the final transition was not completed until the end of 1932.

574 362 684 **Crime and Prostitution.** The number of serious crimes which are committed every year in Bahrain is small in comparison to the population, which is thought to be about 150,000. Usually about one or two cases of murder are dealt with by the police during the year, but it is possible that occasional murders take place which are not detected, especially murders of women and newly born children. Although in recent years Bahrain has progressed in many ways, there are still a number of Arabs living in Hedd and Muharraq who consider that they are justified in murdering their female relations if the women bring shame on the family. A few of the very old-fashioned Arabs even consider that because the Government does not ignore such murders it is encouraging immorality. The Kadis, however, although ultra conservative in their outlook, disapprove of men taking the law into their own hands and murdering women who misbehave. In some Arab countries the fear of punishment by death for immorality has a very salutary effect, but Bahrain, although described as an Arab state, has very little in common [162] with real Arab countries. The Baharna, who form about three quarters of the population, are not true Arabs, and the rest of the population includes all the nationalities who live around the Gulf. The only real Arabs in Bahrain are the Khalifah and a few families who came over with them from the mainland and a small number of members of mainland tribes who live almost entirely in Hedd, Muharraq, Budeya, and two or three small villages on the south coast.

[548] Immorality is undoubtedly increasing, but the increase in prostitution is not due to the Government but is a matter of supply and demand. During the last two years numbers of foreigners [164] earning good pay have come to Bahrain, usually without their families, from Persia, Iraq, and India, and this has undoubtedly caused an increase in prostitution. Venereal disease is rampant, and the proportion of persons suffering from it, especially in ophthalmic forms, is very high. The medical supervision of prostitutes would undoubtedly result in an improvement in the public health. This suggestion was discussed and approved by the Manamah Municipal Council some years ago, but it has not yet been possible to arrange the medical organisation to cope with this matter.

● 674 681 Most of the criminal cases which are dealt with by the police are cases of theft, assault, and immorality. Several important gangs of thieves have been rounded up during the last ten years. Some of these gangs were well provided with arms and had regular methods of disposing of stolen property in Bahrain or on the mainland. Foreigners, especially Hassawis, form the majority of the criminals. There are a number of inveterate thieves who spend the greater part of their lives in prison. Such persons, on the mainland, would be punished by cutting off of their hands and finally by decapitation. The punishments inflicted by the Bahrain courts are whippings, fines, and imprisonment, but imprisonment to many of these people is no hardship: the work is not hard, they are given better food than they would obtain themselves, and the only real punishment is being deprived of women.

273 276 **Drugs and Liquor.** Liquor and drugs, such as opium, are forbidden in Bahrain, but in spite of the severe penalties which are enforced by the Bahrain courts against persons contravening the liquor regulations, the habit of drinking liquor and smoking opium is, in my opinion, steadily increasing. Ten years ago very few people drank liquor, and the smoking of opium was entirely confined to foreigners, Persians, Indians, and Baluchis. To-day many of the younger Arabs have acquired a liking for spirits, partly because they have had opportunities for drinking while travelling abroad, and frequent cases have occurred in which Arabs have been found to be taking opium.

276 439 Opium is smuggled into Bahrain from Persia, usually in native crafts, but sometimes hidden in merchandise on the mail steamers. It varies in quality, most frequently it is in large lumps weighing four or five pounds, but sometimes it is in paper-covered sticks sealed up in bundles. It is very

## JUDICIAL

(From the report of Mr. Salim Al Arayedh, Superintendent, Judicial Department)

The number of cases of all kinds which were filed in the Senior Court, consisting of Shaikh Daij bin Hamed and Shaikh Ali bin Ahmed, sitting separately except on one day of the week when both sit together with the Adviser, was 1158. This was 258 more than in the previous year. The cases consisted of 451 civil suits of which 15 related to administration of estates, 430 criminal charges, including a number of trivial matters which would not usually be dealt with by a senior court, and 227 land registration cases. The increase over the previous year was mainly due to the court having acquired jurisdiction over nationals of other Gulf States. Of these cases 167 were civil suits. 691

In all the courts civil suits predominate and a high proportion of them are concerned with immovable property. The high value of land, especially in the towns, has made the public more conscious of the importance of boundaries and the worth of property. There has been much litigation over inheritance and shares in houses and gardens. Heirs in estates who in the past were content to live together in one building now apply to the courts for an order to divide the property so that they may sell their shares in it. Because such high prices can be obtained for land anybody who can claim even a small share in a building or a garden takes his case to the courts. 691 423 428

It has been noticed in the Appeal Court too that questions of land ownership and boundaries have predominated.

There were no important civil cases and, apart from traffic offences, no serious crimes. A man stabbed his brother during a quarrel, inflicting "grievous hurt" for which he was sentenced to four years rigorous imprisonment and in two fatal traffic accidents drivers of vehicles were sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment and to pay fines of Rs. 5,000/-. In certain traffic offences the occupants of cars ran away which suggests that they were probably under the influence of liquor when the accidents occurred. 681 697

Fines amounting to Rs. 7,623/- were paid into court and the sum collected in court fees was Rs. 43,599.

In the small courts 1,964 new cases were filed, 1,668 cases were disposed of and at the end of the year 692 cases were pending. The courts issued 506 execution orders leaving 155 to be dealt with at the end of the year. 691

The Sunni and Shia Courts heard 269 and 172 cases respectively leaving 119 and 51 cases pending. Out of 129 cases which were referred to the Majlis Tajara for an opinion 94 cases were returned to the courts and 35 cases were pending.

The Sunni Shera Court did not work smoothly during the year owing to differences of opinion among the three Kadis, two of them being of the Maliki and one of the Shafi Sect. At one time all cases were judged according to the Maliki tenets, this being the sect of the Ruling Family, but some years ago the Government issued a direction to the court according to which if the plaintiff, or both parties, followed the Shafi doctrine then their case should be tried according to Shafi law. 692 693

There has also been criticism of the Maglis Tajara which consists of a group of leading merchants appointed by the Government who give opinions on commercial matters and local custom. They are busy men and they receive no pay and when it is inconvenient for them to attend the court, and it is frequently inconvenient, they do not appear. Often less than half of the number are present. In addition, they are closely connected either as competitors or partners and it is sometimes difficult for them to give impartial opinion.

The Shia Appeal Kadi gave judgment in 18 cases, the Senior Appeal Court heard 27 cases and the Junior Appeal Court dealt with 28 cases.

At the end of the year the amount in the Police Provident Fund was Rs. 2,11,507. The balance of the Police Fund was Rs. 11,563/-, the sum of Rs. 5,744/- was paid out in loans to Police and Naturs, most of the payments being for building or repairing houses.

**Crimes and Accidents.** There was a slight increase in the number of serious crimes which is thought to be partly due to the large influx of foreigners, especially Omanis, during recent years.

On 25th January, 1953, some Omanis who were living in the brothel area, missed one of their party, Abdulla bin Salim. They went to his house which was found to be locked. One of them climbed over the wall and on entering the house he found Abdulla with his throat cut. The victim was a bad character, a procurer in the brothel area. Police investigations produced no evidence to justify a prosecution.

On 13th December, 1952, a youth named Abdul Husain bin Isa, who worked as a car cleaner and who habitually slept in a garage in Manama, was found by the owner of the garage, when he came to take out his car, lying dead on his bed with a wound in his back and signs of having been throttled. The garage doors were locked, one key was in the possession of the youth and the owner of the garage had another key. The garage, however, could have been entered by an inner door. There appeared to be no motive for the murder as the victim was not of the type to be associated with an affair of sex. The Police arrested the owner of the garage and his brother and laid a charge of murder against them in the Bahrain Court. The family of the murdered man were insistent that he had been murdered by the owners of the garage. The case was heard and the accused were acquitted owing to lack of evidence.

On 17th May, 1953, one Abdul Husain bin Haji Sulman bin Khalaf, a local Bahraini, was walking in a lane near his house, at night. His brother, Ibrahim, came on him from behind and stabbed him twice with a knife. He was seriously injured but after hospital treatment he recovered. The reason for the attack was a family quarrel. The attacker was sentenced to four years imprisonment with hard labour.

On 7th November, 1952, two men were cleaning their hands with petrol at one of the garages in Manama. Another man lit a match which ignited the petrol causing serious burns to both of the men one of whom subsequently died in hospital.

An Omani came from Dubai and reported to the Police that two years before his son, aged 18, who was working in a garage in Bahrain, died from burns. It was established that the boy had died in hospital as a result of burns but no evidence was forthcoming about the cause of the burns.

A man who was arrested for pickpocketing attempted to commit suicide by cutting his throat with a razor blade, in the Police Station.

There were two deaths from electrocution. A boy of 12 years caught hold of an electric wire in a shop and was killed, and a man climbed an electric standard, in order to catch birds, touched a live wire and was killed immediately.

Five cases of accidental drowning occurred, two men were lost when their small fishing craft capsized, an old man, reputed to be nearly 100 years old, fell into the sea from a fishing boat during stormy weather off Barbar and two children were drowned on the shore west of Manama town. In none of these cases was there any suggestion of foul play.

On 23rd August, 1953, some boys were out shooting on the shore near Jasrah. A shot from the gun of Mohamed Ahmed Al Ghatam entered the neck of one Ibrahim bin Mohamed Al Khalifah and killed him. The owner of the gun immediately left Bahrain. His father was ordered to pay Rs. 5000 to the relatives of the victim and to remove himself from Jasrah and an order was passed against the son forbidding him to return to Bahrain for an indefinite period. The families were related and were branches of the Ruling Family.

There were 280 cases of theft reported to the Police against 303 cases in 1371. Of these cases 55 were presented in Court, 133 cases were undetected and 92 cases were not proceeded with for lack of evidence. Most of the cases were pickpocketing and thefts of clothes.

## TRAFFIC BRANCH

(Report by Superintendent J. Hyde, Officer-in-charge of the Traffic Section)

**Vehicles.** During the year 1372 there was a 32.8 per cent. increase over the previous year in the registration of motor vehicles, bringing the total to 2,822, at the end of the year.

**Accidents.** There was an increase in road accidents. The total for the year was 142, 27.9 per cent. more than in 1371. Unfortunately, there were ten fatalities as compared with four for the previous year, the highest since 1364. The number of persons seriously injured was 29, an increase of 20.

Thirty-nine pedestrians were involved, three more than in the previous year. Of these, 12 were children of 15 years or under. There were three fatalities with children, including a girl aged 3 years. The only other female casualty was a child aged 6 years, who was injured.

One hundred and fifteen of the total accidents occurred during the day, the remainder, 27, were during the hours of darkness.

Of the fatal accidents, three occurred on the Awal Road, one at night. One near Manama Bus Station, one behind the West Primary School, Manama, one near Ahmedi's Ice Factory, Manama, one near Muharraq Petrol Station (during darkness), one inside the R.A.F. Camp and one on the Sitra Causeway.

Eight cases were taken to Court. In three cases, the drivers were found not to blame.

One cases is still pending.

Five motor-cycles, 11 pedal cycles and six donkey carts were involved in accidents during the year.

Fifty-five cases were prosecuted in the Courts as a result of accidents. In ten cases the persons were acquitted.

**Traffic Offences.** One hundred and twenty-eight traffic offences were taken to the Courts. The total fines amounted to Rs. 19,896/-. In four cases the offenders were sentenced to terms of imprisonment.

Thirty-two driving licences were suspended for various traffic offences.

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## PUBLIC SERVICE VEHICLES

**Taxi Cabs and Buses.** There was a considerable increase in the number of these vehicles, especially taxi cabs.

It becomes more difficult each year to provide stands for taxi cabs, and it will soon be necessary to restrict their number.

Arrangements are in hand to fit all taxi cabs with fare meters.

**Driving Tests.** One thousand three hundred and fifty-four driving tests were carried out during the year. Five hundred and twenty-three passed the required standard.

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## ACCIDENTS RETURN 1372

Total Number of Accidents .. 142

| ACCIDENTS Involving Death or Injury to Persons | | | ACCIDENTS Involving Damage to Vehicles. | | ACCIDENTS Involving Damage to Property. | | ACCIDENTS Involving Injury to Animals. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 55 | | | 95 | | 8 | | 3 | |
| Number of Persons Injured. 79 | | | Number of Vehicles Damaged 143 | | Property Damaged. 8 | | Number of Animals Injured. 3 | |
| Slightly. 40 | Seriously. 29 | Fatally. 10 | Slightly. 107 | Seriously. 36 | Slightly. 5 | Seriously. 3 | Killed. 1 | Injured. 2 |

COURT PROCEEDINGS AS RESULT OF ACCIDENTS .. .. .. 55

| BAHRAIN COURT | | | | AGENCY COURT | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number Cases. | Number of Persons Accused. | Convictions. | Acquittals. | Number Cases. | Number of Persons Accused. | Convictions. | Acquittals. |
| 45 | 45 | 40 | 5 | 10 | 10 | 10 | Nil. |

The two animals shown above as "Injured" are : Two Donkeys.

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



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## TRAFFIC OFFENCES

| | *Number of Offenders.* | *Number of Charges.* | *Amount of Fines.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BAHRAIN COURT .. | 86 .. | 106 .. | Rs. 18,927 |
| AGENCY COURT .. | 18 .. | 22 .. | Rs. 969 |

## TERMS OF IMPRISONMENT

BAHRAIN COURT : In 11 Cases, 15 persons received terms of imprisonment.

| *Traffic Offences.* | *Non-Traffic Offences.* |
|---|---|
| 4 .. | 7 |

AGENCY COURT : In 4 Cases, 4 persons received terms of imprisonment.

| *Traffic Offences.* | *Non-Traffic Offences.* |
|---|---|
| Nil .. | 4 |

## CASH RETURNS OF FINES—1372

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BAHRAIN COURT : | Traffic Offences .. .. .. .. | Rs. 18,927 |
| | Non-Traffic Offences .. .. .. | Rs. 425 |
| AGENCY COURT : | Traffic Offences .. .. .. | Rs. 969 |
| | Non-Traffic Offences .. .. | Rs. 2,100 |
| | Total Fines .. .. .. | Rs. 22,421 |

## LICENCES REVOKED OR SUSPENDED

| | *Bahrain Subjects.* | *Foreign Subjects.* |
|---|---|---|
| DRIVING LICENCES : | | |
| Revoked .. .. .. | Nil .. | Nil |
| Suspended .. .. .. | 25 .. | 7 |
| TAXI DRIVING LICENCES : | | |
| Revoked .. .. .. | Nil .. | Nil |
| Suspended .. .. .. | Nil .. | Nil |

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## NON-TRAFFIC OFFENCES PROSECUTED 1372

### AGENCY COURT

| Number of Offenders | Nationality | Offences | Result |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | (1) Palistinian<br>(2) Transjordanian | Being in possession of Hashish | (1) Fined Rs. 600/- and 3 months R.I.<br>(2) Acquitted |
| 1 | Irani | Being under the influence of alcohol | Fined Rs. 500/- |
| 1 | Pakistani | Supplying Bahrain Subject with liquor | Rined Rs. 1000/- and 2 months R.I. |
| 1 | Indian | Criminal Breach of Trust | Fined Rs. 1000/- and 4 months S.I. |
| 1 | British | Criminal Breach of Trust | 3 months S.I. |

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2
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## NON-TRAFFIC OFFENCES PROSECUTED DURING 1372

### BAHRAIN COURT

| Number of Offencers | Nationality | Offences | Result |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Bahraini | Insulting Public Servant | Not to do any work on Manama Jetty for six months. |
| 1 | Bahraini | Being in possession of liquor | Six months R.I. |
| 2 | Bahrainis | Insulting Public Servant | Eight hours Detention each |
| 1 | Bahraini | Insulting Public Servant | Fined Rs. 25/- and 8 hours detention. |
| 1 | Bahraini | Insulting Public Servant | 15 days R.I. |
| 1 | Bahraini | Obstructing Public Servant | 24 hours detention |
| 1 | Bahraini | Being under the influence of alcohol | Four months R.I. |
| 2 | Bahrainis | (1) Causing grevious hurt<br>(2) Disobeying Curfew order | One month R.I. and fined Rs. 200/- each. |

701 625 suit them, they spoke no Arabic, and were regarded by the people of Bahrain as expensive foreign mercenaries; they were useless at ordinary police work, and the Indian Officers and N.C.O.'s caused constant trouble by incessant quarrels and intrigues. The Indians were enlisted for four years, but before this period had expired I began to enlist a force of local men as police, a project which I always strongly advocated. It was from this time that the present force was started, but the final transition was not completed until the end of 1932.

574 362 684 **Crime and Prostitution.** The number of serious crimes which are committed every year in Bahrain is small in comparison to the population, which is thought to be about 150,000. Usually about one or two cases of murder are dealt with by the police during the year, but it is possible that occasional murders take place which are not detected, especially murders of women and newly born children. Although in recent years Bahrain has progressed in many ways, there are still a number of Arabs living in Hedd and Muharraq who consider that they are justified in murdering their female relations if the women bring shame on the family. A few of the very old-fashioned Arabs even consider that because the Government does not ignore such murders it is encouraging immorality. The Kadis, however, although ultra conservative in their outlook, disapprove of men taking the law into their own hands and murdering women who misbehave. In some Arab countries the fear of punishment by death for immorality has a very salutary effect, but Bahrain, although described as an Arab state, has very little in common [162] with real Arab countries. The Baharna, who form about three quarters of the population, are not true Arabs, and the rest of the population includes all the nationalities who live around the Gulf. The only real Arabs in Bahrain are the Khalifah and a few families who came over with them from the mainland and a small number of members of mainland tribes who live almost entirely in Hedd, Muharraq, Budeya, and two or three small villages on the south coast.

[548] Immorality is undoubtedly increasing, but the increase in prostitution is not due to the Government but is a matter of supply and demand. During the last two years numbers of foreigners [164] earning good pay have come to Bahrain, usually without their families, from Persia, Iraq, and India, and this has undoubtedly caused an increase in prostitution. Venereal disease is rampant, and the proportion of persons suffering from it, especially in ophthalmic forms, is very high. The medical supervision of prostitutes would undoubtedly result in an improvement in the public health. This suggestion was discussed and approved by the Manamah Municipal Council some years ago, but it has not yet been possible to arrange the medical organisation to cope with this matter.

674 ● 681 Most of the criminal cases which are dealt with by the police are cases of theft, assault, and immorality. Several important gangs of thieves have been rounded up during the last ten years. Some of these gangs were well provided with arms and had regular methods of disposing of stolen property in Bahrain or on the mainland. Foreigners, especially Hassawis, form the majority of the criminals. There are a number of inveterate thieves who spend the greater part of their lives in prison. Such persons, on the mainland, would be punished by cutting off of their hands and finally by decapitation. The punishments inflicted by the Bahrain courts are whippings, fines, and imprisonment, but imprisonment to many of these people is no hardship: the work is not hard, they are given better food than they would obtain themselves, and the only real punishment is being deprived of women.

273 276 **Drugs and Liquor.** Liquor and drugs, such as opium, are forbidden in Bahrain, but in spite of the severe penalties which are enforced by the Bahrain courts against persons contravening the liquor regulations, the habit of drinking liquor and smoking opium is, in my opinion, steadily increasing. Ten years ago very few people drank liquor, and the smoking of opium was entirely confined to foreigners, Persians, Indians, and Baluchis. To-day many of the younger Arabs have acquired a liking for spirits, partly because they have had opportunities for drinking while travelling abroad, and frequent cases have occurred in which Arabs have been found to be taking opium.

276 439 Opium is smuggled into Bahrain from Persia, usually in native crafts, but sometimes hidden in merchandise on the mail steamers. It varies in quality, most frequently it is in large lumps weighing four or five pounds, but sometimes it is in paper-covered sticks sealed up in bundles. It is very

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**1. Criminal Cases,** including capital offences, except cases of a trivial nature which are heard by the Small Court, are tried by the Bahrain Court. Death sentences are submitted to the Ruler for confirmation before promulgation.

**2. Civil Cases,** including estate cases, bankruptcy, inheritance, and divorce, are heard by the Bahrain Court, but the divorce and inheritance claims are passed on to the Shera Courts for judgment. Several very important cases have been settled by the Bahrain Court during the last ten years, including the Siadi case, in which the amount involved was over ten lacs.

**3. Diving Cases.** These cases are frequently referred to the Meglis Tajara, which has a special committee who are experts in diving law.

**4. Land Cases.** Land cases are very numerous and often very complicated, but in time they should decrease as by degrees more property is being registered in the Land Department, which reduces disputes. These cases include boundary disputes, water rights, Wakf claims, and rights of way. The local custom regarding the different divisions of water is in itself a complicated affair, and it has never been embodied in any regulation or code. All sales are registered after publication of proclamation calling on persons having a claim to the property to make it within a given time; but in addition to the proclamation, every sale or voluntary registration of ownership is submitted to the Bahrain Court after the proclamation has expired, and the court verifies, by hearing witnesses, the statement of the seller, with special regard to the interest of any women or minors. Although this may appear to be a cumbersome procedure, its value has been frequently proved by the court discovering that property of women or minors is being disposed of without the knowledge of the owners. Sales by foreigners, as well as by Bahrain subjects, pass through the Bahrain Court.

**5. Fish-Trap Cases.** These cases are numerous and are decided according to a local code governing the use of fish-traps. The rules of fish-trap ownership have not yet been recorded, but they are generally known to persons connected with this industry. The court usually appoints a committee to report on cases, but this practice, on the whole, is not satisfactory, as members of the committees are too susceptible to outside influence.

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**The Bahrain Small Court.** The court was instituted in 1927 (1346) to relieve the Bahrain Court of some of its work. In the beginning it dealt with civil cases in which the amount concerned was not more than Rs 100/-, but in 1935 its powers were extended and it now gives judgment in cases up to Rs 400/- and also hears minor criminal cases, but not diving cases. When the court was first started it was presided over by the Assistant Adviser, Captain Parke, and the Amir of Muharraq, Shaikh Mohammed bin Jabr.

**Shera Court, Sunni.** In 1926 it became evident that the Sunni Kadi, Shaikh Jasim, was no longer capable of carrying out his duties on account of his age and blindness. It was found that dishonest persons were able to obtain his seal and used it for their own purposes. The Government appointed three Sunni Alims, Shaikh Abdul Latif bin Mohammed Al-Saad of Manamah, Shaikh Abdul Latif bin Ali Al-Joudar of Muharraq, and Shaikh Abdul Latif bin Mahmood of Hedd as Kadis, and from that time they have sat together in the Sunni Shera Court. It was found that three Kadis on one bench was more satisfactory than a single Kadi. Their work, on the whole, has been satisfactory, but the public complain, with justification, of the slowness of the court. Simple cases are often before the court for over a year before a judgment is delivered, and the court usually has between two and three hundred pending cases on hand.

**Shera Court, Shia.** There have been many changes in the Shia Court during the last ten years. In 1926, Shaikh Khalaf was the only Shia Kadi. He had been Kadi for many years, although he had twice been dismissed for irregular practices, but each time, after an interval, he returned to power. His influence was very great; he was regarded as almost divine. In 1926, charges of accepting bribes and misappropriation were brought against him and proved in the court. He was finally dismissed and ordered to leave Bahrain. He retired to Iraq for some years, but eventually returned to Bahrain, where he is now living.

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1 [A.D. 1952-1953 -- Annual ET]

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5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2



the last stages of the disease and obviously his time was short. I was unable to give him any but the most unfavorable prognosis, and he died just a week later.

Two or three days after his death, I heard myself under discussion in one of the reception rooms where I was paying a visit. "This man," said an Arab to his friend, "is certainly a remarkable doctor. He arrived in Riyadh some ten days ago, as you know, and Abdullah sent for him at once. As soon as the doctor stepped into Abdullah's house he pointed at him with his finger. 'You will die,' he said, 'in exactly a week.' Now he did not feel especially bad the following week; on the contrary he felt somewhat better, but just a week from that day he lay down and died."

A woman came to us in Bahrein suffering from an ovarian cyst. It was a huge affair weighing probably sixty or seventy pounds. We had no scales at hand large enough to weigh it. As it rested on the instrument table, the father of the patient came and asked for it. "You must give that to me," he said. "I want it."

"No," I said, "you don't want that. We do not give those things away. It will be of no use to you."

"Yes," persisted the man, "you must give it to me for I need it. This woman you have just operated on is my daughter and on account of this trouble she lost her good name. Her husband returned three years ago after a prolonged absence and finding her abdomen swollen he divorced her without any words. Now it is evident that this trouble was not due to unfaithfulness on her part, so I want to take this to the judge and clear her good name."

"Very well," I said. "If it will do anybody any good you are welcome to it." So they brought in a large

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East M1
Bahrain MZ 2



sheet, put the cyst in and tied the sheet catacorner both ways, hung it from a large pole and two men carried it down the street to the judge's house. He looked at it in great astonishment. "*Mashallah* (What the Lord is able to do)!" was his first comment. The great cyst was carried around and exhibited to every prominent house in the city and was the talk of the place. Then after three or four days, being a thin-walled structure, it burst, and that was the end of the first chapter.

But there was another chapter to the story of the cyst. Six months later I was in Katif on a visit and a man came into the reception room. "Do you know," he asked my host, "who this man is?"

"Well," he replied, "I know who he says he is. He says he is the doctor from Bahrein."

"That is just who he is. Do you know what he did?"

"No, what did he do?"

"What did he do? Why this is the man who operated on the woman from Bedaiah. He took an enormous sack from her abdomen. They took it to the judge and to the various prominent houses of Bahrein and showed it everywhere, and after three or four days decided that they would like to know what was inside, so they opened it up and a live chicken jumped out of it."

Some of the missionaries overheard the following description of one of the hospital operations. "What do you think," said the narrator, "that I saw this morning? I was in the operating room of the American Hospital and a man came in. The doctor listened to his chest with that funny little machine that he puts in his ears. 'Yes,' he said almost at once, 'there is something the matter with your heart. You will have to be operated on.' So he was put up on the operating table and the doctor made

**Abolition of visas.** An order was issued at the beginning of the year allowing nationals of Oman, the Trucial Coast, Muscat, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the Yemen to enter Bahrain without being in possession of visas for Bahrain, issued by the British Consular or other authorities, provided that they had valid national passports or travel documents endorsed for Bahrain. Unfortunately this arrangement enabled a large number of Persians to enter Bahrain carrying travel papers describing them as being subjects of Trucial Shaikhdoms. The Government has no wish to restrict Arabs from other parts of the Gulf from coming to work in Bahrain, where there is still a demand for unskilled labour, but it views with distaste any increase in the Persian minority which exists in Bahrain. When it became evident that a number of Persians were entering Bahrain under the guise of being permanent residents of Oman or the Trucial Coast the passport authorities were ordered to allow such persons to remain in Bahrain not longer than 15 days. It is estimated that during the year about 9,075 immigrants from Oman and the Trucial Coast entered Bahrain in order to find work, they were issued with permits to remain in Bahrain for one year, subject to renewal. In almost every case the immigrants were men.

**Illegal Entries.** The number of persons who were arrested and repatriated to their countries, having attempted to enter the country without travel documents, was 124, consisting of 68 Pakistanis, 23 Omanis and 33 Persians. The number of persons who succeeded in entering Bahrain without being caught is undoubtedly large. The Pakistanis crossed the Gulf to Muscat by dhows and continued their journey by foot up the coast to Doha, there they chartered a dhow to take them to the nearest port in Saudi Arabia, on their way to Mecca. The Nakhuda, however, landed them on the Bahrain coast, somewhere near Jaw, probably telling them that it was the coast of Arabia. These unfortunate pilgrims were eventually sent back by steamer to Karachi.

During the year the Bahrain courts heard four cases against Bahrain Nakhudas who had landed passengers in Bahrain knowing that they were illegal entrants. They were severely dealt with. Most of the passenger smuggling is done by Qatar Nakhudas who land the people on unfrequented stretches of coast or on shoals on the Eastern side of Bahrain. Two Persian Nakhudas were prosecuted in the Agency Courts and sentenced to imprisonment and fines for the same offence.

In January 1953 information was received that a certain Persian Nakhuda, Ghulam Reza, a naturalised Bahrain subject, had arranged to ship a number of Persians to Bahrain. His launch arrived with 63 Persians on board who were refused permission to land, not being in possession of papers. They were transferred to another launch bound for Kuwait. Later some of the same passengers were found in Manama and it was discovered that the Nakhuda had, after leaving Bahrain, transferred the passengers to another vessel and landed them on the coast where they were met by motor buses which conveyed them to Manama. Ghulam Reza was subsequently arrested, prosecuted, imprisoned for one year and fined Rs. 4,000. His charge was Rs. 150 a head for landing Persians in Bahrain.

**Bahrain Nationality.** During the year 31 applications were received from people of various nationalities applying for Bahrain nationality. Of these 19 were accepted, being from persons long resident in Bahrain and possessing immovable property; three of these were Indian subjects and three were Pakistanis. The courts investigated 44 applications by Persians who claimed to have been born in Bahrain. Proof of birth, especially in the case of older people, cannot easily be produced. Only 9 of these applicants were able to prove that they were born in the country. At the beginning of the year an order was issued to the effect that no Persian whose application for Bahrain nationality was accepted would be issued with a passport until two years had elapsed from the date on which he was granted nationality. As a result of this order only a small number of Persians submitted applications. The main object of the Persians who applied for Bahrain nationality was to obtain passports with which to enter Saudi Arabia where their presence was not appreciated.

**Passport Official's Course.** Ali bin Abdulla, a clerk in the Passport Department, did a course in England studying and learning passport and immigration methods and procedure. The course was arranged by the British Government, the results appear to be satisfactory.

# CHAPTER IX

## RELIGIOUS OCCASIONS AND LOCAL CUSTOMS

### RAMADAN

796 785 This fast, which is the name of a month in the Islamic calendar, has often been described as the Moslem Lent. During Ramadan there is a complete ban on eating, drinking and smoking during the hours [805] of daylight. The Moslem day begins at sunset, and each evening during Ramadan the setting of the sun is announced by the firing of guns in various towns, the signal that eating and drinking may commence. Two meals are eaten during the night, the first as soon as possible after sunset and the second shortly before dawn. It is often the custom to break the fast with a drink of butter-milk, before proceeding to the heavy eating. After the first meal is over people in Bahrain go visiting and sit in the coffee-shops and cinemas. At the beginning of Ramadan, all through the night the town is busy with the coming and going of the people, radios and gramophones play at full blast in the coffee-shops and night is turned into day. Later in the month there is some slackening of activity, people return earlier to their homes and endeavour to get some sleep, but they are soon awakened by the drummers who go around the town before dawn waking the sleepers so that they may eat before it becomes light. Of necessity the non-Moslem follows the Islamic time-table during this month, for he is usually kept awake by the activity in the streets, and if he does succeed in getting to sleep he is soon awakened by the persistent drummers on their rounds.

According to Moslem Law eating, drinking and smoking must cease directly it is possible to discern the difference between a black and a white thread, but it is now the custom in Bahrain towns to fire guns to announce the break of day. During the day in Ramadan life moves at a slower pace than during the other months of the year, and this is especially true when Ramadan falls in the summer, for the combination of no food and drink and the heat and dampness of Bahrain reduces peoples' energy. It is noticeable that there are more [691] court cases about domestic troubles during Ramadan while the serious crimes decrease. In the evenings in this month the townsfolk go out to the gardens and sit in the shade of the trees waiting for darkness to fall. Adari is particularly popular, many fasters try to reduce their thirst by swimming lazily in the cool waters of the pool.

As with all Moslem occasions, the end of Ramadan is decided by the appearence of the new moon, about which there is usually a dispute. While the Sunnis recognise the Royal Observatory at Cairo as an authority on the appearance of the moon, the Shia insist that it should be seen in Bahrain. The result has often been that the Eid has started on two different days for the two sects, and in one memorable year there were three Eid days, one for each of the two sects and a third for the Ismailis, who have their own way of reckoning dates.

## JUDICIAL

(From the report of Mr. Salim Al Arayedh, Superintendent, Judicial Department)

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In all the courts civil suits predominate and a high proportion of them are concerned with immovable property. The high value of land, especially in the towns, has made the public more conscious of the importance of boundaries and the worth of property. There has been much litigation over inheritance and shares in houses and gardens. Heirs in estates who in the past were content to live together in one building now apply to the courts for an order to divide the property so that they may sell their shares in it. Because such high prices can be obtained for land anybody who can claim even a small share in a building or a garden takes his case to the courts. 691 423 428

It has been noticed in the Appeal Court too that questions of land ownership and boundaries have predominated.

There were no important civil cases and, apart from traffic offences, no serious crimes. A man stabbed his brother during a quarrel, inflicting "grievous hurt" for which he was sentenced to four years rigorous imprisonment and in two fatal traffic accidents drivers of vehicles were sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment and to pay fines of Rs. 5,000/-. In certain traffic offences the occupants of cars ran away which suggests that they were probably under the influence of liquor when the accidents occurred. 681 697

Fines amounting to Rs. 7,623/- were paid into court and the sum collected in court fees was Rs. 43,599.

In the small courts 1,964 new cases were filed, 1,668 cases were disposed of and at the end of the year 692 cases were pending. The courts issued 506 execution orders leaving 155 to be dealt with at the end of the year. 691

The Sunni and Shia Courts heard 269 and 172 cases respectively leaving 119 and 51 cases pending. Out of 129 cases which were referred to the Majlis Tajara for an opinion 94 cases were returned to the courts and 35 cases were pending.

The Sunni Shera Court did not work smoothly during the year owing to differences of opinion among the three Kadis, two of them being of the Maliki and one of the Shafi Sect. At one time all cases were judged according to the Maliki tenets, this being the sect of the Ruling Family, but some years ago the Government issued a direction to the court according to which if the plaintiff, or both parties, followed the Shafi doctrine then their case should be tried according to Shafi law. 692 693

There has also been criticism of the Maglis Tajara which consists of a group of leading merchants appointed by the Government who give opinions on commercial matters and local custom. They are busy men and they receive no pay and when it is inconvenient for them to attend the court, and it is frequently inconvenient, they do not appear. Often less than half of the number are present. In addition, they are closely connected either as competitors or partners and it is sometimes difficult for them to give impartial opinion.

The Shia Appeal Kadi gave judgment in 18 cases, the Senior Appeal Court heard 27 cases and the Junior Appeal Court dealt with 28 cases.

Bahrain Government receives 50% of the profits of the oil industry. 652
The Eastern Bank, since it was established in 1919, has served as the State's Treasury and a Budget is published every year showing the revenue and expenditure of the State.

The Customs Directorate is in the centre of the Manama sea front 651
and there are subsidiary offices in Muharraq Town, at the Airport 439
and at Sitra. All goods of any kind which are imported or exported 504
must pass through the customs. The Customs Pier at Manama, which was originally built in 1917, has frequently been lengthened and enlarged and now extends for a quarter of a mile out to sea. Owing to shallow water, vessels in the Manama harbour have to anchor some three miles from the shore and passengers and cargo are conveyed to and from the steamers by launches, barges and sailing dhows. The port and storage facilities in Bahrain are better than elsewhere in the Gulf and importers are allowed to retain their goods in the customs premises for ninety days before re-exporting them. There are usually about 90-100 sailing vessels and launches alongside and anchored off the pier, these come from other Gulf ports, from the west coast of India and from the Red Sea. Walking down the customs pier one sees many interesting types of vessels and sea-faring Arabs from all parts of the Gulf and beyond it.

On the west of the entrance to the Pier is the Passport Office. 486
Passport Officials go aboard all passenger vessels and are present at the Airport when aircraft arrive. Bahrain has had its own passports since 1929.

On the south side of the Square, which has a little garden in the 344
centre of it, is the "Bab al-Bahrain," the Gateway of Bahrain, consisting of two large blocks of office buildings with an archway in the centre. On the south side of the western block there is a fine old Arab door and on the balconies of the buildings as well as around the garden in the Square there are cement panels containing Arabesque patterns copied from old buildings in Bahrain.

The Bab al-Bahrain contains the finance and accounts department 344
where all payments to the Government for electricity, water, etc., etc., 655
are made, the Land Department which deals with sales and registration 423
of property and questions about boundaries and ownership of land, the registration of sales being compulsory, and several other government offices. His Highness has a reception room overlooking the 643
square on the first floor of the building where he sits on Wednesday mornings. Here he receives any visitors who wish to call on him and sees people who present petitions. On Monday mornings he visits the Municipal Buildings at Muharraq where he holds a similar reception.

East of the Customs, on the sea front, is the Law Courts Building 692
which contains a number of different courts including religious courts presided over by the Qadis of the Sunni and Shia sects. Certain foreigners, including British, Americans, Pakistanis and Indians are under the judicial authority of H.B.M.'s Political Agent. In mixed

692 cases if the defendant is a Bahrain citizen and the plaintiff is a foreigner the case is heard in a Joint Court. The language of the Bahrain Courts is Arabic and no barristers or wakils who are not Bahrainis are allowed to appear in them.

447 At the eastern end of the sea road[1] is the Adviserate, the Ruler deals with affairs of State in this office on Tuesdays and Saturdays. Beyond the Adviserate is H.B.M.'s Political Agency which was built early in the century.

743 At the western end of the Sea Road is the Government Hospital. It includes a men's and women's hospital, administrative offices, X-Ray, laboratories, operating theatres and out-patients' rooms. There are beds for men and for women, with a few private rooms in each section. The Indian Staff occupy a large three storied building close to the hospital and behind the Women's Hospital is the house of the British nursing sisters. On Awal Road there is a large Public Health Office and beyond it a T.B. Sanatorium and a Mental Hospital. Opposite the Police Fort there are also two small isolation hospitals. In Muharraq there is a maternity hospital in the centre of the town and a clinic on the sea front. In Hedd and in some of the villages there are also small clinics. The Government Medical Staff includes a number of British and Indian doctors and nurses.

871 Education in Bahrain is not, at present, compulsory, but every year
658 the number of boys' and girls' schools increases. The oldest school in Bahrain is the Muharraq Boys' School in North Muharraq town, which was built in 1919, and there are now 28 government schools including village schools, town schools, a boys' secondary school, and a technical school where carpentry and engineering are taught. At the beginning of the 1952-53 term there were 4000 boys and 2,500 girls attending government schools. Except in the secondary school, education is free and every year scholarships are given by the Government and BAPCO to enable students to obtain advanced education at the American University of Beirut. There is a students' hostel in Manama which accommodates about 100 boys, here students from the villages and other towns are housed while they attend the more advanced town schools.

[875] Most of the teachers are Bahrainis though there are a certain number of teachers from neighbouring Arab countries. English is taught in the higher classes as well as the usual subjects. All the schools close during the summer from about the middle of June till the end of September. Some of the government schools are among the most noticeable of the modern buildings in Manama.

871 In addition to the Government schools there are a number of private schools including a European day school at Awali, Catholic, Persian and Indian schools in Manama and a girls school run by the mission of the Dutch reformed Church of America. The Oil Company also has a trade school for its Arab employees.



1 [at Manama -- Analyst]

During the year the Department sent a deputation consisting of one of the members of the committee and the Superintendent to Kuwait to make a claim for the Waqf funds from the large and very valuable building on the Sea Road west of the Customs pier. This building was acquired by one Hilal Al Materi a Kuwaiti pearl merchant. He dedicated it as a Waqf for charitable purposes, not specifying whether the funds should be spent in Bahrain or in Kuwait. The Sunni Waqf Department obtained an opinion on the case from Al Azhar in Cairo supporting their claim that the Waqf should be spent in the country where the property was situated. The Deputation was not received with any enthusiasm in Kuwait, some sort of compromise was arrived at but at the end of the year the Department had not received any contribution from the Waqf towards charitable objects in Bahrain.

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## PASSPORT DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Mr. Kadhim Al Asfoor, Passport Officer)

**Revenue.** The total revenue was Rs. 53,789/-, about Rs. 19,000 less than was collected in 1371. This decrease was due to a shortage of book passports which were being printed in England. Some changes were made in the new passports which now contain the name of the holder on the outside of the cover as well as inside it. A further change in the wording is "date of birth" instead of "age," though at present very few of the people who use the passports know either the date of their birth or their age. Revenue from Travel Passes was Rs. 22,339, from entry forms, Rs. 8,236 and from miscellaneous forms Rs. 5,041.

**Pilgrims.** Only 280 persons did the Pilgrimage to Mecca, this number included 19 Persians, long resident in Bahrain who were granted passport facilities to perform the pilgrimage. Over 3,500 Shia pilgrims visited the Holy Cities of Iraq, an increase of about 500 over the previous year's number. These pilgrims included many people from the villages. Some of them crossed from Iraq to Persia and visited the Shia shrines of Persia. Such journeys are lengthy and expensive and the increase in the number of Shia pilgrims every year is an indication of prosperity among the working classes.

About 200 Arabs from Bahrain went to the Lebanon, mostly during the summer, this was about half the number who travelled there last year. In spite of inducements by the Government of the Lebanon to encourage tourists from the Gulf the people of Bahrain are beginning to find that they cannot afford to pay the excessively high prices which prevail in Beirut and in mountain resorts. The much advertised wealth of certain Gulf states seems to have caused the people of the Lebanon to regard any Arab from the Gulf as a rich traveller and a potential spender.

| | | *Arrivals.* | | *Departures.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Passengers.** | By Air .. .. .. | 22,542 | .. | 23,758 |
| | By steamers .. .. | 13,206 | .. | 13,136 |
| | By Country Craft .. .. | 34,220 | .. | 35,228 |

Number of dhows and launches visiting Bahrain : 4,958.

During the year 1,077 gratis passes were issued to Shaikhs, their followers, teachers and students. Numerous members of the Ruling Family with their followers went on hunting trips to Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Kuwait.

During the diving season 496 Persian divers were allowed to land in Bahrain and to return to Persia after the diving season.

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# JUDICIAL

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The impartial administration of justice in the Bahrain courts is, in my opinion, the most difficult problem which is dealt with by the Government. The impartiality of magistrates and members of various courts is constantly liable to be affected by causes outside the court. Too often claims are not decided only on the merits of the case but partly by the amount of outside interest which the parties can bring to bear on members of the courts. The reason for such interference in cases is chiefly due to the fondness of the local inhabitants of Bahrain of concerning themselves in their neighbours' affairs: people who are not really affected by a case frequently involve themselves in it with the laudable desire to make a compromise, and if the case is already being heard, such action causes complications. When, as is often the case, the intercederers are the relations of the magistrates it is difficult for the magistrates to disregard outside pressure. Other matters which make the work of the courts difficult are the jealousy which the Shera courts feel towards the civil courts, the sectarial differences between the Sunnis and the Shias, and the fact that because Bahrain is such a small place—especially in the courts such as the Meglis Tajara, whose members are a number of local merchants—the parties in most of the cases are usually connected with one or more of the members of the court either by relationship or through commercial or other channels. Another practice which affects the administration of justice is the ingrained habit of the Arabs of Bahrain of visiting the Ruler themselves to complain about the judgments in his courts instead of making an appeal to him in the prescribed manner. Perhaps, however, it is not surprising that the people of Bahrain have not yet become legally minded, as regular Bahrain courts have only existed for a little more than ten years.

**Institution of Courts.**

The first regular Bahrain court to be instituted was the Joint Court, presided over by the Ruler and the Political Agent, to deal with cases brought by foreign subjects against Bahrain nationals. In 1926 the Bahrain Court was created to judge cases between Bahrain subjects. In the beginning it consisted of myself and Shaikh Mohammed bin Abdul Rahman, a somewhat obscure member of the Ruling Family. There was also a court known as the Meglis Urfi, which consisted of three or four local merchants. This court, in one form or another, had been in existence for many years, and in 1926 it acted in an advisory capacity in cases where questions of local practice or commercial custom were involved. The Shera courts consisted of the Sunni and the Shia Kadhis. The former, Shaikh Jasim, was over eighty years old and quite blind, and the latter, Shaikh Khalaf, was not much younger; both these Kadis were more influential than any of their predecessors have been. They had no regular courts or records, and heard cases in their houses or in mosques. Diving cases were decided by the Political Agent or by the Bahrain Court.

**The Bahrain Court.**

The Bahrain Court is the highest court of the Bahrain Government, from whose decisions appeal lies only to the Ruler himself. In the last ten years it has seen various changes. In 1926 (1344-45), owing to a family dispute, Shaikh Mohammed bin Abdul Rahman gave up court work and his place was taken by Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed, who sat on the court, intermittently, for about eight years. On several occasions he retired from the court for some months. During the summer of 1934 he sat alone on the court while I was absent on leave, and in the autumn of that year a certain faction of the Shia Baharna of Manamah organised a disturbance and made serious complaints about various different matters, including the administration of justice by the Bahrain Court. Shaikh Sulman again retired from the Court, and since then he has shown no inclination to return to it. In 1935 Shaikh Rashid bin Mohammed and Shaikh Abdulla bin Shaikh Hamed were appointed as magistrates on the Bahrain Court, both having sat for several years on other courts, and since then they have occupied this post, an arrangement which seems to be generally satisfactory. They deal with most of the cases themselves, but for the hearing of appeals from lower courts and certain important cases I join them in the court.

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The following different kinds of cases are tried by the Bahrain court; usually, about 1,400 cases are heard during the year.

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**1. Criminal Cases,** including capital offences, except cases of a trivial nature which are heard by the Small Court, are tried by the Bahrain Court. Death sentences are submitted to the Ruler for confirmation before promulgation.

**2. Civil Cases,** including estate cases, bankruptcy, inheritance, and divorce, are heard by the Bahrain Court, but the divorce and inheritance claims are passed on to the Shera Courts for judgment. Several very important cases have been settled by the Bahrain Court during the last ten years, including the Siadi case, in which the amount involved was over ten lacs.

**3. Diving Cases.** These cases are frequently referred to the Meglis Tajara, which has a special committee who are experts in diving law.

**4. Land Cases.** Land cases are very numerous and often very complicated, but in time they should decrease as by degrees more property is being registered in the Land Department, which reduces disputes. These cases include boundary disputes, water rights, Wakf claims, and rights of way. The local custom regarding the different divisions of water is in itself a complicated affair, and it has never been embodied in any regulation or code. All sales are registered after publication of proclamation calling on persons having a claim to the property to make it within a given time; but in addition to the proclamation, every sale or voluntary registration of ownership is submitted to the Bahrain Court after the proclamation has expired, and the court verifies, by hearing witnesses, the statement of the seller, with special regard to the interest of any women or minors. Although this may appear to be a cumbersome procedure, its value has been frequently proved by the court discovering that property of women or minors is being disposed of without the knowledge of the owners. Sales by foreigners, as well as by Bahrain subjects, pass through the Bahrain Court.

**5. Fish-Trap Cases.** These cases are numerous and are decided according to a local code governing the use of fish-traps. The rules of fish-trap ownership have not yet been recorded, but they are generally known to persons connected with this industry. The court usually appoints a committee to report on cases, but this practice, on the whole, is not satisfactory, as members of the committees are too susceptible to outside influence.

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**The Bahrain Small Court.** The court was instituted in 1927 (1346) to relieve the Bahrain Court of some of its work. In the beginning it dealt with civil cases in which the amount concerned was not more than Rs 100/-, but in 1935 its powers were extended and it now gives judgment in cases up to Rs 400/- and also hears minor criminal cases, but not diving cases. When the court was first started it was presided over by the Assistant Adviser, Captain Parke, and the Amir of Muharraq, Shaikh Mohammed bin Jabr.

**Shera Court, Sunni.** In 1926 it became evident that the Sunni Kadi, Shaikh Jasim, was no longer capable of carrying out his duties on account of his age and blindness. It was found that dishonest persons were able to obtain his seal and used it for their own purposes. The Government appointed three Sunni Alims, Shaikh Abdul Latif bin Mohammed Al-Saad of Manamah, Shaikh Abdul Latif bin Ali Al-Joudar of Muharraq, and Shaikh Abdul Latif bin Mahmood of Hedd as Kadis, and from that time they have sat together in the Sunni Shera Court. It was found that three Kadis on one bench was more satisfactory than a single Kadi. Their work, on the whole, has been satisfactory, but the public complain, with justification, of the slowness of the court. Simple cases are often before the court for over a year before a judgment is delivered, and the court usually has between two and three hundred pending cases on hand.

**Shera Court, Shia.** There have been many changes in the Shia Court during the last ten years. In 1926, Shaikh Khalaf was the only Shia Kadi. He had been Kadi for many years, although he had twice been dismissed for irregular practices, but each time, after an interval, he returned to power. His influence was very great; he was regarded as almost divine. In 1926, charges of accepting bribes and misappropriation were brought against him and proved in the court. He was finally dismissed and ordered to leave Bahrain. He retired to Iraq for some years, but eventually returned to Bahrain, where he is now living.

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The Government then appointed Seyed Adhnan of Jedhafs as Shia Kadi. He was a progressive young man of a well-known family, with more education than most of the Shia Alims. He was interested in education and had travelled abroad. Through his influence the Government was able to start the Shia Wakf Department, and he himself compiled a list of the Wakf property in Bahrain. Unfortunately he died suddenly in 1928.

For some months no successor was appointed, but finally the Government chose Shaikh Ali bin Hassan al-Mousa and Shaikh Abdulla bin Mohammed Saleh; the former was appointed Kadi for the villages and the latter as Kadi of Manamah. Shaikh Ali bin Hassan still retains his position and is one of the three Shia Kadis who are now officiating.

Shaikh Abdulla acted as Kadi until 1935, when he was dismissed from his post in disgrace, having been prosecuted on a charge of criminal misappropriation. While he occupied the post of Kadi he was helpful and intelligent, but he became a rich man during the period of his office by stealing the property of orphans and minors.

After the dismissal of Shaikh Abdulla, Shaikh Ali bin Hassan was transferred to Manamah and two more Kadis were appointed, Shaikh Ali bin Jaffar and Shaikh Baqer al-Asfur. This arrangement is not very satisfactory as the three Kadis are all on bad terms with each other and the local political parties among the Baharna continually stir up trouble and play off the Kadis against each other in order to further their personal interests.

It is not surprising that the prestige and influence of the Shia Kadis has declined to a remarkable extent during the last ten years. The Kadis in the past, whatever their faults, had a tremendous influence over the Shia community; now this influence only exists over a few of the country people. The decline of influence is due partly to the change in the mental outlook of the young men in Manamah, but the main cause is the dishonest and unsuitable behaviour of certain of the Kadis.

These conditions will continue until men can be appointed as Kadis who are properly educated and versed in Shera law and legal procedure. The present Kadis, both Shia and Sunni, possess less general education than the present generation of young Arabs, and even their knowledge of the Shera law is, in the case of some of them, very slight. The only way to improve the status and reputation of the Shera Courts is for the Government to arrange for the education abroad of some suitable young men who will eventually become Kadis. The Government is at present trying to arrange for the education of the son of Seyd Adnan with this end in view.

**The Mejlis Tajara and Diving Court.** The Mejlis Tajara is probably the oldest judicial institution in Bahrain, excepting the Shera Courts. Originally it was known as the Mejlis al Urfi, and consisted of two or three local merchants who dealt with commercial cases. At that time it was not connected with the Salafeh al Ghoos, or Diving Court, which was a notorious institution consisting of one or two old pearl merchants whose judgments were invariably in favour of the merchants and Nakhudas and against the divers. This diving court was abolished at the time of the reforms, and for some years it ceased to exist. About ten years ago the Mejlis al Urfi was put on a different footing, and a shaikh of the Ruling Family was appointed as President of the Mejlis. Previously there had been no president. A year or two later further changes were made; the number of members was increased from eleven to twenty-two, divided into two committees, of which one committee sits once every fortnight. At the request of members, the Mejlis became known as the Mejlis Tajara, and on each of the two councils two or three members were appointed who belonged to the diving industry and were capable of dealing with diving cases. Thus the old diving court was amalgamated into the Mejlis Tajara. Another innovation at this time was the introduction of foreign members on the committee which had previously consisted exclusively of Bahrain subjects. Shaikh Rashid bin Mohammed al Khalifah was for many years President of the court until about a year ago, when he was appointed to the Bahrain Court and his place was taken by Shaikh Mohammed, the eldest son of Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa. The court is governed by regular rules, the President has the casting vote in cases of a divided opinion, and occasionally in important cases all the twenty-two members appear together. The increase in the members was made to ensure more regular attendance. The members, all of

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

them local merchants and many of them members of the two municipal councils, found it impossible to give up a whole morning every week to this voluntary work, but now that they only sit once every fortnight their attendance is more regular. 671 692

The Mejlis Tajara deals with cases both from Bahrain courts and from the Agency courts. It relieves the other courts of much work and is frequently successful in effecting compromises between parties, which saves time and trouble. In its present form the Mejlis Tajara is a satisfactory institution. 693

**Small Mixed Court.** This court was started in 1928 and deals with civil cases up to Rs 400/-. The Bahrain magistrate, a junior member of the Ruling Family, sits with a representative of the Political Agent, usually the Indian Assistant. This court has been a useful training ground for some of the younger shaikhs who, after working in it for some years, have been promoted to more responsible positions.

**Laws and Codes.** At present, except in the Shera courts, which decide cases according to Islamic law, none of the Bahrain courts follow any regular law or code. In important criminal cases the Bahrain Court is guided by the Sudan Penal Code, which is almost identical to the Indian Penal Code, but in minor criminal cases it gives sentences which it considers suitable and compatible with local opinions and conditions. Frequently these punishments differ very greatly to those which would be inflicted on foreigners found guilty of exactly the same offences who are tried and sentenced according to the Indian Penal Code. As an example of this, it is the practice of the Bahrain Court to sentence any person who contravenes the Bahrain liquor regulation, for instance, by being in possession of liquor, to undergo eight months' hard labour in the case of a first offence. 671

Civil cases are judged according to local custom and practice and, in cases which are applicable, especially in land disputes and diving cases, according to the various Government proclamations which are issued from time to time. Unfortunately, these proclamations have never been coded and not all the public are conversant with them.

Until about two years ago the practice of the courts of dealing with cases without a regular code was not objected to by the public, but during the agitation raised by a small faction of the Manamah Shias in 1935 a demand was made for a code of laws to be adopted by the Bahrain courts. A committee was appointed by the Government consisting of Shaikh Abdulla bin Shaikh Hamad and two Arabs and two Baharna, assisted by the clerk of the courts. It was intended that they should first codify all the existing proclamations, but it soon became apparent that the proclamations themselves, with the exception of the Diving Laws and a few other detailed regulations such as land registration rules, etc., were inadequate even to form a basis of a simple code for the courts. The committee have been meeting once a week for over a year and they have accomplished much valuable work, but it will probably take them another year to complete their task. The code which they are drafting refers only to civil matters such as rules regarding fishing rights, court rules, etc., etc., and it is not proposed that they should compose a criminal code. If a criminal code is necessary, and in my opinion it is not, it would save time and trouble if the Sudan Penal Code was altered to suit local conditions and then adapted. It has the advantage of being available in Arabic.

**Police Regulations.** The Bahrain police are not subject to or instructed in any regular form of regulations. As 90% of them are illiterate, it would be difficult to make them conversant with such regulations as the Indian Code of Criminal Procedure, but the police deal with an ever-increasing number of cases in which foreigners, including Europeans, Americans, and Indians, are involved. Only one of the N.C.O.'s has any knowledge of Indian rules and regulations affecting police cases and prosecutions, and as the courts in which foreigners are normally charged with criminal offences are governed by the Indian regulations, the position of the police is liable to become increasingly difficult. The Bahrain courts do not allow any foreigners to appear before the courts as pleaders or Wakils, but if in the future any professional Indian pleaders should appear in cases connected with the Bahrain police, he would probably be able to pick holes in the method of presenting cases. 671 693 695

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Manama, is the capital of the State, and is the official residence of the Sheik. The Sheik holds court and administers justice once a week on the balcony of the municipal building and petty criminals are publicly flogged by red-turbaned policemen in the market place immediately below.

Manama is also the seat of the higher court composed of two members of the family of the Sheik and presided over by the British Adviser. The British Political Agent, who is under the authority of the Persian Gulf Political Agent at Bushir (in Persia), also has his residence in Manama.

BADAIYA'A is located at the northwestern end of the island, a mile from the coast. The majority of its eight thousand inhabitants belong to the Dawāsīr tribes, famous for their ability as divers. Following the political upheaval of 1923,[1] the Dawāsīr evacuated the town and fled to Damān on the mainland, but the majority later returned.

Near Badaiya'a are the two important centers of *Diraz* and *Jamra.*

ZALLĀQ. Situated on the west coast, this is another important center inhabited by the Dawāsīr fishermen and divers.

BALAD AL-KADIM. Really a cluster of several villages, this is, after Manama, the most active native center, with many palm groves and artesian wells. Its small but important population consists mostly of Baharinah farmers and fishermen. A short distance from the village is the small Sūq al Kaamīs where the Thursday market is held. Half a mile farther on is the famed water source of Abu Zidān with a religious school near by and a noted minaret in the Persian style, reminder of Iranian supremacy.

BURI, another village inhabited entirely by the Baharinah, is located about seven miles south of Manama. It is a date producing center with ten to twelve thousand palm trees.

JIDD HAFS is located about three miles west of Manama on the highway joining that town to Badaiy'a. Populated by the Baharinah, it is one of the most prosperous agricultural centers,

1. See below, p. 99.

Little by little, the clashes became more frequent, and from the end of April 1923, fighting took place almost every day. 648

On the fourth of May, a regular fight took place between the inhabitants of the two villages of Badaiya' (populated by the Arabs of Nedj and Sunni), and that of Ali (inhabited by Persians of Shiah creed).

On the 9th of May, a band of armed Arabs attacked the Persians, killing three and wounding thirty-seven. Persian houses were sacked and occupants maltreated. The local government was unable to cope with the situation, and again the Arabs from Nedj received reinforcements from the mainland, and attacked Persian houses, stores, and villages. In this act of vandalism, 10 Persians were killed again, but the intervention of the local police, who were under the authority of the Persian Major, Muhammad Sharif, prevented further disaster by shooting on the assailants.

To reestablish order, the Political Agent had to call on British naval units which arrived on May 12th and 13th. Sheik Isa was held responsible and was asked to abdicate, but he convoked the council of his family, and they decided to refuse the demand. Confronted by the threats of the British Resident, however, he was "persuaded" to relegate his power to his son Sheik Hamed, who was declared Lieutenant of the Realm.

After his forced abdication, Isa, as a protest against the action which violated the rule of friendship, refused for more than five years to receive his son. Eventually, however, a reconciliation took place.

The Persian Mayor was sacrificed and his office suspended. 648 652 The national and foreign tribunals gave way to a Divan formed by the Sheik and the Political Agent. An office of Administration of Finance was created, with a Briton at its head. [692] Civil and military lists were established for the Sheik and his family. The English Bank of Manama, the Eastern Bank, was assigned to function as the Government Treasury. The legal provisions of the Bahrein Order in Council of 1913 were enforced.

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692 Since the Order in Council is so important as to have changed the social as well as the political status of Bahrein, it is worth while here to give a summary:

In matters relating to criminal and civil cases, the laws of British India and the United Kingdom are applied. By provision of Article 12, "the enactments described in the first schedule to the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890 shall apply to Bahrein, as if it were a British Colony or Possession, with the difference that the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf is substituted for the Governor of a Colony or Possession, the Chief Court for a Superior Court or Supreme Court, and the District Court for a Magistrate or Justice of the Peace of a Colony or Possession. In criminal matters, the laws of British India are applied, and the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf shall form a Chief Court with power invested in a High Court of Judicature; the Political Agent at Bahrein is the equivalent of the District Magistrate and Sessions Judge. The Judicial Assistant to the Political Resident corresponds to the Additional District Magistrate and Additional Sessions Judge.

If both plaintiff and defendant are Moslem and agree to such procedure, the Political Agent may order the case to be tried by a Qazi (a Moslem judge having both civil and criminal jurisdiction). But his verdict must be ratified by the Political Agent, who is empowered to revise the findings and sentence "as if the Qazi were a Subordinate Magistrate."

The powers of the Court (that is, of the Political Resident, the Political Agent, or the Judicial Assistant) are almost unlimited. The Political Agent can condemn to exile or jail any person under his jurisdiction or can "require him to give security to the satisfaction of the Court for his future good behavior." (Article 20.)

Articles 21 and 22 are still more restrictive in spirit. Limited at first to British subjects, the provisions of these articles, by the Amendment of 1924, were extended to "any person to whom this Order applies"—that is to say, to all British subjects, all foreign subjects who by virtue of an accord with the Sheik are under British jurisdiction, and finally all subjects of Bahrein who are listed on the Register of the Political Agency. These articles, therefore, place in the hands of the Political Agent a powerful weapon.

In fact, the Political Agent as District Court, can "under its seal exile any person who has committed or is about to commit any offense against the Order, or otherwise is conducting himself so as to be dangerous to peace and good order," during a time not exceeding two years.

In civil matters, the Code of Civil Procedure and other

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Indian enactments relating to the administration of civil justice, and so on, are applied "as if Bahrein were a district in the Presidency of Bombay."

However, if the two parties accept "a question of local custom," they can be sent to the Majlis of Urf for consideration or report, and a dispute over accounts between pearling masters and divers may be sent to the Salefah Court for adjustment. Finally, Article 70 gives to the Political Resident the power of issuing regulations (called King's Regulations), having for their object "the peace, order, and good government of persons to whom this Order applies," and relating "to any native or local law or custom, whether relating to trade, commerce, revenue, or any other matter."

To summarize, any difficulty of a civil or criminal nature arising between a subject of Bahrein and a person to whom the Order applies, is regulated by a kind of collaboration between the Political Agent and the Sheik of Bahrein. The Political Agent, according to the nature of the case, can judge it himself with the help of the Sheik, or send it to a Joint Court, submit criminal cases to the Qazi, if the two parties are Moslem, refer civil cases to the Majlis of Urf, or submit cases relating to pearl fishing to a Salefah Tribunal.

The application of these measures provoked a local spirit of nationalism. Protests were organized in many places. The principal of Bahrein adopted the following resolutions and urged twelve of their number to try to enforce them by use of "all legal means".

1. Continuation, as before, of local government without intervention by the Political Agent;
2. Re-establishment of the laws based on religious principles (*Shar'*) and in conformity with their instructions;
3. Election of a representative chamber to insure the rights of the people;
4. Creation of a tribunal for pearl fishing (*Qaus*) composed of persons familiar with the problems relating to the industry;

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## Government and Administration

The rule of the Sheikh, which is personal, is directly exerted over the part of Bahrein adjacent to Manāmah, and over the island of Muharraq, where he resides except during the four hottest months of the year. His authority over the rest of the principality is little more than nominal, for the land is divided among various relatives of his own, who hold it as almost independent fiefs, collecting their own taxes, and administering their own justice. Thus the islands of Sitrah and Nebi Sālih, with all the villages on the E. side of Bahrein to the S. of Khōr el-Kabb, and the inland villages of Rifā' esh-Sharqi and Rifā' el-Gharbi, are held by the Sheikh's brother Khālid. The subtraction of all this territory considerably reduces the Sheikh's revenue, which is derived not only from customs, but also from agricultural duties, taxes on pearl-boats, judicial fees, and rent of town lands, shops, or *khāns*. The Sheikh is assisted in the government by a *wazīr*, whose aid is all the more necessary, as the ruler is frequently absent on the mainland, chiefly for sporting purposes. In the towns of Manāmah and Muharraq there are deputy governors with the title of *emīr*.

Justice, in criminal cases and important civil cases, is administered on behalf of the Sheikh by a chief qādhi. The treatment of minor cases depends upon the religious belief of the parties: if both are Sunnis, they go before the (Sunni) Sheikh of Muharraq: if both are Shiahs, before the (Shiah) Sheikh of Manāmah. There are, in addition, seven other qādhis permitted to adjudicate upon cases referred to them by agreement.

Mercantile cases, especially those in which foreigners are concerned, are decided by a tribunal variously called *Mejlis el-'Urfi* or *Mejlis et-Tijārah*, a Customary or Commercial Court, with permanent members nominated by the Sheikh in consultation with the British Political Agent. When one or more of the parties to a case is a British subject, or when none of them are Bahrein subjects, the Mejlis is usually convoked by the Agent, and sits at the Agency, a representative of the Sheikh being permitted to attend. Cases arising out of pearl-diving operations are settled by a special board of arbitration known as the *Sālifat el-Ghaus*.

## Recent History and Present Politics

Although the Sheikhs of the Khalīfah family had been in direct relations with us since 1805, and under treaty since 1820, another sixty years elapsed before the ruler of Bahrein entered into a binding

## JUDICIAL

(From the report of Mr. Salim Al Arayedh, Superintendent, Judicial Department)

The number of cases of all kinds which were filed in the Senior Court, consisting of Shaikh Daij bin Hamed and Shaikh Ali bin Ahmed, sitting separately except on one day of the week when both sit together with the Adviser, was 1158. This was 258 more than in the previous year. The cases consisted of 451 civil suits of which 15 related to administration of estates, 430 criminal charges, including a number of trivial matters which would not usually be dealt with by a senior court, and 227 land registration cases. The increase over the previous year was mainly due to the court having acquired jurisdiction over nationals of other Gulf States. Of these cases 167 were civil suits. 691

In all the courts civil suits predominate and a high proportion of them are concerned with immovable property. The high value of land, especially in the towns, has made the public more conscious of the importance of boundaries and the worth of property. There has been much litigation over inheritance and shares in houses and gardens. Heirs in estates who in the past were content to live together in one building now apply to the courts for an order to divide the property so that they may sell their shares in it. Because such high prices can be obtained for land anybody who can claim even a small share in a building or a garden takes his case to the courts. 691 423 428

It has been noticed in the Appeal Court too that questions of land ownership and boundaries have predominated.

There were no important civil cases and, apart from traffic offences, no serious crimes. A man stabbed his brother during a quarrel, inflicting "grievous hurt" for which he was sentenced to four years rigorous imprisonment and in two fatal traffic accidents drivers of vehicles were sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment and to pay fines of Rs. 5,000/-. In certain traffic offences the occupants of cars ran away which suggests that they were probably under the influence of liquor when the accidents occurred. 681 697

Fines amounting to Rs. 7,623/- were paid into court and the sum collected in court fees was Rs. 43,599.

In the small courts 1,964 new cases were filed, 1,668 cases were disposed of and at the end of the year 692 cases were pending. The courts issued 506 execution orders leaving 155 to be dealt with at the end of the year. 691

The Sunni and Shia Courts heard 269 and 172 cases respectively leaving 119 and 51 cases pending. Out of 129 cases which were referred to the Majlis Tajara for an opinion 94 cases were returned to the courts and 35 cases were pending.

The Sunni Shera Court did not work smoothly during the year owing to differences of opinion among the three Kadis, two of them being of the Maliki and one of the Shafi Sect. At one time all cases were judged according to the Maliki tenets, this being the sect of the Ruling Family, but some years ago the Government issued a direction to the court according to which if the plaintiff, or both parties, followed the Shafi doctrine then their case should be tried according to Shafi law. 692 693

There has also been criticism of the Majlis Tajara which consists of a group of leading merchants appointed by the Government who give opinions on commercial matters and local custom. They are busy men and they receive no pay and when it is inconvenient for them to attend the court, and it is frequently inconvenient, they do not appear. Often less than half of the number are present. In addition, they are closely connected either as competitors or partners and it is sometimes difficult for them to give impartial opinion.

The Shia Appeal Kadi gave judgment in 18 cases, the Senior Appeal Court heard 27 cases and the Junior Appeal Court dealt with 28 cases.

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Among a small but vociferous section of the public there is a demand for a Code. This would be of great help to the Magistrates in the Court but as most of the cases which they hear are civil cases some sort of civil code is required even more than a criminal code. There is also criticism of the lack of legal qualifications of the magistrates, who are members of the Ruling Family. None of them have had legal training though some of them have had long experience of local court work. This is a relic of the days when the chief men of a tribe used to dispense justice to the members of the tribe. In the past the arrangement worked well enough but times have changed and the type of people who now appear in court are better educated, more sophisticated and more critical than they used to be.

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## POLICE AND PUBLIC SECURITY

(From the report of Shaikh Khalifah bin Mohamed AlKhalifah, Director of Police and Public Security)

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**Strength.** At the end of the year the strength of the Police and Natur forces was as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Superintendents .. .. .. .. | 3 |
| Inspectors .. .. .. .. | Nil |
| Sub-Inspectors .. .. .. .. | 3 |
| N.C.O's and Men .. .. .. .. | 299 |
| Followers, Clerks, Boatmen, etc. .. .. | 46 |
| Armed Naturs .. .. .. .. | 261 |

Three Police Inspectors were promoted to Superintendents and the post of the State Superintendent of Police was changed to Director of Police and Public Security.

During the year 53 recruits were enlisted, 30 men were granted their discharge, 2 were dismissed, 4 deserted and one died. The Naturs were increased by 7 men.

**Duties.** There was no change in the regular police duties which, as before, absorbed about half of the force. These duties included police posts, standing guards, police station personnel, traffic and jail duties and land and sea patrols. Musketry courses were fired by 271 N.C.O's and Men and by 4 Officers.

The camel section, which eventually became a picturesque but expensive survival, was done away with ; 11 camels were sold and one died and the men were posted to other sections. Patrol work previously done by the camel section can be carried out more economically and more efficiently by car patrols.

The health of the Police was good, the sick parade average was 5.7 per cent. against 6.2 per cent. in the previous year ; 44 men were in-patients at the Government Hospital as against 52 in 1371.

An N.C.O. with many years service in the force, Naik Juma Ali Taimoor, was run over by a car, when he was sitting outside a shop, and killed.

Earned leave was taken by 80 men of the State Police, most of them spent their leave in Bahrain ; 71 Naturs took earned leave.

Pay, rations and allowances were the same as in 1371.

**Stores.** Among the stores which were purchased during the year were blankets, boots, saddlery and spares for guns and rifles. Brass numerals to be worn by every N.C.O. and policeman were imported from the United Kingdom. In the past no numbers were worn.

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## JUDICIAL

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The impartial administration of justice in the Bahrain courts is, in my opinion, the most difficult problem which is dealt with by the Government. The impartiality of magistrates and members of various courts is constantly liable to be affected by causes outside the court. Too often claims are not decided only on the merits of the case but partly by the amount of outside interest which the parties can bring to bear on members of the courts. The reason for such interference in cases is chiefly due to the fondness of the local inhabitants of Bahrain of concerning themselves in their neighbours' affairs: people who are not really affected by a case frequently involve themselves in it with the laudable desire to make a compromise, and if the case is already being heard, such action causes complications. When, as is often the case, the intercederers are the relations of the magistrate it is difficult for the magistrates to disregard outside pressure. Other matters which make the work of the courts difficult are the jealousy which the Shera courts feel towards the civil courts, the sectarial differences between the Sunnis and the Shias, and the fact that because Bahrain is such a small place—especially in the courts such as the Meglis Tajara, whose members are a number of local merchants—the parties in most of the cases are usually connected with one or more of the members of the court either by relationship or through commercial or other channels. Another practice which affects the administration of justice is the ingrained habit of the Arabs of Bahrain of visiting the Ruler themselves to complain about the judgments in his courts instead of making an appeal to him in the prescribed manner. Perhaps, however, it is not surprising that the people of Bahrain have not yet become legally minded, as regular Bahrain courts have only existed for a little more than ten years.

**Institution of Courts.**

The first regular Bahrain court to be instituted was the Joint Court, presided over by the Ruler and the Political Agent, to deal with cases brought by foreign subjects against Bahrain nationals. In 1926 the Bahrain Court was created to judge cases between Bahrain subjects. In the beginning it consisted of myself and Shaikh Mohammed bin Abdul Rahman, a somewhat obscure member of the Ruling Family. There was also a court known as the Meglis Urfi, which consisted of three or four local merchants. This court, in one form or another, had been in existence for many years, and in 1926 it acted in an advisory capacity in cases where questions of local practice or commercial custom were involved. The Shera courts consisted of the Sunni and the Shia Kadhis. The former, Shaikh Jasim, was over eighty years old and quite blind, and the latter, Shaikh Khalaf, was not much younger; both these Kadis were more influential than any of their predecessors have been. They had no regular courts or records, and heard cases in their houses or in mosques. Diving cases were decided by the Political Agent or by the Bahrain Court.

**The Bahrain Court.**

The Bahrain Court is the highest court of the Bahrain Government, from whose decisions appeal lies only to the Ruler himself. In the last ten years it has seen various changes. In 1926 (1344-45), owing to a family dispute, Shaikh Mohammed bin Abdul Rahman gave up court work and his place was taken by Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed, who sat on the court, intermittently, for about eight years. On several occasions he retired from the court for some months. During the summer of 1934 he sat alone on the court while I was absent on leave, and in the autumn of that year a certain faction of the Shia Baharna of Manamah organised a disturbance and made serious complaints about various different matters, including the administration of justice by the Bahrain Court. Shaikh Sulman again retired from the Court, and since then he has shown no inclination to return to it. In 1935 Shaikh Rashid bin Mohammed and Shaikh Abdulla bin Shaikh Hamed were appointed as magistrates on the Bahrain Court, both having sat for several years on other courts, and since then they have occupied this post, an arrangement which seems to be generally satisfactory. They deal with most of the cases themselves, but for the hearing of appeals from lower courts and certain important cases I join them in the court.

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The following different kinds of cases are tried by the Bahrain court; usually, about 1,400 cases are heard during the year.

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**1. Criminal Cases,** including capital offences, except cases of a trivial nature which are heard by the Small Court, are tried by the Bahrain Court. Death sentences are submitted to the Ruler for confirmation before promulgation.

**2. Civil Cases,** including estate cases, bankruptcy, inheritance, and divorce, are heard by the Bahrain Court, but the divorce and inheritance claims are passed on to the Shera Courts for judgment. Several very important cases have been settled by the Bahrain Court during the last ten years, including the Siadi case, in which the amount involved was over ten lacs.

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**3. Diving Cases.** These cases are frequently referred to the Meglis Tujara, which has a special committee who are experts in diving law.

**4. Land Cases.** Land cases are very numerous and often very complicated, but in time they should decrease as by degrees more property is being registered in the Land Department, which reduces disputes. These cases include boundary disputes, water rights, Wakf claims, and rights of way. The local custom regarding the different divisions of water is in itself a complicated affair, and it has never been embodied in any regulation or code. All sales are registered after publication of proclamation calling on persons having a claim to the property to make it within a given time; but in addition to the proclamation, every sale or voluntary registration of ownership is submitted to the Bahrain Court after the proclamation has expired, and the court verifies, by hearing witnesses, the statement of the seller, with special regard to the interest of any women or minors. Although this may appear to be a cumbersome procedure, its value has been frequently proved by the court discovering that property of women or minors is being disposed of without the knowledge of the owners. Sales by foreigners, as well as by Bahrain subjects, pass through the Bahrain Court.

**5. Fish-Trap Cases.** These cases are numerous and are decided according to a local code governing the use of fish-traps. The rules of fish-trap ownership have not yet been recorded, but they are generally known to persons connected with this industry. The court usually appoints a committee to report on cases, but this practice, on the whole, is not satisfactory, as members of the committees are too susceptible to outside influence.

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**The Bahrain Small Court.** The court was instituted in 1927 (1346) to relieve the Bahrain Court of some of its work. In the beginning it dealt with civil cases in which the amount concerned was not more than Rs 100/-, but in 1935 its powers were extended and it now gives judgment in cases up to Rs 400/- and also hears minor criminal cases, but not diving cases. When the court was first started it was presided over by the Assistant Adviser, Captain Parke, and the Amir of Muharraq, Shaikh Mohammed bin Jabr.

**Shera Court, Sunni.** In 1926 it became evident that the Sunni Kadi, Shaikh Jasim, was no longer capable of carrying out his duties on account of his age and blindness. It was found that dishonest persons were able to obtain his seal and used it for their own purposes. The Government appointed three Sunni Alims, Shaikh Abdul Latif bin Mohammed Al-Saad of Manamah, Shaikh Abdul Latif bin Ali Al-Joudar of Muharraq, and Shaikh Abdul Latif bin Mahmood of Hedd as Kadis, and from that time they have sat together in the Sunni Shera Court. It was found that three Kadis on one bench was more satisfactory than a single Kadi. Their work, on the whole, has been satisfactory, but the public complain, with justification, of the slowness of the court. Simple cases are often before the court for over a year before a judgment is delivered, and the court usually has between two and three hundred pending cases on hand.

**Shera Court, Shia.** There have been many changes in the Shia Court during the last ten years. In 1926, Shaikh Khalaf was the only Shia Kadi. He had been Kadi for many years, although he had twice been dismissed for irregular practices, but each time, after an interval, he returned to power. His influence was very great; he was regarded as almost divine. In 1926, charges of accepting bribes and misappropriation were brought against him and proved in the court. He was finally dismissed and ordered to leave Bahrain. He retired to Iraq for some years, but eventually returned to Bahrain, where he is now living.

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The Government then appointed Seyed Adhnan of Jedhafs as Shia Kadi. He was a progressive young man of a well-known family, with more education than most of the Shia Alims. He was interested in education and had travelled abroad. Through his influence the Government was able to start the Shia Wakf Department, and he himself compiled a list of the Wakf property in Bahrain. Unfortunately he died suddenly in 1928.

For some months no successor was appointed, but finally the Government chose Shaikh Ali bin Hassan al-Mousa and Shaikh Abdulla bin Mohammed Saleh; the former was appointed Kadi for the villages and the latter as Kadi of Manamah. Shaikh Ali bin Hassan still retains his position and is one of the three Shia Kadis who are now officiating.

Shaikh Abdulla acted as Kadi until 1935, when he was dismissed from his post in disgrace, having been prosecuted on a charge of criminal misappropriation. While he occupied the post of Kadi he was helpful and intelligent, but he became a rich man during the period of his office by stealing the property of orphans and minors.

After the dismissal of Shaikh Abdulla, Shaikh Ali bin Hassan was transferred to Manamah and two more Kadis were appointed, Shaikh Ali bin Jaffar and Shaikh Baqer al-Asfur. This arrangement is not very satisfactory as the three Kadis are all on bad terms with each other and the local political parties among the Baharna continually stir up trouble and play off the Kadis against each other in order to further their personal interests.

It is not surprising that the prestige and influence of the Shia Kadis has declined to a remarkable extent during the last ten years. The Kadis in the past, whatever their faults, had a tremendous influence over the Shia community; now this influence only exists over a few of the country people. The decline of influence is due partly to the change in the mental outlook of the young men in Manamah, but the main cause is the dishonest and unsuitable behaviour of certain of the Kadis.

These conditions will continue until men can be appointed as Kadis who are properly educated and versed in Shera law and legal procedure. The present Kadis, both Shia and Sunni, possess less general education than the present generation of young Arabs, and even their knowledge of the Shera law is, in the case of some of them, very slight. The only way to improve the status and reputation of the Shera Courts is for the Government to arrange for the education abroad of some suitable young men who will eventually become Kadis. The Government is at present trying to arrange for the education of the son of Seyd Adnan with this end in view.

**The Mejlis Tajara and Diving Court.** The Mejlis Tajara is probably the oldest judicial institution in Bahrain, excepting the Shera Courts. Originally it was known as the Mejlis al Urfi, and consisted of two or three local merchants who dealt with commercial cases. At that time it was not connected with the Salafieh al Ghoos, or Diving Court, which was a notorious institution consisting of one or two old pearl merchants whose judgments were invariably in favour of the merchants and Nakhudas and against the divers. This diving court was abolished at the time of the reforms, and for some years it ceased to exist. About ten years ago the Mejlis al Urfi was put on a different footing, and a shaikh of the Ruling Family was appointed as President of the Mejlis. Previously there had been no president. A year or two later further changes were made; the number of members was increased from eleven to twenty-two, divided into two committees, of which one committee sits once every fortnight. At the request of members, the Mejlis became known as the Mejlis Tajara, and on each of the two councils two or three members were appointed who belonged to the diving industry and were capable of dealing with diving cases. Thus the old diving court was amalgamated into the Mejlis Tajara. Another innovation at this time was the introduction of foreign members on the committee which had previously consisted exclusively of Bahrain subjects. Shaikh Rashid bin Mohammed al Khalifah was for many years President of the court until about a year ago, when he was appointed to the Bahrain Court and his place was taken by Shaikh Mohammed, the eldest son of Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa. The court is governed by regular rules, the President has the casting vote in cases of a divided opinion, and occasionally in important cases all the twenty-two members appear together. The increase in the members was made to ensure more regular attendance. The members, all of

them local merchants and many of them members of the two municipal councils, found it impossible to give up a whole morning every week to this voluntary work, but now that they only sit once every fortnight their attendance is more regular. 671 692

The Mejlis Tajara deals with cases both from Bahrain courts and from the Agency courts. It relieves the other courts of much work and is frequently successful in effecting compromises between parties, which saves time and trouble. In its present form the Mejlis Tajara is a satisfactory institution. 693

**Small Mixed Court.** This court was started in 1928 and deals with civil cases up to Rs 400/-. The Bahrain magistrate, a junior member of the Ruling Family, sits with a representative of the Political Agent, usually the Indian Assistant. This court has been a useful training ground for some of the younger shaikhs who, after working in it for some years, have been promoted to more responsible positions.

**Laws and Codes.** At present, except in the Shera courts, which decide cases according to Islamic law, none of the Bahrain courts follow any regular law or code. In important criminal cases the Bahrain Court is guided by the Sudan Penal Code, which is almost identical to the Indian Penal Code, but in minor criminal cases it gives sentences which it considers suitable and compatible with local opinions and conditions. Frequently these punishments differ very greatly to those which would be inflicted on foreigners found guilty of exactly the same offences who are tried and sentenced according to the Indian Penal Code. As an example of this, it is the practice of the Bahrain Court to sentence any person who contravenes the Bahrain liquor regulation, for instance, by being in possession of liquor, to undergo eight months' hard labour in the case of a first offence. 671

Civil cases are judged according to local custom and practice and, in cases which are applicable, especially in land disputes and diving cases, according to the various Government proclamations which are issued from time to time. Unfortunately, these proclamations have never been coded and not all the public are conversant with them.

Until about two years ago the practice of the courts of dealing with cases without a regular code was not objected to by the public, but during the agitation raised by a small faction of the Mansimah Shias in 1935 a demand was made for a code of laws to be adopted by the Bahrain courts. A committee was appointed by the Government consisting of Shaikh Abdulla bin Shaikh Hamad and two Arabs and two Baharna, assisted by the clerk of the courts. It was intended that they should first codify all the existing proclamations, but it soon became apparent that the proclamations themselves, with the exception of the Diving Laws and a few other detailed regulations such as land registration rules, etc., were inadequate even to form a basis of a simple code for the courts. The committee have been meeting once a week for over a year and they have accomplished much valuable work, but it will probably take them another year to complete their task. The code which they are drafting refers only to civil matters such as rules regarding fishing rights, court rules, etc., etc., and it is not proposed that they should compose a criminal code. If a criminal code is necessary, and in my opinion it is not, it would save time and trouble if the Sudan Penal Code was altered to suit local conditions and then adopted. It has the advantage of being available in Arabic.

**Police Regulations.** The Bahrain police are not subject to or instructed in any regular form of regulations. As 90% of them are illiterate, it would be difficult to make them conversant with such regulations as the Indian Code of Criminal Procedure, but the police deal with an ever-increasing number of cases in which foreigners, including Europeans, Americans, and Indians, are involved. Only one of the N.C.O.'s has any knowledge of Indian rules and regulations affecting police cases and prosecutions, and as the courts in which foreigners are normally charged with criminal offences are governed by the Indian regulations, the position of the police is liable to become increasingly difficult. The Bahrain courts do not allow any foreigners to appear before the courts as pleaders or Wakils, but if in the future any professional Indian pleaders should appear in cases connected with the Bahrain police, he would probably be able to pick holes in the method of presenting cases. 671 693 695

At the end of the year the amount in the Police Provident Fund was Rs. 2,11,507. The balance of the Police Fund was Rs. 11,563/-, the sum of Rs. 5,744/- was paid out in loans to Police and Naturs, most of the payments being for building or repairing houses. 625 657

**Crimes and Accidents.** There was a slight increase in the number of serious crimes which is thought to be partly due to the large influx of foreigners, especially Omanis, during recent years. 674 186

On 25th January, 1953, some Omanis who were living in the brothel area, missed one of their party, Abdulla bin Salim. They went to his house which was found to be locked. One of them climbed over the wall and on entering the house he found Abdulla with his throat cut. The victim was a bad character, a procurer in the brothel area. Police investigations produced no evidence to justify a prosecution.

On 13th December, 1952, a youth named Abdul Husain bin Isa, who worked as a car cleaner and who habitually slept in a garage in Manama, was found by the owner of the garage, when he came to take out his car, lying dead on his bed with a wound in his back and signs of having been throttled. The garage doors were locked, one key was in the possession of the youth and the owner of the garage had another key. The garage, however, could have been entered by an inner door. There appeared to be no motive for the murder as the victim was not of the type to be associated with an affair of sex. The Police arrested the owner of the garage and his brother and laid a charge of murder against them in the Bahrain Court. The family of the murdered man were insistent that he had been murdered by the owners of the garage. The case was heard and the accused were acquitted owing to lack of evidence. 674 695 681

On 17th May, 1953, one Abdul Husain bin Haji Sulman bin Khalaf, a local Bahraini, was walking in a lane near his house, at night. His brother, Ibrahim, came on him from behind and stabbed him twice with a knife. He was seriously injured but after hospital treatment he recovered. The reason for the attack was a family quarrel. The attacker was sentenced to four years imprisonment with hard labour.

On 7th November, 1952, two men were cleaning their hands with petrol at one of the garages in Manama. Another man lit a match which ignited the petrol causing serious burns to both of the men one of whom subsequently died in hospital.

An Omani came from Dubai and reported to the Police that two years before his son, aged 18, who was working in a garage in Bahrain, died from burns. It was established that the boy had died in hospital as a result of burns but no evidence was forthcoming about the cause of the burns.

A man who was arrested for pickpocketing attempted to commit suicide by cutting his throat with a razor blade, in the Police Station.

There were two deaths from electrocution. A boy of 12 years caught hold of an electric wire in a shop and was killed, and a man climbed an electric standard, in order to catch birds, touched a live wire and was killed immediately. [165]

Five cases of accidental drowning occurred, two men were lost when their small fishing craft capsized, an old man, reputed to be nearly 100 years old, fell into the sea from a fishing boat during stormy weather off Barbar and two children were drowned on the shore west of Manama town. In none of these cases was there any suggestion of foul play.

On 23rd August, 1953, some boys were out shooting on the shore near Jasrah. A shot from the gun of Mohamed Ahmed Al Ghatam entered the neck of one Ibrahim bin Mohamed Al Khalifah and killed him. The owner of the gun immediately left Bahrain. His father was ordered to pay Rs. 5000 to the relatives of the victim and to remove himself from Jasrah and an order was passed against the son forbidding him to return to Bahrain for an indefinite period. The families were related and were branches of the Ruling Family.

There were 280 cases of theft reported to the Police against 303 cases in 1371. Of these cases 55 were presented in Court, 133 cases were undetected and 92 cases were not proceeded with for lack of evidence. Most of the cases were pickpocketing and thefts of clothes.

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189
51





## ACCIDENTS RETURN 1372

Total Number of Accidents .. 142

| ACCIDENTS Involving Death or Injury to Persons | | | ACCIDENTS Involving Damage to Vehicles. | | ACCIDENTS Involving Damage to Property. | | ACCIDENTS Involving Injury to Animals. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 55 | | | 95 | | 8 | | 3 | |
| Number of Persons Injured. 79 | | | Number of Vehicles Damaged 143 | | Property Damaged. 8 | | Number of Animals Injured. 3 | |
| Slightly. | Seriously. | Fatally. | Slightly. | Seriously. | Slightly. | Seriously. | Killed. | Injured. |
| 40 | 29 | 10 | 107 | 36 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 2 |

COURT PROCEEDINGS AS RESULT OF ACCIDENTS .. .. .. 55

| BAHRAIN COURT | | | | AGENCY COURT | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number Cases. | Number of Persons Accused. | Convictions. | Acquittals. | Number Cases. | Number of Persons Accused. | Convictions. | Acquittals. |
| 45 | 45 | 40 | 5 | 10 | 10 | 10 | Nil. |

The two animals shown above as "Injured" are : Two Donkeys.

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**Abolition of visas.** An order was issued at the beginning of the year allowing nationals of Oman, the Trucial Coast, Muscat, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the Yemen to enter Bahrain without being in possession of visas for Bahrain, issued by the British Consular or other authorities, provided that they had valid national passports or travel documents endorsed for Bahrain. Unfortunately this arrangement enabled a large number of Persians to enter Bahrain carrying travel papers describing them as being subjects of Trucial Shaikhdoms. The Government has no wish to restrict Arabs from other parts of the Gulf from coming to work in Bahrain, where there is still a demand for unskilled labour, but it views with distaste any increase in the Persian minority which exists in Bahrain. When it became evident that a number of Persians were entering Bahrain under the guise of being permanent residents of Oman or the Trucial Coast the passport authorities were ordered to allow such persons to remain in Bahrain not longer than 15 days. It is estimated that during the year about 9,075 immigrants from Oman and the Trucial Coast entered Bahrain in order to find work, they were issued with permits to remain in Bahrain for one year, subject to renewal. In almost every case the immigrants were men.

**Illegal Entries.** The number of persons who were arrested and repatriated to their countries, having attempted to enter the country without travel documents, was 124, consisting of 68 Pakistanis, 23 Omanis and 33 Persians. The number of persons who succeeded in entering Bahrain without being caught is undoubtedly large. The Pakistanis crossed the Gulf to Muscat by dhows and continued their journey by foot up the coast to Doha, there they chartered a dhow to take them to the nearest port in Saudi Arabia, on their way to Mecca. The Nakhuda, however, landed them on the Bahrain coast, somewhere near Jaw, probably telling them that it was the coast of Arabia. These unfortunate pilgrims were eventually sent back by steamer to Karachi.

During the year the Bahrain courts heard four cases against Bahrain Nakhudas who had landed passengers in Bahrain knowing that they were illegal entrants. They were severely dealt with. Most of the passenger smuggling is done by Qatar Nakhudas who land the people on unfrequented stretches of coast or on shoals on the Eastern side of Bahrain. Two Persian Nakhudas were prosecuted in the Agency Courts and sentenced to imprisonment and fines for the same offence.

In January 1953 information was received that a certain Persian Nakhuda, Ghulam Reza, a naturalised Bahrain subject, had arranged to ship a number of Persians to Bahrain. His launch arrived with 63 Persians on board who were refused permission to land, not being in possession of papers. They were transferred to another launch bound for Kuwait. Later some of the same passengers were found in Manama and it was discovered that the Nakhuda had, after leaving Bahrain, transferred the passengers to another vessel and landed them on the coast where they were met by motor buses which conveyed them to Manama. Ghulam Reza was subsequently arrested, prosecuted, imprisoned for one year and fined Rs. 4,000. His charge was Rs. 150 a head for landing Persians in Bahrain.

**Bahrain Nationality.** During the year 31 applications were received from people of various nationalities applying for Bahrain nationality. Of these 19 were accepted, being from persons long resident in Bahrain and possessing immovable property ; three of these were Indian subjects and three were Pakistanis. The courts investigated 44 applications by Persians who claimed to have been born in Bahrain. Proof of birth, especially in the case of older people, cannot easily be produced. Only 9 of these applicants were able to prove that they were born in the country. At the beginning of the year an order was issued to the effect that no Persian whose application for Bahrain nationality was accepted would be issued with a passport until two years had elapsed from the date on which he was granted nationality. As a result of this order only a small number of Persians submitted applications. The main object of the Persians who applied for Bahrain nationality was to obtain passports with which to enter Saudi Arabia where their presence was not appreciated.

**Passport Official's Course.** Ali bin Abdulla, a clerk in the Passport Department, did a course in England studying and learning passport and immigration methods and procedure. The course was arranged by the British Government, the results appear to be satisfactory.

316 339 is quarried, lorry loads of wood are brought out, and, as in the manufacture of lime, layers of gypsum are interspersed with layers of wood and the pile fired. The slabs of gypsum are then removed and beaten into a fine powder which, when mixed with water, acts like cement. It has the advantage of being quick setting and is still used by those who cannot afford to buy imported cement.

### WEAVING

288 438 291 [697] Weaving is carried on in some of the villages of Bahrain, in Abu Saiba, south of the Budaiya Road and elsewhere. "Awzars," simple garments worn by the villagers around their waists in the summer, are woven from imported cotton, while in many coastal villages the sailors spend the winters weaving sail-cloth. The prisoners on Jidda Island are also employed in weaving, on imported Irish looms, but their activities can hardly be classed as a local industry.

## CHAPTER VIII

## THE ANTIQUITIES OF BAHRAIN

### THE WORLD'S LARGEST GRAVEYARD

172 764 THE tumuli of Bahrain have never been counted, but their number has been estimated at 50,000. In these tumuli Bahrain possesses one of the unsolved mysteries of archaeology, for despite the numerous expeditions that have been made to discover their origin, this is still in dispute.

There are three groups of tumuli in Bahrain. The largest group is that which lies on the plain between Aali and the Rifaas. The second group is to the far north of Bahrain, on each side of the Manama-Budaiya Road between Jidhafs and Diraz. The third group, consisting of a few dozen graves, is in the clearing to the north of the Suq al-Khamis Mosque.

The first group of tombs is daily passed by hundreds of people travelling between Manama and Awali, but the best examples of tumuli in this group are not along the main road but are near the village of Aali. These mounds are the largest in Bahrain and while some of them are used by the villagers for baking their pottery, the majority are just as they were left after their opening by various archaeologists. Most of these tombs face south-west and P. B. Cornwall[1] has suggested that the reason for this is that the builders of the mounds worshipped the Evening Star, Venus, which at sunset lies to the south-west. The majority of the tumuli have two storeys and, in the chamber tombs, there are niches cut into the sides of the passages. The sides and roofs of the graves themselves are of local stone and were originally covered with a layer of gypsum. Some of the tumuli are surrounded by low walls of mud and gravel. Finds in these tumuli have included the bones of men and animals, ivory statues, pieces of circular boxes, golden ornaments and earthenware vessels decorated with black stripes.

There is little agreement among the experts as to the origin and dating of these burials and each has drawn his own deductions from the

two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya. It[1] was the home of the Dawasir tribe who came to Bahrain shortly after it was conquered by the al-Khalifah and established themselves here. The tribe acquired great wealth and prestige, owning many pearling dhows, and by degrees they became so powerful that they were able to raid with impunity the neighbouring Bahrana villages. They even challenged the authority of the al-Khalifah, but Shaikh Hamed, on becoming Deputy Ruler in 1924, threatened to punish them if they did not behave. This they considered as an infringement of their liberties and they therefore announced to the Ruler that if he prevented them behaving as they were accustomed, they would leave Bahrain and settle in Saudi Arabia. Shaikh Hamed refused to give way and the Dawasir left Bahrain. This, however, was not the last of them, for during many years it was believed that they were preparing to invade Bahrain. To prevent this a force was maintained in the Islands. However, the scare eventually died down and Budaiya after lying deserted, was later partly re-occupied by other Bahrainis, while some of the Dawasir gradually returned, many of them settling in Manama and Muharraq.

The ruins of great houses and mosques still remain, while scattered between them are the houses of the new inhabitants, who do much fishing in the prolific waters near the town, and also work in Manama and Awali. Before reaching the Police Post that marks the entrance to Budaiya the road passes through the Government Experimental Garden where new agricultural methods are tried and where cows and sheep, kept under scientific conditions, are studied for their productivity. From the Budaiya Pier launches go to Jidda, the prison island, many of whose inmates come over daily to work in the Budaiya Garden. The Pier is also used by the Ruler when he visits his island of Umm an-Nasaan.

The small Government school at Budaiya just south of the Government gardens, in addition to teaching the usual Primary School subjects gives lessons in agriculture for many of the boys' fathers own or work in gardens in the neighbourhood.

### DIRAZ

Diraz is a village about half a mile north of the Budaiya Road and about 1½ miles from Budaiya itself. It consists mainly of stone houses, many of which are two-storied. The village stands on high ground among the sand dunes and is very similar to Beni Jumra which faces it a little way off on the opposite side of the road. It is so surrounded by clumps of date palms that its size is not appreciated from the road. A feature noticeable here, as well as in many other parts of Bahrain, is that date palms grow in groups at the bottom of depressions in the sand and are not irrigated by water channels but obtain moisture from below the surface of the ground.

North-west of the village there are mounds which indicate the existence of a much larger settlement in the past and an extensive area of ground is covered with glass and pottery sherds. Among the ruins



[1] [the town of Budaiya .. Analyst]

of the Egg," a small village with many seafaring inhabitants. To the north of Sitra there is a very pleasant sandy beach looking towards Umm a-Hasan where there is excellent bathing; the view also includes Nabih Salih and Jaziyra. There is deep water to the north of Sitra, and it is here that the Bahrain Government is building the new Port of Manama with a pier running into deep water from the shore between Umm al-Hasan and Jufair. 361 [504]

JIDDA

This island is about 2½ miles from Budaiya. It is small and rocky and in appearance unlike any of the other Bahrain Islands. Its high cliffs rise abruptly from the water and a few fort-like buildings are silhouetted against the sky-line. On the south side of the island there is a level strip of land which is extensively cultivated. Jidda is Bahrain's penal settlement; here all long term prisoners are detained, spending their time cutting stone, weaving and working in the gardens. There is a small house on the top of the cliffs above the jetty which catches all the wind in the summer and which is used by the Adviser to the Bahrain Government. Being a prison island, Jidda is forbidden to general visitors. 101 133 697 [486]

The stone quarries at Jidda are of great age and it is likely that the large stones which line the graves in the burial mounds were cut here. There is an Arabic inscription roughly cut on one of the cliffs which reads as follows : 316

"During the month of Shaban in the year 968 (April/May, 1561) there was completed the cutting of the 100,000th rock for the mending of the tower of the Bahrain fort in the wazirate of the Great Wazir Jilal ad-Din Murad Mahmud by the hand of the slave . . . " (a few words after this are unreadable).

UMM AN-NASAAN

This, the second largest of the Bahrain islands, lies a few miles across the shallow water to the south of Jidda. It is sandy and flat, with the exception of two small limestone hills towards its centre which break the monotony of its shape. At the north end of the island there are several natural springs and artesian wells from which extensive date gardens are irrigated; they were planted by the late Ruler of Bahrain, H.H. Shaikh Hamed, who also established on the island a herd of black buck and gazelle, the former being imported from India and the latter from the mainland of Bahrain. 101 133 312 [136]

There is evidence of ancient habitations on Umm an-Nasan, foundations of many old houses are visible and sherds of pottery can be picked up. Local legend has it that Nasaan, after whom the island is named, was one of the early rulers of Bahrain, but this legend has not been substantiated by historical research. 172

## JUDICIAL

(From the report of Mr. Salim Al Arayedh, Superintendent, Judicial Department)

The number of cases of all kinds which were filed in the Senior Court, consisting of Shaikh Daij bin Hamed and Shaikh Ali bin Ahmed, sitting separately except on one day of the week when both sit together with the Adviser, was 1158. This was 258 more than in the previous year. The cases consisted of 451 civil suits of which 15 related to administration of estates, 430 criminal charges, including a number of trivial matters which would not usually be dealt with by a senior court, and 227 land registration cases. The increase over the previous year was mainly due to the court having acquired jurisdiction over nationals of other Gulf States. Of these cases 167 were civil suits. 691

In all the courts civil suits predominate and a high proportion of them are concerned with immovable property. The high value of land, especially in the towns, has made the public more conscious of the importance of boundaries and the worth of property. There has been much litigation over inheritance and shares in houses and gardens. Heirs in estates who in the past were content to live together in one building now apply to the courts for an order to divide the property so that they may sell their shares in it. Because such high prices can be obtained for land anybody who can claim even a small share in a building or a garden takes his case to the courts. 691 423 428

It has been noticed in the Appeal Court too that questions of land ownership and boundaries have predominated.

There were no important civil cases and, apart from traffic offences, no serious crimes. A man stabbed his brother during a quarrel, inflicting "grievous hurt" for which he was sentenced to four years rigorous imprisonment and in two fatal traffic accidents drivers of vehicles were sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment and to pay fines of Rs. 5,000/-. In certain traffic offences the occupants of cars ran away which suggests that they were probably under the influence of liquor when the accidents occurred. 681 697

Fines amounting to Rs. 7,623/- were paid into court and the sum collected in court fees was Rs. 43,599.

In the small courts 1,964 new cases were filed, 1,668 cases were disposed of and at the end of the year 692 cases were pending. The courts issued 506 execution orders leaving 155 to be dealt with at the end of the year. 691

The Sunni and Shia Courts heard 269 and 172 cases respectively leaving 119 and 51 cases pending. Out of 129 cases which were referred to the Majlis Tajara for an opinion 94 cases were returned to the courts and 35 cases were pending.

The Sunni Shera Court did not work smoothly during the year owing to differences of opinion among the three Kadis, two of them being of the Maliki and one of the Shafi Sect. At one time all cases were judged according to the Maliki tenets, this being the sect of the Ruling Family, but some years ago the Government issued a direction to the court according to which if the plaintiff, or both parties, followed the Shafi doctrine then their case should be tried according to Shafi law. 692 693

There has also been criticism of the Maglis Tajara which consists of a group of leading merchants appointed by the Government who give opinions on commercial matters and local custom. They are busy men and they receive no pay and when it is inconvenient for them to attend the court, and it is frequently inconvenient, they do not appear. Often less than half of the number are present. In addition, they are closely connected either as competitors or partners and it is sometimes difficult for them to give impartial opinion.

The Shia Appeal Kadi gave judgment in 18 cases, the Senior Appeal Court heard 27 cases and the Junior Appeal Court dealt with 28 cases.

276 439 expensive in Bahrain, and successful opium smugglers and retailers make large profits. Opium is easy to hide and lacks the strong smell which frequently leads to the detection of locally made liquor. In opium cases the police depend mainly on informers, who are usually men who are themselves concerned in the opium business but who consider that they have not had a fair share of the profits and so give their friends away. Opium has been discovered hidden in gramophones, clocks, flour-bins, and in the ceilings of rooms.

273 Illicit liquor used to consist entirely of locally distilled arak made from dates. Ten years ago it was manufactured only by two or three Iraqis and Jews, who were gradually rounded up, but in about 1930 there was a great increase in arak, and a number of Bahrain subjects took to making it, probably because it was such a profitable trade. The illicit liquor traffickers displayed great ingenuity in hiding their stills and their cellars: arak was made in ruined houses, in out-of-the-way date gardens and in subterranean rooms which still exist in a few old houses which were used in the past as places for hiding valuables in times of war. Distributors kept bottled supplies of arak in wells, in false walls, under rubbish heaps, and sometimes under the seats of motor cars. In one case the police discovered that the municipal lunatic asylum was a distributing centre, and the keeper and his wife were members of a liquor gang.

About two years ago, after numerous prosecutions, there appeared to be a decrease in the use of arak, but cases began to occur in which people used methylated spirits as a drink. During the last year this practice has increased very much, and a concoction consisting of methylated spirits mixed with eau-de-Cologne is rapidly taking the place of arak. It is probably more injurious to the health than arak, but it is very popular with women of the town, and apparently a small quantity causes drunkenness in a short time. Methylated spirit is only sold to reliable dealers, and is mixed before being sold with a chemical to make it unpalatable; there are no restrictions, however, on the sale of scent.

The Ruler, the religious leaders, and the majority of the people in Bahrain disapprove very strongly of drink, but there is a small section of the community which would like the restrictions on liquor to be removed. The great influx of well-paid foreigners from countries where the sale of liquor is allowed is the chief reason for the increase of cases against the liquor laws. There is undoubtedly an occasional leakage of liquor from the Bahrain Petroleum Company, but this is not sufficiently frequent to have any effect on the liquor question in general. The most effective way of preventing the increase in drinking is to deal very drastically with any cases which are proved in the courts.

● 697 **The State Jail.** The jail is in the Fort and consists of a number of cells and a yard. Prisoners are well fed—they usually put on weight during their term of imprisonment—and are provided with clothes. Convicts wear leg-irons, which is a measure to prevent their escape, as they work outside the Fort most of the day. There are no regular warders, but each section of the police takes in turn jail duties; this was found more satisfactory than having a permanent jail staff. Usually there are between twenty and thirty convicts in the prison. Debtors receive the same food as prisoners, but wear their own clothes and are not obliged to do any work apart from cleaning the prison. As most of the convicts serve for short terms, it has not been possible to organise any prison industries. There is no women's prison, but there are two cells adjoining the house of the senior police N.C.O., whose wife acts as a wardress if any women are confined in the Fort. The question of a small building for women prisoners is under consideration, and the present jail is also to be repaired during the coming year.

625 **The Present Police Force.** Although the existing police force was enlisted locally, the men are not all Bahrain subjects. The present strength of the police is 204 N.C.O.'s and men, including Bahrain Arabs, Shia Baharna, local Persians, and one or two Persians who served in the South Persian Rifles, Kurds, Yemenis, Iraqis, mainland Arabs, Swahilis, Somalis, Sudanese, and a number of manumitted slaves; the last category make very good policemen. In the past, service in the police was regarded as somewhat derogatory, but in the last few years the public attitude towards the police has changed: there is now keen competition to enlist in the force, and when a few recruits are required, hundreds of men present themselves at the Fort for enlistment. It is now possible to take only picked men whose height, chest measure-

### *Muharraq Island*

101 This is the second largest island of the group and in all probability the "Aradus" of the classical writers. It is located northeast of Bahrein and is about five and a half square miles in area, horseshoe shaped and only a mile wide. It is separated [491] from Bahrein by a channel spanned by a causeway a mile and a half long with a motor road and by a swinging bridge which was completed in 1941.

361 The chief city is MUHURRAQ, on the western side, the sec-162 ond largest city in the islands and the summer residence of the 633 Sheik. Its population is about 26,000. Muhurraq and Manama, on Bahrein Island, are each administered by a Municipal Committee which in addition to civic duties are jointly responsible for the upkeep of thirty per cent of the roads in the archipelago.

361 Other towns among the sixteen or more on Muhurraq which 162 should be mentioned are:

ARAD. This is an important date producing center with some sixteen thousand palm trees, on the southern shore of the Gulf of Arad. It is inhabited by the Baharinah.

HADD. Second in importance only to Muhurraq, Hadd is the leading pearl fishing center of the islands. It has a population of almost 10,000, consisting of Sādāt and Beni Yās. Since the English began to take a direct hand in the administration of the island it has become possibly the most modern of the cities, [242] with many up-to-date homes and an agricultural experiment [697] station as well as a modern penitentiary and the cottage of the British Financial Adviser.

The villages of Basatin, Qalali, Samahij and Dair, on the north and northeast coasts, are also important. Their population follows the Sunnite faith exclusively and those in Qalali belong to the Manani'a tribe.

508 Muhurraq Island has a military and civil airfield used by 712 the British Overseas Air Service. The field has limited fueling and repair facilities for normal traffic as well as minimum lighting, runway lights, and lighted wind indicators. There are hard surface, all weather runways with an elevation of two feet; the

pearls, and also the large scale manufacture of cultured pearls in Japan. It was indeed lucky for Bahrain that oil was found in 1932, or else she would have seen her principal industry slowly decline with nothing with which to replace it. Once the oil industry was established, however, it in its turn served to precipitate the decay of the older industry by providing employment with better conditions and higher pay than were to be found on the pearl banks. The decline had also been unwittingly aided by the reforms of the late Ruler, Shaikh Hamed, who, on becoming Deputy Ruler in 1923, found the working conditions of the industry in a shocking state. The pearl banks were productive and much money was being made but little of it went to the divers, many of whom had involved themselves in a form of financial slavery to the nakhudas. Divers were given advances by the captains before the season, to provide for their families while they were away at sea, and at the end of the season, while the sales of the pearls, were being carried out. The eventual result was that the captains gave advances far in excess of the money due to the divers at the end of the season and to repay these loans the divers were forced to work for the same captain in the following season. But each year the advances were again in excess of the divers' earnings and so they got deeper and deeper into debt to the captains. At the same time the latter were indebted to shore merchants for supplies, for which they were charged high rates of interest, although this was contrary to the Sheria Law. The captains passed this interest on to the divers, who thus paid a minimum of 50% of their original debt each year. Diving debts were bequeathed, sons of divers whose fathers died owing money to captains were forced to work for them, and a diver, if he became too old to work, was only released from diving if he was replaced by his son or some other relation. In addition to this, indebted divers were often made to work on land for their creditors, or were handed over as workers to merchants to whom the nakhuda owed money.

Shaikh Hamed was determined to abolish all these practices and was supported by some of the more progressive Arabs and the Shiite and Sunni judges, who disapproved of the whole system. Amongst the bitterest opponents of the reforms were the divers themselves who were persuaded by the nakhudas and merchants into believing that they were going to lose by them. The reforms were, however, introduced and resulted in fixed advances, the amounts of which were announced annually by proclamation, the restriction of interest on advances, and all advances in excess of the legal amounts to be unreclaimable in court. The divers were also entitled to seek other work on the condition that they repaid a certain proportion of their diving debt each year. Many thousands of debts were reduced and the special diving court, which had favoured the captains and merchants, was abolished and all diving cases were heard by the ordinary courts. Finally, the debts of a diver died with him and could not be inherited by his heirs. The result of these reforms was that the industry, although reduced in size was put on a much sounder footing and its workers were not forced to dive but did so because they wanted to.

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**1. Criminal Cases,** including capital offences, except cases of a trivial nature which are heard by the Small Court, are tried by the Bahrain Court. Death sentences are submitted to the Ruler for confirmation before promulgation.

**2. Civil Cases,** including estate cases, bankruptcy, inheritance, and divorce, are heard by the Bahrain Court, but the divorce and inheritance claims are passed on to the Shera Courts for judgment. Several very important cases have been settled by the Bahrain Court during the last ten years, including the Sindi case, in which the amount involved was over ten lacs.

**3. Diving Cases.** These cases are frequently referred to the Meglis Tajara, which has a special committee who are experts in diving law.

**4. Land Cases.** Land cases are very numerous and often very complicated, but in time they should decrease as by degrees more property is being registered in the Land Department, which reduces disputes. These cases include boundary disputes, water rights, Wakf claims, and rights of way. The local custom regarding the different divisions of water is in itself a complicated affair, and it has never been embodied in any regulation or code. All sales are registered after publication of proclamation calling on persons having a claim to the property to make it within a given time; but in addition to the proclamation, every sale or voluntary registration of ownership is submitted to the Bahrain Court after the proclamation has expired, and the court verifies, by hearing witnesses, the statement of the seller, with special regard to the interest of any women or minors. Although this may appear to be a cumbersome procedure, its value has been frequently proved by the court discovering that property of women or minors is being disposed of without the knowledge of the owners. Sales by foreigners, as well as by Bahrain subjects, pass through the Bahrain Court.

**5. Fish-Trap Cases.** These cases are numerous and are decided according to a local code governing the use of fish-traps. The rules of fish-trap ownership have not yet been recorded, but they are generally known to persons connected with this industry. The court usually appoints a committee to report on cases, but this practice, on the whole, is not satisfactory, as members of the committees are too susceptible to outside influence.

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**The Bahrain Small Court.** The court was instituted in 1927 (1346) to relieve the Bahrain Court of some of its work. In the beginning it dealt with civil cases in which the amount concerned was not more than Rs 100/-, but in 1935 its powers were extended and it now gives judgment in cases up to Rs 400/- and also hears minor criminal cases, but not diving cases. When the court was first started it was presided over by the Assistant Adviser, Captain Parke, and the Amir of Muharraq, Shaikh Mohammed bin Jabr.

**Shera Court, Sunni.** In 1926 it became evident that the Sunni Kadi, Shaikh Jasim, was no longer capable of carrying out his duties on account of his age and blindness. It was found that dishonest persons were able to obtain his seal and used it for their own purposes. The Government appointed three Sunni Ulema, Shaikh Abdul Latif bin Mohammed Al-Saad of Manamah, Shaikh Abdul Latif bin Ali Al-Jowdar of Muharraq, and Shaikh Abdul Latif bin Mahmood of Hedd as Kadis, and from that time they have sat together in the Sunni Shera Court. It was found that three Kadis on one bench was more satisfactory than a single Kadi. Their work, on the whole, has been satisfactory, but the public complain, with justification, of the slowness of the court. Simple cases are often before the court for over a year before a judgment is delivered, and the court usually has between two and three hundred pending cases on hand.

**Shera Court, Shia.** There have been many changes in the Shia Court during the last ten years. In 1926, Shaikh Khalaf was the only Shia Kadi. He had been Kadi for many years, although he had twice been dismissed for irregular practices, but each time, after an interval, he returned to power. His influence was very great; he was regarded as almost divine. In 1926, charges of accepting bribes and misappropriation were brought against him and proved in the court. He was finally dismissed and ordered to leave Bahrain. He retired to Iraq for some years, but eventually returned to Bahrain, where he is now living.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



## Government and Administration

The rule of the Sheikh, which is personal, is directly exerted over the part of Bahrein adjacent to Manāmah, and over the island of Muharraq, where he resides except during the four hottest months of the year. His authority over the rest of the principality is little more than nominal, for the land is divided among various relatives of his own, who hold it as almost independent fiefs, collecting their own taxes, and administering their own justice. Thus the islands of Sitrah and Nebi Sālih, with all the villages on the E. side of Bahrein to the S. of Khōr el-Kabb, and the inland villages of Rifā' esh-Sharqi and Rifā' el-Gharbi, are held by the Sheikh's brother Khālid. The subtraction of all this territory considerably reduces the Sheikh's revenue, which is derived not only from customs, but also from agricultural duties, taxes on pearl-boats, judicial fees, and rent of town lands, shops, or *khāns*. The Sheikh is assisted in the government by a *wazīr*, whose aid is all the more necessary, as the ruler is frequently absent on the mainland, chiefly for sporting purposes. In the towns of Manāmah and Muharraq there are deputy governors with the title of *emīr*.

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Justice, in criminal cases and important civil cases, is administered on behalf of the Sheikh by a chief qādhi. The treatment of minor cases depends upon the religious belief of the parties: if both are Sunnis, they go before the (Sunni) Sheikh of Muharraq: if both are Shiahs, before the (Shiah) Sheikh of Manāmah. There are, in addition, seven other qādhis permitted to adjudicate upon cases referred to them by agreement.

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Mercantile cases, especially those in which foreigners are concerned, are decided by a tribunal variously called *Mejlis el-'Urfi* or *Mejlis et-Tijārah*, a Customary or Commercial Court, with permanent members nominated by the Sheikh in consultation with the British Political Agent. When one or more of the parties to a case is a British subject, or when none of them are Bahrein subjects, the Mejlis is usually convoked by the Agent, and sits at the Agency, a representative of the Sheikh being permitted to attend. Cases arising out of pearl-diving operations are settled by a special board of arbitration known as the *Sāffat el-Ghaus*.

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## Recent History and Present Politics

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Although the Sheikhs of the Khalīfah family had been in direct relations with us since 1805, and under treaty since 1820, another sixty years elapsed before the ruler of Bahrein entered into a binding

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The financial progress of Bahrain during these years has been briefly as follows: five years of prosperity during which the State depended upon the diving industry, two lean years when the pearl market began to droop, two years of crisis during which the revenue did not cover the expenditure, one year of slight recovery followed by a sudden large increase of revenue from oil. It is likely that during the present year the revenue from oil alone will amount to more than double the total revenue of any previous year.

A detailed report on the revenue of these years is not necessary as it has been dealt with minutely in annual reports, but the accompanying figures show the annual income with explanations of any unusual rise or fall. The subject of this report is the last ten years, and it is not proposed in this report to deal with the future, but it may be stated that, in my opinion, the most urgent need for the State is to provide itself with a solid Reserve Fund which will assure it a regular income which can be depended upon even when oil begins to run dry. Unfortunately it is the nature of Arabs to be over-optimistic and to pay small heed to the future, so the need for building up this reserve will not be generally appreciated.

| *Year.* | *Customs Revenue.* | *Other Revenue.* | *Oil Royalty.* | *Total.* | *Remarks.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs | Rs | Rs | Rs | |
| 1344 | 8,82,000 | 1,80,000 | — | 10,62,000 | |
| 1345 | 10,68,000 | 3,37,000 | — | 14,05,000 | |
| 1346 | 11,43,000 | 97,000 | — | 12,40,000 | |
| 1347 | 11,24,000 | 91,000 | — | 12,15,000 | |
| 1348 | 9,98,000 | 1,36,000 | — | 11,34,000 | |
| 1349 | 6,89,000 | 1,28,000 | — | 8,17,000 | |
| 1350 | 6,85,000 | 1,19,000 | — | 8,04,000 | |
| 1351 | 6,00,000 | 84,000 | — | 6,84,000 | |
| 1352 | 6,08,000 | 89,000 | 29,000 | 7,26,000 | |
| 1353 | 6,57,000 | 1,63,000 | 67,000 | 8,87,000 | |
| 1354 | 6,91,000 | 83,000 | 5,68,000 | 13,42,000 | |
| 1355 | 8,74,000 | 81,000 | 6,92,000 | 16,47,000 | |

## THE STATE POLICE AND PUBLIC SECURITY

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**The Levy Corps.**

In 1926 the armed forces of Bahrain consisted of a Levy Corps, a few Persian police who were originally enlisted by the Municipality, and a body of 'Nisrun,' armed watchmen who patrolled the town at night. The Levy Corps provided a guard at the Political Agency and posts at Rafaa and Sitra. The Levy Corps, which consisted of so-called Baluchis recruited in Muscat, was commanded by a British Officer seconded from the Indian Army, assisted by an Indian Officer and several Indian N.C.O.'s from Punjabi regiments. In 1926 the Levy Corps was commanded by Captain Geake, who had succeeded Captain Campbell. The Levy Corps was intended mainly as a defence force in case of any serious disturbance or an attack on Bahrain by the Dawasir Ambs, who once lived at Budeya but left Bahrain in anger soon after Shaikh Hamad assumed control.

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In the spring of 1926 it was decided that the Indian Army officer should be replaced by a British official, who would act as Assistant Adviser and Commandant of the Levy Corps. Captain L. S. Parke was appointed in this capacity in place of Captain Geake, who returned to his regiment.

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**Political Disturbances.**

There was a general feeling of nervousness and unrest in Bahrain in 1926. Many people were afraid that the Dawasir would make a descent on the coast and a series of armed attacks on Shia villages, organised by disaffected members of the Ruling Family, were still fresh in the public mind. The present Ruler was not yet firmly established, many people were opposed to him, and in certain communities there was a feeling of bitter resentment against the new regime and the various reforms which had been introduced. Conditions were very different to what they are to-day: in the country few people would venture out unarmed at night, and in the towns there were frequent scenes of armed attacks.

5: Bahrain G-5 (192_-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

On 3rd August, Haji Sulman, the Chief of the police, was shot at in Manamah; this caused great excitement; on the next day the 'shooting' occurred. Major, now Colonel, Daly, who was then Political Agent, was in the office at the Fort, seated at a table, talking to the Indian officer who stood in front of him. One of the Levy Corps men, who thought he had been badly treated by the Subedar, came outside the window and shot the Subedar from behind. The shot went through the Subedar, who died later in the day, and carried off a piece of Major Daly's ear. The man shot and killed one of the Indian Havildars and, when pursued by Major Daly, attacked him with a bayonet and wounded him in several places. Finally he surrendered himself.

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There was an immediate panic in the town, crowds of people hurried into boats and set off for Muharraq, and shopkeepers closed their shops, thinking that the Dawasir were coming. Finally calm was restored. The affair was the action of a single individual who 'ran amok,' and it had no political significance; this opinion was not, however, shared by everybody. For about two months after the incident Bahrain was virtually under martial law. One, or sometimes two, of the sloops of the Persian Gulf Division were anchored in the harbour, and British naval guards were stationed at the Fort and at the Agency. The Levy Corps was disbanded and the men were sent back to Muscat, from whence many of them gradually returned to Bahrain as at that time there was no passport system and no check was kept on persons arriving in the country.

In the middle of October a detachment from one of the Punjabi regiments, commanded by a British officer, arrived in Bahrain and was stationed at the Fort. Shortly after their arrival the Baluchi Levy Corps man who had been the cause of all the trouble was tried, sentenced, and shot.

**Attempt to assassinate the Shaikh.**

About a month later Shaikh Hamad narrowly escaped assassination. He was driving out to one of his country houses after dinner, as was his custom, when he was shot at by four men at close range from behind a hedge at a bend in the road. The sudden glare of the car's powerful headlights evidently dazzled the men and their shots went low, hitting the car and missing the Shaikh, who at that time used always to sit in front next to the driver. Though the place of the ambush was only a mile or two from Manamah, no news of the attempt was received until next morning, and consequently the criminals escaped.

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In 1930, through the combined efforts of Haji Sulman, the local police officer and Shaikh Mohomed bin Jabr, who is now the Amir of Muharraq, the men who attempted to assassinate Shaikh Hamad were arrested. It was proved that they were some of the same men who had taken part in attacks on Shia villages, where they murdered and robbed men, women, and children. Their final arrest was the result of long and complicated investigations extending over several years, and the result of this work reflected great credit on the police who dealt with the case. The men were a gang of Hassawis who were employed by certain members of the Ruling Family as 'gunmen.' For a price they would shoot anybody. The complicity of their masters was proved in the Bahrain courts and the Shaikhs who were concerned were heavily fined and deprived of their offices. One of them, when the murderers were convicted, was acting as the President of one of the Bahrain courts. Shaikh Ibrahim bin Khalid, who was one of the principal persons concerned, has since died. The Hassawis being foreigners were tried in the Agency court and sentenced not to death but to imprisonment.

On November 3rd, 1926, the village of Senobis, about three miles from Manamah, was attacked by armed robbers, several of the villagers were killed, and one of the attackers was shot while carrying away plunder.

**Indian Levy Corps.**

After these various events it was decided that a regular and efficient force was needed to preserve law and order. A force consisting of ex-Indian Army Punjabi Moslems was enlisted by me in India, with the help of the Indian Army recruiting authorities. Captain L. S. Parke arrived at the end of 1926 and took over command of the new Levy Corps; he held the post of Commandant of Police and assistant Adviser until 1932 when, owing to the need for economy, his agreement was not renewed.

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The Indians, on the whole, were not a success, though they worked and behaved well, but they filled a gap at a time when a force of trained men was very necessary. The climate did not

701 625 suit them, they spoke no Arabic, and were regarded by the people of Bahrain as expensive foreign mercenaries; they were useless at ordinary police work, and the Indian Officers and N.C.O.'s caused constant trouble by incessant quarrels and intrigues. The Indians were enlisted for four years, but before this period had expired I began to enlist a force of local men as police, a project which I always strongly advocated. It was from this time that the present force was started, but the final transition was not completed until the end of 1932.

574 362 684 **Crime and Prostitution.** The number of serious crimes which are committed every year in Bahrain is small in comparison to the population, which is thought to be about 150,000. Usually about one or two cases of murder are dealt with by the police during the year, but it is possible that occasional murders take place which are not detected, especially murders of women and newly born children. Although in recent years Bahrain has progressed in many ways, there are still a number of Arabs living in Hedd and Muharraq who consider that they are justified in murdering their female relations if the women bring shame on the family. A few of the very old-fashioned Arabs even consider that because the Government does not ignore such murders it is encouraging immorality. The Kadis, however, although ultra conservative in their outlook, disapprove of men taking the law into their own hands and murdering women who misbehave. In some Arab countries the fear of punishment by death for immorality has a very salutary effect, but Bahrain, although described as an Arab state, has very little in common with real Arab countries. The Baharna, who form about three quarters of the population, are not true Arabs, and the rest of the population includes all the nationalities who live around the Gulf. The only real Arabs in Bahrain are the Khalifah and a few families who came over with them from the mainland and a small number of members of mainland tribes who live almost entirely in Hedd, Muharraq, Budeya, and two or three small villages on the south coast.

[162] [548] [164] Immorality is undoubtedly increasing, but the increase in prostitution is not due to the Government but is a matter of supply and demand. During the last two years numbers of foreigners earning good pay have come to Bahrain, usually without their families, from Persia, Iraq, and India, and this has undoubtedly caused an increase in prostitution. Venereal disease is rampant, and the proportion of persons suffering from it, especially in ophthalmic forms, is very high. The medical supervision of prostitutes would undoubtedly result in an improvement in the public health. This suggestion was discussed and approved by the Manamah Municipal Council some years ago, but it has not yet been possible to arrange the medical organisation to cope with this matter.

674 681 Most of the criminal cases which are dealt with by the police are cases of theft, assault, and immorality. Several important gangs of thieves have been rounded up during the last ten years. Some of these gangs were well provided with arms and had regular methods of disposing of stolen property in Bahrain or on the mainland. Foreigners, especially Hassawis, form the majority of the criminals. There are a number of inveterate thieves who spend the greater part of their lives in prison. Such persons, on the mainland, would be punished by cutting off of their hands and finally by decapitation. The punishments inflicted by the Bahrain courts are whippings, fines, and imprisonment, but imprisonment to many of these people is no hardship: the work is not hard, they are given better food than they would obtain themselves, and the only real punishment is being deprived of women.

273 276 **Drugs and Liquor.** Liquor and drugs, such as opium, are forbidden in Bahrain, but in spite of the severe penalties which are enforced by the Bahrain courts against persons contravening the liquor regulations, the habit of drinking liquor and smoking opium is, in my opinion, steadily increasing. Ten years ago very few people drank liquor, and the smoking of opium was entirely confined to foreigners, Persians, Indians, and Baluchis. To-day many of the younger Arabs have acquired a liking for spirits, partly because they have had opportunities for drinking while travelling abroad, and frequent cases have occurred in which Arabs have been found to be taking opium.

276 439 Opium is smuggled into Bahrain from Persia, usually in native crafts, but sometimes hidden in merchandise on the mail steamers. It varies in quality, most frequently it is in large lumps weighing four or five pounds, but sometimes it is in paper-covered sticks sealed up in bundles. It is very

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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North Bahrain in 1635. A map taken from a Portuguese book on India (*see Chapter VIII*).

*Photo : Courtesy of Royal Egyptian Geographical Society.*

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Bahrain State Police, Mounted Section.

*Photo : K. P. Narayan.*

south-west corner the town is deserted and in ruins. Also on this plain is the Abu Zaidan Mosque, built over a spring of the same name. This mosque has recently been repaired by the Government and is much used by the Shia people of Manama, especially by the women during weddings.

To the north of the Budaiya Road is the ruined mosque of Abu Mahara, a strange little building with two storeys and a tall column in the centre of the spring. This mosque was built in the year 889 A.H. (1484 A.D.) as shown by an inscription to this effect in its west wall.

There are many other mosques in Bahrain, some of which contain inscriptions giving the date of their foundation, but they are of comparatively recent date and the mosques themselves are of no architectural interest.

### THE FORTS OF BAHRAIN

Portuguese and Persians, Arabs and Omanis, all these have at one time or another attacked and occupied Bahrain and have retained control of the islands by the construction and garrisoning of forts and castles. The oldest surviving fort in Bahrain is the Qalat al-Ajaj, built by the Portuguese some time after their occupation of Bahrain in 1521. This fort lies on the northern shore of Bahrain Island some three miles from Manama and the easiest way to visit it is by driving along the Manama-Budaiya Road and then by turning off to the north when the ruins of the fort can be seen through the date palms.

On the sea shore below the fort can be seen the steps by which the Portuguese entered their boats, but with the exception of these remains there are no relics of the Portuguese in Bahrain. A number of cannon have been found, but there is a surprising absence of inscriptions, coins or gravestones.

The exact date of the construction of the fort is not known, but the fort was repaired in 1562 and 1586, this need for continual repair was no doubt due to the many revolts which took place in Bahrain against the Portuguese. Shaikh Khalifah an-Nabhani, in his history of Bahrain, mentions that he visited the fort and saw this latter date inscribed in four places on the walls of the fort, but today there is no sign of these inscriptions.

Page 62 shows a map of north Bahrain Island and Muharraq taken from a Portuguese book of the seventeenth century. It is interesting to see that whereas the Portuguese fort, in fact, has five sides, with square towers at four corners and a turret at the fifth, in the map the fort appears as square in shape while the moat is five-sided. The fort is at present in such a bad state of repair that it is almost impossible to discover the purposes of the various towers and chambers found in it, but an idea can be obtained of the great skill and care that went into the making of the walls by an examination of the towers and wall on the west side of the fort. The moat is no longer filled by the sea due to its neglect, although after the expulsion of the Portuguese the fort continued to be used by the Persian garrison in Bahrain.

A further examination of the map reveals that in the time of the

Portuguese there was a church in Bahrain (bottom left-hand corner) and it is possible that the ruins that can be seen by the side of the road leading to the fort were once a church. Also in the map is a village of black-roofed houses with one tall minaret-like building, probably the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, whose twin minarets, as stated above, are of comparatively recent origin. The map also shows a number of small black houses facing on to a bay, these could represent the town of Manama, then a village, which is known to have existed in the time of the Portuguese. What is more surprising is the large two-storeyed fort on Muharraq Island ; this cannot be explained as easily as the other items, for there is to-day only one fort on Muharraq Island, that of Arad, which is known to have been built by the Omanis in 1800. It could be that they built their fort on the ruins of another older one, but it is also possible that this fort represents Muharraq town, which, until comparatively recently, was protected by a wall. On the map to the right of the fort is a small building with two flags, probably the tomb of some local notable, and to the left of the fort there is another group of houses representing either Muharraq or one of the coastal villages. Finally there is the island of Abu Mahir, whose fort is indicated by a small tower set in the sea to the left of Muharraq Island. The book from which this map is taken is in the Bibliothéque Nationale de Paris and the map is here reproduced by kindness of the Royal Geographical Society of Egypt.

Some miles south of the Jebal ad-Dukhan there is a hill called 'Amr and crowning it is a fort, a simple construction of loose stones, built, according to tradition, by Shaikh Jabbara, who became ruler of Bahrain about 1698 A.D. Far from gardens and fresh water, this fort was in fact in an ideal position from which to guard Bahrain against foreign enemies, for the sea is visible to the east and the west. The story of Shaikh Jabbara will be told in Part III.

The palace of Shaikh Farir is said to have been situated at Rifaa ash-Sharqi, overlooking the central plain of Bahrain island and, to-day, the oil town of Awali. The fort of Rifaa ash-Sharqi in its present form was built by Shaikh Sulman bin Ahmed al-Khalifah, one of the early Khalifah rulers, who started work on it in 1812. The wooden doors that he caused to be set up can still be seen at the entrance to the house of the Amir of Rifaa, the inscriptions that they bear, when the numerical values of the letters are added up, indicate that the fort was built in the above year.

Returning to Manama, we pass the Qalat ad-Diwan, to-day used as the H.Q. of the Bahrain State Police. Although this fort has been modernised, the main outline is still recognisable as it was built on the orders of Nadir Shah, after he seized Bahrain in 1739. This fort contained the Persian garrison in Bahrain till they were expelled by the Khalifah. Shaikh Isa (1869-1932) often used the Qalat ad-Diwan as his summer palace until it was taken over by the Police.

In Muharraq Island a rather comic toy-like fort sits on the seashore of Arad Bay [redacted] Muharraq town. A simple construction of

172 712 high walls around a central courtyard are all that it consists of, and some of the Omani guns still remain in the towers. The fort was built in 1800 by the Ruler of Muscat, Sultan bin Ahmed, who in that year seized Bahrain from the Khalifah and sent his brother, Sayed Said, to govern the Islands they were soon expelled but later returned. The Muscatis remained in their fort for nine years, but after their expulsion in 1809 by the Khalifah-Saudi alliance the fort was left deserted.

Near Muharraq town is the fort of Abu Mahur, already mentioned in connection with the Portuguese map and named after one of the largest undersea springs in Bahrain, which is situated near it. The fort, which dominates the southern approach to Muharraq and Manama, was built on the island-peninsular of Abu Mahur by Shaikh Abdulla al-Khalifah, who ruled jointly with his brother Sulman, builder of the fort at Rifaa ash-Sharqi. In 1843 Shaikh Abdulla was expelled from Bahrain by his son Muhammad, who was also unable to enjoy a peaceful reign, for after a dispute with Qatar Muhammad was replaced as Ruler of Bahrain by his brother Ali and the British shelled the fort of Abu Mahur, which was destroyed with the exception of one tower. [744] More recently the remains of the fort and the island was given to the Baluchi retainers of the Khalifah, but in 1930 the Baluchis were given land elsewhere and the island was turned into a Quarantine Station. This is therefore a fort which visitors are not advised to visit.

### THE QANATS

312 172 "Qanat" is the Arabic name for the underground water channels which are found in many parts of Bahrain, particularly in the south-west of the island. Here, among others, is a long channel running inland from Sadad, another brings water to Karzarkan from the spring called Ijraiyi, a mile and a half to the north, and a third channel runs from the spring of Malakiya to the village of the same name. These are but a few of the many channels in Bahrain.

312 171 These channels are present in great numbers in Persia and are also found in eastern Saudi-Arabia and Syria. It is probable that those in Bahrain were first built by the Persians. It is stated in at least one history that they were the work of the Persian King Anushirvan who captured Bahrain from the Arabs in the fourth century A.D. They have often been mentioned by travellers to Bahrain and in a local history it is stated that during a war that took place in the eighth century between the people of Bahrain and an army sent by the Caliph, the Bahrainis made good use of these same channels by passing through them till they reached the rear of the enemy forces and then making a successful surprise attack.

312 172 The channels were built to prevent the wastage of water from evaporation which would have occurred had the water been carried in surface channels, By this method the water is sheltered from the sun and its flow is not hindered by falls of sand or the movements of sand dunes. It seems that the channels were first built as open ditches and then roofed with slabs of sea rock, called feroush. The roofs of the channels are sloping and after construction they were covered with sand to the

361 when the date pickers descend on the village and put up their barastis.
245 Lower Sehlah is reached by a bridge across the water channel that borders the Manama-Awali Road. This village is surrounded by date gardens and can also be reached by a footpath from Adari. The gardens in the neighbourhood of the two villages are among the best and most thriving in Bahrain, and the date groves are locally described as the hump of Bahrain, not because they rise above the surrounding lands but on account of their being the richest and most fertile in the islands.

### AALI

361 After leaving the palm belt and entering the plain north of Rifaa, thick smoke can usually be seen rising from among some date gardens to the west, this is the village of Aali, one of the largest in Bahrain. It lies on the western edge of the plain which extends from the end of the date gardens at the bridge of Radhm al-Qawari to the Rifaa hills, and is close to a group of the largest tumuli in Bahrain which are a conspicuous feature of the landscape of Bahrain island. The largest mounds in the Aali group are over 80 feet high and 100 feet in diameter.
[491] The best road to Aali is the one indicated by the sign-post on Awal Road, a short distance from Radhm al-Qawari. The houses of this
[342] village are better than in most of the Bahrain villages; they are large and airy and some of them have blocks of stone from the tombs in their walls. As in the case of so many Bahrain villages, Aali stands on a slight elevation surrounded by date gardens.

### RIFAA AL-GHARBI

644 Straddling Awal Road on the edge of the rim-rock is the town of
361 West Rifaa, the winter residence of H.H. The Ruler of Bahrain as well as of many of his family and retainers. This settlement is comparatively modern, having been built by the present Ruler before he succeeded in 1942. Constructed in the traditional Arab pattern, the Palace is in the centre of the town and the other houses are widely scattered about it. The Ruler's love of gardens has caused the road to be lined with trees, and it is a pleasant surprise on coming across the desert surrounding the town to pass through a shady green avenue. During the three months of the Summer the Ruler lives in Manama, but as soon as the cool weather returns a long procession of cars and lorries moves slowly out of Rifaa, the lights go on, and overnight the appearance of West Rifaa is changed from a deserted town to a scene of much activity.

### RIFAA ASH-SHARQI

361 This is the fourth largest town in Bahrain and has a population
712 of about 3,000. East Rifaa is without doubt the most picturesque of Bahrain's towns and villages. When approached from the west, from the plain near Awali, the fortress, which dominates the valley, presents a most romantic appearance and carries one's thoughts back

to the days when the Rulers of Bahrain lived here and ruled the Islands from the castle. Below the fortresss is the spring of Hanani, whose water is the best in Bahrain, and a plain where, in the rainy season, a small lake forms and on disappearing leaves in its place a bright lawn of grass. Rifaa has been expanding rapidly during recent years, the town is spreading to the south-east, and it now possesses boys' and girls' schools and a Municipality. Some members of the Ruling Family still live in the town which has expanded owing to the development of the oil industry, in which some 500 of its male inhabitants are working.

The situation of the town is ideal for strategical purposes, from it it is possible to see Manama, Muharraq and Sitra while the land around it is free of vegetation which could have served to hide the enemy. It has an excellent climate and is drier than Manama in the summer. To the north of the town are two small graves where members of the Khalifah family are buried; these fell in battle during a civil war which took place in the 19th century.

There is a tradition connected with the fortress of Rifaa. It is said to have been built in the 17th century by the Wazir of the then Ruler, a certain Shaikh Jabbara. For years the Ruler and his wazir worked together, but one day the Shaikh was told about the beauty of the wazir's wife, and he desired her. He was tricked into believing that he had visited her, though in fact he was entertained by her maid-servant. He was so angry at the deception, about which the wazir knew nothing, that he killed him. The Wazir's widow thereupon fled from Rifaa to the mainland, from where she wrote to the Shah of Persia sending him a minature palm tree of pearls and gold and saying that so rich was Bahrain that such a tree was given to a child as a toy. She succeeded in exciting the avarice of the Persian Shah, who sent an army to Bahrain, defeated and killed Shaikh Jabbara, and annexed the Islands to Persia, thus avenging the Wazir's wife. This same Shaikh Jabbara is said to have lived in the fort of Amr, south-east of the Jebel, which is mentioned in Chapter VIII.

There is a third Rifaa, a small community built by BAPCO for its Indian and Pakstani employees; this is mentioned in the Chapter on Bahrain's Oil.

### AWALI

Meaning "The High Places," this name was given by Shaikh Hamed, the late Ruler of Bahrain, to the oil camp when it was first established in its present location. Before the oil company arrived in Bahrain the site was deserted—for who would live in the middle of a waterless desert? But the company wanted to build their town near the oil field, and so the small, 240 foot, hill was chosen. Today Awali somewhat resembles a London surburb or a small American town. As in London, varied gardens and different coloured exteriors of the houses serve to disguise their basic similarity. In these gardens children play while their mothers chat to each other over the fences. Happy

'1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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A Public Garden in Manama. *Photo : The Author.*

712

The Manama Fort.

### *Muharraq Island*

101 This is the second largest island of the group and in all probability the "Aradus" of the classical writers. It is located northeast of Bahrein and is about five and a half square miles in area, horseshoe shaped and only a mile wide. It is separated [491] from Bahrein by a channel spanned by a causeway a mile and a half long with a motor road and by a swinging bridge which was completed in 1941.

361 The chief city is MUHURRAQ, on the western side, the sec-
162 ond largest city in the islands and the summer residence of the
633 Sheik. Its population is about 26,000. Muhurraq and Manama, on Bahrein Island, are each administered by a Municipal Committee which in addition to civic duties are jointly responsible for the upkeep of thirty per cent of the roads in the archipelago.

361 Other towns among the sixteen or more on Muhurraq which
162 should be mentioned are:

ARAD. This is an important date producing center with some sixteen thousand palm trees, on the southern shore of the Gulf of Arad. It is inhabited by the Baharinah.

HADD. Second in importance only to Muhurraq, Hadd is the leading pearl fishing center of the islands. It has a population of almost 10,000, consisting of Sādāt and Beni Yās. Since the English began to take a direct hand in the administration of the island it has become possibly the most modern of the cities, [242] with many up-to-date homes and an agricultural experiment [697] station as well as a modern penitentiary and the cottage of the British Financial Adviser.

The villages of Basatin, Qalali, Samahij and Dair, on the north and northeast coasts, are also important. Their population follows the Sunnite faith exclusively and those in Qalali belong to the Manani'a tribe.

508 Muhurraq Island has a military and civil airfield used by
712 the British Overseas Air Service. The field has limited fueling and repair facilities for normal traffic as well as minimum lighting, runway lights, and lighted wind indicators. There are hard surface, all weather runways with an elevation of two feet; the

longest runway, to the nearest hundred feet, is 7400 feet long. There are radio communication and direction finder with voice, and the Radio Bahrein tower operates on 6440 kilocycles, 117.9 mc.

The other principal islands of the Bahrein group are:

SITRA, which is separated from Bahrein by the Sitra Canal, which is about a quarter of a mile wide. The southern part of the island is completely barren but in the north there are small villages, mostly inhabited by Baharinah farmers and fishermen. The most important are Wadiyan, Kharijia, Muhazza and Sufala, all of which are important date growing centers.

NABBI SĀLIH, the smallest of the five islands, situated about three quarters of a mile off the coast of Bahrein. There are palm groves and two small fishing centers, Kaflan and Karya. The island has many gardens and orchards as well as palm groves with some fifteen thousand trees. It is entirely inhabited by the Baharinah.

UMM NA'SAN, two miles west of Bahrein, a low and sandy island four miles long and triangular in shape. The island is dominated by two rocky peaks, one rising to an elevation of sixty-six feet at about half a mile from the western point of the island, and the other twenty-five feet high situated about half a mile farther to the east. Near the west coast there is a water source used by the people of the west coast of Bahrein, mostly the towns of Badaiya'a and Zallāq, whose custom it is to send their cattle to graze there during the summer.

Besides these principal islands there are a number of smaller ones, mostly inhabited. From north to south and west to east these are:

KHASAIFA.

JARDI.

SAYA, with its fresh water spring, located about half a mile off the west coast of Muharraq Island.

ABU MAHIR, a small island south of Muharraq and connected to it at low tide. There is a small fort on the island erected for the defense of the water source which formerly supplied the people of Muharraq.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Supposedly because the Germans considered the demands too great, the negotiations fell through. 648

According to Cordell Hull, before going to the Moscow Conference, President Roosevelt felt that the Baltic passages—Kiel and the straits might each be set up as a free zone under international trustees, and that a similar zone might be arranged for Russia to the Persian Gulf.

Many waters have passed under the bridge since 1943; with open antagonism between the United States and Russia following the Cold War, and with the chance of open hostilities, the importance of the Persian Gulf as a strategic area has been brought to light.

In case of war, the American oil holdings in Saudi Arabia, and the Anglo-Iranian Company installations in Southern Persia, would be the first targets of an eventual enemy.

The American military air base of Dhahran in Saudi Arabia would be of no value without the English naval military bases on Bahrein Island. [712]

In short, the future of Bahrein will no doubt prove as complex as its past, but let us hope that wisdom will prevail; that the peace which is no doubt everybody's desire will be accomplished; and that a happy solution, satisfactory to all concerned, may be established.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Bahrain M22
Kuwait M11
Saudi Arabia MJ1



companies may need to be defined now that one concessionaire seems likely to create revenue; problems may also arise if, as a result of oil developments, it is planted with a population that will need to be endowed with public services and, no doubt, with a system of taxation.

## BAHRAIN

The Bahrain Archipelago is a group of islands in the Gulf of Bahrain, which is bounded on the east by the Qatar Peninsula and on the west by the mainland coast of al-Hasa. Its total area is 213 square miles. The principal island—Bahrain itself—is about thirty miles long and ten miles wide. It is low-lying and its northern end is well watered by fresh water springs and produces good date crops. Citrus fruit and lucerne are also grown. The oilfields lie round the rocky cluster of hills known as Jebel Dukhan (Hill of Smoke), which is in the barren centre of the island.

To the north-east of Bahrain Island, and joined to it by a causeway and motor road, is the low, sandy island of Muharraq, and between the two islands is a good deep-water harbour (Khor Kaliya). It is used as a small British naval base; an American admiral also flies his flag there. Nearby there is a second, but shallow harbour (Bahrain harbour), which faces north and is usefully equipped. The natural aerodrome on Muharraq Island has been developed into the largest commercial airfield in the Persian Gulf and now serves the airliners of all nations. It is also used by the RAF, and the whine of jet aircraft is a commonplace. The south end of the island of Bahrain is low-lying and sandy. The climate, though oppressive in summer owing to the prevalent heat and damp of the western shores of the Persian Gulf, is more humid and less windy than that of Kuwait. The population of the Archipelago was 109,650 when a census was taken in 1950.[1]

The capital and the seat of government is the port of Manama.[2] It is generally referred to as Bahrain, and is situated between the two harbours. It has a population of 39,648, which includes many rich Arab, Persian, and Indian merchants, as well as some 300 Europeans and Americans. The second town, Muharraq, on Muharraq Island, has a population of 24,566 which is purely Arab.

The British Political Agency is in Manama town, which also boasts an electricity station, a wireless station, post offices, hospitals, clubs, public gardens, and up-to-date schools. The town is well supplied with good motor roads, and there are

[1] 1952 estimate, 115,000. [2] Population: 1950, 39,648; 1952 (estimate), 45,000.

S 648 with local rulers. These treaties place the native states virtually under British protection. The over-all direction of British relations with the various local countries is in the hands of the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, who has his seat in Bushire on the Persian side of the gulf, and fulfills also the function of British Consul General in Bushire. Under him serve so-called Political Agents who are stationed in the various states on the Arabian side of the gulf. Administratively, the Political Residency is subordinated to the Government of India and its officials belong to the Indian Political Service. The basic British policy with regard to the Persian Gulf states is therefore determined by the India Office and not by the Colonial Office.

2. Relations with the Individual States.

B 648 [12] a. Bahrein. The British position in Bahrein is stronger than anywhere else in the gulf area. After the abandonment of Basra, in Iraq, as a British naval base in 1935, a new base was established on Bahrein Island. From the British standpoint the island is thus the strategic center for their position in the gulf. Treaty relations with the Sheikh of Bahrein were first established by the East India Company in 1820. The present relationship is based upon agreements of 22 December 1880 and 13 March 1892. (18) By these instruments the

18. India, Foreign and Political Department, A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries, edited by C. U. Aitchison, vol. 11, Delhi, 1933 (quoted in the following as Aitchison), pp. 237-39.

Sheikh bound himself not to enter, without British consent, into any relationship with a foreign government other than the British. He further promised not to dispose of any part of his territory to anybody except the British government. As a result of these stipulations, which are very close to those contained in the treaties with Protectorate rulers, the foreign relations of Bahrein were brought under full British control. The treaties with Bahrein do not contain any clause expressly extending British protection to the country. Nevertheless, Bahrein can be regarded as a British-protected state enjoying a large degree of

B 648 642

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZZ Bahrain MZZ

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Above
A Policeman

Below
Police on Parade

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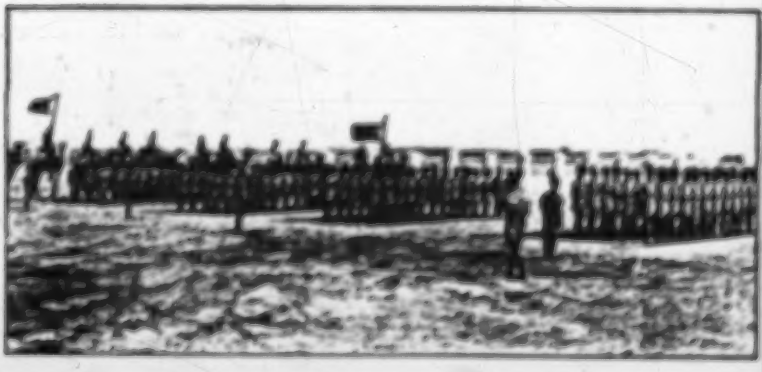

[facing p. 10]

225

**Recent Innovations.** Three times during the last ten years the composition of the police force has entirely changed. First it was a Levy Corps of Muscat Baluchis, then ex-Indian Army Punjabis, and finally the present force, whose development and training dates from about 1930. During the last six years, though expansion and development has been restricted owing to the need for economy, various innovations and improvements have been carried out. Necessary alterations were made in the Fort, which is an ancient building of mud and stone, whose walls constantly crumble and subside. Two large, airy barrack rooms were built, and a large swimming tank was constructed in a corner of the barrack yard. A police station was built in the turbulent town of Hedd, much to the dissatisfaction of the inhabitants, who have a rooted objection to law and order, and a police post was built at Budeya where a section of Natives are now stationed. A police post with a lock-up and a flagstaff has a salutary effect on both these places, which have always been resentful of control.

[333]

**Police Band.** The police band, consisting mostly of younger brothers of policemen, was started about two years ago. At first the band played entirely from ear, but in 1936 an Indian ex-army bandmaster was obtained as an instructor, and the band has now learned to play from music. A few years ago, during the visit of the Chief-in-Command, East India Squadron, the bandmaster of the marine band composed a national anthem for the Shaikh of Bahrain, which is now played on suitable occasions, and perhaps eventually the public will recognise it as a national anthem.

**Camel Section.** In 1935 a camel section was started, consisting of a dozen men mounted on camels which were provided by the Ruler. The N.C.O. in charge, a Sudanese, served in Egypt in the Frontier Districts Administration Camel Corps, and most of the men are manumitted slaves. The object of the mounted section is to patrol the coast and more inaccessible parts of the islands and to catch smugglers and persons landing without passports. The section has learned the regular camel drill; it presents a very smart appearance when on parade. Another section mounted on ponies is now being organised.

**Shooting.** The police, on the whole, are good at shooting, and during the last two years they have competed in a number of shooting matches with teams from the sloops of the Persian Gulf Division and teams from the Englishmen and Americans employed by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. In most cases the police have won the matches, sometimes beating their opponents by a large score. At the beginning of the present year a new system has been brought into force by which every man will fire a course during the year, and there will be a yearly inter-section competition. There are several unusually good shots among the police, and the men all show great keenness.

**Uniforms.** The uniform of the police has passed through many changes in the last ten years. The original town police wore round black Persian caps, second-hand, ill-fitting khaki tunics originally used by the English Army, and long trousers. They now wear khaki shirts and shorts, puttees and sandals, and scarlet turbans as worn by certain Egyptian Army regiments, Somaliland Camel Corps, and Egyptian Camel Corps. In the winter they wear woollen jerseys and military overcoats.

[714]

**Police Training in India.** During the last two years two parties of six N.C.O.'s and men were sent to the 10th Baluch Regiment at Karachi for a course of nine months' military training. The experiment has been very successful, and the value of the men as policemen has greatly increased owing to their training with the Indian Army. Had the men been able to speak Urdu they would have learnt more, but in each batch only one or two had any knowledge of the language. Any future experiments of this kind would, I am sure, be more successful if they took place in an Arabic-speaking country such as Iraq or Egypt. The training with the Army, and seeing a foreign country, has given the men who went to India more confidence in themselves than they had before.

Two years ago, Naib Abdel Karim, the son of the late superintendent of police, was sent to India for six months and attached for training to the Karachi police. The experiment was a success, but in this case the man could speak both English and Urdu, which enabled him to learn easily.

B 648 1869. The Iranian government, however, maintained its standpoint and, when the oil concession in Bahrein was granted to an American company, launched a protest with the American government. (20)

20. A brief account of this question is given in A. J. Toynbee, Survey of International Affairs, 1934, London, 1935, pp. 221-24. The documents exchanged in the course of the discussion are collected in an appendix to Malek Esmaili (Azizollah), Le golfe persique et les îales de Bahrein, Paris, 1936, pp. 231-64.

B [21] Likewise, when Bahrein was bombed by Italian planes in October 1940 Iran, which was then neutral, protested to Italy against this alleged violation of its territory. Though the issue can at present be regarded as dormant, it is not settled and might thus be brought up again if the Iranian government feels that the time is opportune for such action.

K 648 b. Kuwait. The legal position of Kuwait is very similar to that of Bahrein. A treaty along the same lines as those concluded with Bahrein was entered into the Sheikh of Kuwait on 23 January 1899. (21) A Political Agent for Kuwait was first appointed in 1904.

21. The engagements concerning Kuwait which are discussed here may be found in Aitchison, pp. 262-65.

K 648 471 As in Bahrein, the British Government has reserved for itself control over the exploitation of Kuwait's natural resources. In a letter of 29 July 1911 the Sheikh promised not to grant any pearling concession without British consent. By a note of 27 October 1913 he agreed not to grant oil concessions "to anybody except a person appointed from the British government." An oil concession was granted to the Kuwait Oil Company, which is jointly owned by the Gulf Oil Corporation and the d'Arcy Exploration Company Ltd., which in turn is a subsidiary of the Anglo Iranian Oil Company Ltd.

K 648 In the first World War the Sheikh of Kuwait remained loyal to the British government after Turkey had entered the war on the side

1; Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

The

first payments of oil royalities came at a critical time in Bahrain's history, when it was suffering from the effects of a slump in the pearling industry, and they enabled the State to continue its public works and social services. Apart from increasing the cost of living and causing a shortage of foods, the 1939-45 war had no direct effect on Bahrain, with the exception of a long-range bomber raid carried out by the Italian Air Force on the oil installations of Bahrain, and this attempt failed.

On February 20, 1942, Shaikh Hamed died, and was succeeded by his son, Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed al-Khalifah, the present ruler, under whom the march of progress in Bahrain has continued. The story of modern Bahrain and the activities of the Bahrain Government are described in Chapter III of the First Part of this book.

## NOTES

1 Durand, "Extracts from Report on the Islands and Antiques of Bahrain," with notes by H. C. Rawlinson, in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1880.

2 de Goeje, M. J., *Memoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrain et les Fatimides*, 1886.

3 Idrisi, *Troisieme Climat-Sixieme Section*, translated by P. A. Jaubert, p. 373.

4 Belgrave, C. D., "The Portuguese in the Bahrain Islands," *Journal Royal Central Asian Society*, 1935.

5 Whose work is in the possession of a Bahraini historian.

6 An-Nabhani, Muhammad, *Tarikh al-Jazirat al-Arabiya*, 1923, p. 125.

7 Kennier, J. M., *Memoire on the Persian Empire*.

8 For details of this and subsequent treaties between the Bahrain rulers and the British *see* Aitcheson, *Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and neighbouring countries*, vol. xi, 1933.

*London Times* of March 6, 1942. In July of the same year, the personal salute of the ruler of Bahrein was fixed at eleven guns.

On the occasion of his succession, Salman issued the following manifesto:

"We, Salman, have succeeded to the throne according to the promise which our father made to us, with the unanimous consent of our paternal uncles and our brothers and all of our tribe. We declare solemnly as our father ordered us, with the help of God to remain firmly attached to our religion, to be vigilant, to ameliorate the conditions of our tribe and our country, to act according to justice and equity, and, acting to reinforce the old ties of friendship which bound our country to England, to remain faithful forever to her friendship. We pray God, the All-Merciful and All-Powerful, to protect, guide, and help us."

The realities of war were brought home to Bahrein by price control and rationing system. The Government bought and imported all food supplies for the population, shops were opened in towns and in villages for rationed goods, and the queue system introduced.

There occurred a shortage of rice, staff food of the population, due to the drastic reduction of shipping facilities and the loss to the Japanese of Burma, Indo China and other producing centers. Rice was replaced by wheat, and as a result there was vast discontent among the population.

The black market flourished, and smuggling was rampant. Goods whose export was forbidden, were smuggled out of the country. At one time a bag of sugar could be bought in Bahrein for about 80 rupees; opposite on the Persian Coast, the same bag would be sold for 800 rupees. Motor tires were sold at fabulous prices in Persia and Iraq, and tea was a profitable commodity for smugglers.

The pearl industry flourished, although the fleets of diving boats were smaller because many divers preferred to earn money on the shore, and high prices were obtained for pearls in India, where people invested money in precious stones. No European

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

buyers visited the Gulf, and few, if any pearls were sent to Europe.

Owing to important developments in the Bahrein oil industry and war time public works, there was a great demand for labour. Not only manual labourers and skilled men, but any young Arabs with slight education could obtain well paid posts.

Many Bahreini invested their money in gardens and house property which resulted in a land boom. Axis broadcasts were forbidden in public places but most people listened to them in their houses.

To prevent any disturbances, very strong security measures were taken, and the police force numbered some 700 people.

The population sympathized with the Arabs of Palestine in their resistance to Jewish immigration, and in Bahrein, serious rioting broke out in answer to American stands concerning the partition of the Holy Land. Manama synagogue and scores of Jewish shops were wrecked and the Jews were beaten. At the same time, posters appeared on the streets at night denouncing Americans as the "foreigners who steal our oil."

To forestall any trouble, a Military Government was declared in Bahrein, and extraordinary precautions taken. These measures were resented by the Bahreini who complained to Persia.

The old quarrel over the ownership of Bahrein was revived, and the Cabinet decided on April 18, 1946, to charge taxes and royalties on oil entering Iran from Bahrein. The tax was fixed at $.80 a barrel, plus 20% of the annual net revenue of the Company, that is, the equivalent of the tax collected on the production of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Iran.

At the end of 1947, a delegation from Bahrein arrived in Teheran. The delegation was headed by a very prominent Sheik who was to represent Bahrein at the Iranian Parliament. He was received in a secret session of the Parliament, but as he was not duly elected, according to Persian election laws, it was decided that Majlis could not take any step in regard to its admission. In the session of April 15, 1948, the Parliament

674 The following were some of the more serious cases of theft ; clothing and money were stolen from people staying in a local hotel in the bazaar, money was stolen from a house in Rafaa and a radio and carpet was stolen from the house of a member of the American Mission. In all these cases the thieves were caught and the stolen property was recovered. In 11 other cases thefts of money, jewellery, wearing apparel, etc., were reported to the Police. In some instances persons were prosecuted for theft, but acquitted and in other cases no evidence was obtained.

Five Pakistanis were prosecuted for "bilking" shop keepers.

674 273 Fewer persons than in the previous year were convicted for contravention of liquor and drug regulations, this does not, however, indicate any decrease in the habit of drinking which among certain classes is becoming almost universal. Altogether 24 persons were prosecuted for distilling, selling and being in possession of liquor and for dealing in hashish and opium.

548 276 In one case a Palestinian was found to be in possession of 15 lbs. of opium. There is every reason to believe that an active trade in opium is carried on through Bahrain to the West. It is brought to Bahrain from Persia and India via the Trucial Coast and then conveyed on to ships in the harbour which carry it to Europe or the United States.

731 **Fires.** There were a number of serious fires during the year in which many people lost their barasti houses and their possessions. Most of the fires were caused by pressure stoves or lamps which ignited Saaf (palm branch) houses. There were no cases of arson.

The most serious fire was in the Telegraph area where 75 houses were completely destroyed together with their contents. A very strong wind fanned the fire which was only prevented from spreading over another area of barasti houses by wide roads on three sides of the site. This was one of the worst fires known in Bahrain. It appears to have been caused by an old blind man who knocked over a fire or a lamp in his house which lit the palm branch walls of the building. No lives were lost. In the village of Mahooz 55 houses were destroyed in one fire a few of these houses had mud and stone walls and matting roofs. In other fires, some of them in Manama and some in the villages, 17, 12, 15 and 14 houses were destroyed. In none of these fires was there any loss of life. In a fire in a launch, anchored off Manama, one man lost his life. More supplies of fire fighting equipment, hose pipe, etc., etc., which had been ordered in England were part of the cargo of a Strick Line ship which caught fire near Sitra and which burned for several days.

[368]

**AGENCY COURT**

**RESULT OF PROSECUTIONS IN 1372**

674

| No. | Nature of Offences. | No. of Cases. | No. of persons accused. | No. of persons convicted. | No. of persons acquitted. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Causing Death by Rash or Negligent Act | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 2 | Theft | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 3 | Cheating | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | |
| 4 | Criminal breach of trust | 2 | 2 | 2 | — | |
| 5 | Use of criminal force and assault | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | |
| 6 | Liquor drinking and possession of | 6 | 7 | 6 | 1 | |
| 7 | Charas and Opium | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | |
| 8 | Affray | 1 | 3 | 3 | — | |
| | | 14 | 18 | 15 | 3 | |

**NATIONALITIES :**

| | |
|---|---|
| British | 1 person |
| Indian | 3 persons |
| Pakistan | 2 " |
| Palestine | 1 " |
| Transjordan | 1 person |
| Iran | 10 persons |
| | 18 |

136 164 majority are believed to have been acquired elsewhere. Cases of ancylostomiasis and schistosomiasis are occasionally observed, primarily among non-Bahrainis, yet no indigenous foci of infection are known to exist.

### Diseases Spread Chiefly Through the Respiratory Tract

164 **Tuberculosis.** Tuberculosis is widespread, but little precise information is avajlable regarding its prevalence in the local population. The disease is believed to be extensive in Arabia, particularly among 164 the Bedouin. In Bahrain, the migration of 464 workers to and from the mainland, over- 515 crowding and the generally low standards 758 of personal hygiene are regarded as factors influencing the spread of the infection. The facilities for diagnosis and treatment are 734 inadequate. The government operates a 13- 758 bed tuberculosis sanatorium and provides treatment for tuberculous cases in its regular hospitals and dispensaries. It also subsidizes the transportation of certain cases to India for treatment, since many individuals do not respond favorably under the climatic conditions prevailing in Bahrain. About 220 to 350 cases were under observation in government institutions annually from November, 1948, to November, 1950. 164 Pulmonary tuberculosis predominates, but a high rate of nonpulmonary infections also is encountered.

**Smallpox.** Bahrain is especially vulnerable to the introduction of smallpox from the neighboring Persian Gulf territories, Pakistan and India, and outbreaks are recorded at frequent intervals. Large-scale epidemics were reported in 1941-42 and in 1948-50, with sporadic cases in the intervening years. The most recent epidemic started in December, 1948, in the Hora section of Manama, and spread in a series of localized outbreaks, persisting into 1950. Eighty-six cases were transferred to the quarantine hospital in 1949, and about one third of that number the following year. The percentage of unrecognized infections

[Minor's Estates Department]



657 736 Disbursements for maintenance amounted to Rs. 108,800, almost exactly the same sum as was paid out in the previous year. At the beginning of the year the number of orphans and widows who were drawing allowances was 442, of these 36 attained majority and took over their property, cash payments to them totalled Rs. 182,500.

657 652 The Department built four houses in Manama and Muharraq and carried out repairs to a number of other buildings, the expenditure under this heading was Rs. 78,000.

As usual the funds held by the Department together with funds placed at its disposal by the Government were given out on loan to the public, at interest, secured by title deeds of immovable property or gold. The rates of interest charged by the Department are low in comparison to those prevailing in the market.

During the year the Government placed with the Department a further 2½ lakhs, making its total deposit Rs. 10,80,000.

Interest on loans collected during the year was Rs. 1,46,000, there is a scale of interest depending upon the amount of the loan, the average rate of interest during the year was 6 per cent.

Loans repaid to the Department during the year amounted to Rs. 19,29,000, about 3 lakhs more than in 1371, new loans, made to the public, were approximately 24½ lakhs. At the end of the year 24½ lakhs were on loan to the public.

## DEPARTMENTAL ACCOUNT

| Receipts | | | Expenditure | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Balance from 1371 | Rs. 16,585 6 10 | | Maintenance allowances, etc. | Rs. 1,08,876 9 0 | |
| From estates and compensation cases | 1,31,249 1 8 | | Purchase of properties | 9,330 0 0 | |
| Rents | 1,96,396 13 4 | | Upkeep of buildings and additions | 78,325 15 11 | |
| Refund of Loans | 19,29,600 0 0 | | Payments to the beneficiaries | 1,82,511 10 0 | |
| Interest on Loans | 1,46,040 0 0 | | Loans advanced | 24,40,250 0 0 | |
| Deposits | 2,09,051 12 5 | | Balance in the Eastern Bank | 1,25,205 9 1 | |
| Loan from Government | 2,50,000 0 0 | | | | |
| By sale of properties | 50,451 4 3 | | | | |
| Debts recovered | 15,127 5 6 | | | | |
| Total | Rs. 29,44,499 12 0 | | Total | Rs. 29,44,499 12 0 | |

## LAND REGISTRATION DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Mr. Abdul-Aziz Al Saleh, acting Superintendent of the Department)

428 651 495 **Land Registration.** There were 1,072 transactions during the year which included 628 sales, 262 registration of titles and 182 gifts; the properties which were dealt with consisted of 273 plots of ground, most of them being building sites, 82 gardens, 47 shops and 26 miscellaneous lots. Fees amounting to Rs. 1,27,975 were collected of which Rs. 1,20,781 was derived from sales and Rs. 7,194 from registration of titles, etc

## WAKF ADMINISTRATION

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**Nature of Wakfs.** Much valuable property in Bahrain is wakf property, dedicated in the past for public and religious purposes, such as the upkeep of mosques, the payment of muezzins and priests, and in the case of the Shias, towards religious observances during the month of Muharram and the expenses of the matems, which can be described as village halls supported by religious endowments. In addition to the charitable wakfs, which are intended to benefit the general public, there are private wakfs which are frequently in the nature of entails of property to the heirs of a certain person and, among the Shias, property and money is often left in trust to pay for prayers to be said over a long period of time on behalf of a deceased person. Another common form of religious endowment is the dedication by will of one-third of the estate for charity or for certain specific charities, but this note only refers to wakfs of a public nature.

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**Shaikh Khalaf.** Until the year 1346 (July 1927—June 1928) all wakf property in Bahrain, both Sunni and Shia, was administered by the Qadis and by anybody who was sufficiently powerful to retain the administration of the property in his hands. It is not an exaggeration to state that most of the proceeds of the property found its way into the pockets of the administrators and was not distributed to the poor for whose benefit it was intended. In 1345 (1926-27), Shaikh Khalaf, who was then the Shia Qadi, was compelled to resign owing to agitation among the Baharna which was caused by his habit of taking bribes. Twice before during his long tenure of office he had been compelled to retire owing to irregular practices, but in spite of this he retained a great influence over many of the country villages. Shaikh Khalaf had been one of the leading personalities in Bahrain for many years, and it was partly owing to his support that the diving reforms were carried out in 1923. No Qadi since Shaikh Khalaf has had such influence over the Shia community as a whole.

**Syed Adnan's Administration.** His successor was Syed Adnan, a young man who had been educated in Iraq and who had a well-deserved reputation for piety, learning, and honesty. In addition to this, he was more progressive in his ideas than any of the previous Qadis. On his appointment he made an effort to register the wakf property and to start a regular system of administration. With the support of the Government he compelled many of the people who held wakf property to lease it through him and to submit to him an account of revenue and expenditure. He died very suddenly about a year after his appointment, but during the time that he was Shia Qadi he accomplished much valuable work, and his books containing the descriptions and registrations of wakf properties were of great use to the wakf department when it was formed.

**Appointment of a Council.** After the death of Syed Adnan, the wakf property was administered for some time by Shaikh Mohomed Ali Medani, the executor of the late Qadi, but this arrangement was distasteful to most of the Shia community who, quite rightly, placed no confidence in Shaikh Mohomed Ali Medani, who was afterwards convicted of misappropriating funds belonging to some minors and orphans. Two Qadis, Shaikh Ali bin Hassan of Sanabis and Shaikh Abdulla bin Mohomed Saleh of Manamah, were then appointed. The former, when he was appointed, stipulated that he should have nothing to do with the administration of the wakf property, the latter very soon demanded that the wakf property should be handed over to him. He was persuaded to appoint a committee of leading Shia notables to assist him in the administration of the property. After a short time the country people, who form the majority of the Shia community and who have the greatest interest in the wakfs, objected to this arrangement and made a petition on the subject to the Ruler, who had hitherto taken no interest in the question of the Shia wakf administration. The public asked that the administration of the property should be entirely in the hands of the people and not under the control of the Qadi of Manamah. A council was appointed, consisting of six men from the country and four from Manamah, and the wakf property was handed over to their charge. A local merchant was appointed as treasurer, but no president was chosen in order to placate the feelings of Shaikh Abdulla and Shaikh Mohomed Ali Medani, both of whom were comparatively satisfied so long as the other was not in control.

Sukai Khamis and Karzakkan. Venereal disease and trachoma clinics were carried on in the boys' schools, and regular school health services in the girls' schools. 748

The Reformed Church of America started a medical mission in Manama at the end of the last century. Its Mason Memorial Hospital has sections for men and women which, in 1951, had a combined capacity of 100 beds, as well as outpatient clinics. 747 748

The Bahrain Petroleum Company maintains a hospital at Awali for the care of its employees. The division for the British and the American staff had a capacity of 40 beds in 1951, while that for the Arab and the Indian personnel had a capacity of 70 beds. The Company also operates dispensaries at its refinery and in the towns of Manama and Sitra. 743

Laboratories. A laboratory which undertakes examinations for all the government institutions is connected with the men's hospital in Manama. It has facilities for the performance of microscopic, bacteriologic, serologic and biochemical tests. Serologic, bacteriologic and clinical laboratories are attached to the hospital of the oil company in Awali. Clinical facilities are also available in the mission hospital. X-ray departments are incorporated in the government and the industrial hospitals. 742

Schools. No schools for the training of medical personnel exist in Bahrain, but plans are under consideration for the development of a course for the training of nurses in the government hospitals at Manama. Medical assistants are trained in all the general hospitals. 674 185

PERSONNEL

Physicians. Twenty-four British, American and Indian doctors were associated with hospitals in Bahrain in 1952. Of this number, 11 were in the government hospitals, 2 in the mission hospital and 11 in the oil industry hospital. A few Indian doctors are engaged in private practice in the town of Manama. 759

Dentists. One dentist is engaged by the

692 cases if the defendant is a Bahrain citizen and the plaintiff is a foreigner the case is heard in a Joint Court. The language of the Bahrain Courts is Arabic and no barristers or wakils who are not Bahrainis are allowed to appear in them.

417 At the eastern end of the sea road[1] is the Adviserate, the Ruler deals with affairs of State in this office on Tuesdays and Saturdays. Beyond the Adviserate is H.B.M.'s Political Agency which was built early in the century.

743 At the western end of the Sea Road is the Government Hospital. It includes a men's and women's hospital, administrative offices, X-Ray, laboratories, operating theatres and out-patients' rooms. There are beds for men and for women, with a few private rooms in each section. The Indian Staff occupy a large three storied building close to the hospital and behind the Women's Hospital is the house of the British nursing sisters. On Awal Road there is a large Public Health Office and beyond it a T.B. Sanatorium and a Mental Hospital. Opposite the Police Fort there are also two small isolation hospitals. In Muharraq there is a maternity hospital in the centre of the town and a clinic on the sea front. In Hedd and in some of the villages there are also small clinics. The Government Medical Staff includes a number of British and Indian doctors and nurses.

871 Education in Bahrain is not, at present, compulsory, but every year
658 the number of boys' and girls' schools increases. The oldest school in Bahrain is the Muharraq Boys' School in North Muharraq town, which was built in 1919, and there are now 28 government schools including village schools, town schools, a boys' secondary school, and a technical school where carpentry and engineering are taught. At the beginning of the 1952-53 term there were 4000 boys and 2,500 girls attending government schools. Except in the secondary school, education is free and every year scholarships are given by the Government and BAPCO to enable students to obtain advanced education at the American University of Beirut. There is a students' hostel in Manama which accommodates about 100 boys, here students from the villages and other towns are housed while they attend the more advanced town schools.

[875] Most of the teachers are Bahrainis though there are a certain number of teachers from neighbouring Arab countries. English is taught in the higher classes as well as the usual subjects. All the schools close during the summer from about the middle of June till the end of September. Some of the government schools are among the most noticeable of the modern buildings in Manama.

871 In addition to the Government schools there are a number of private schools including a European day school at Awali, Catholic, Persian and Indian schools in Manama and a girls school run by the mission of the Dutch reformed Church of America. The Oil Company also has a trade school for its Arab employees.



[1] [at Manama -- Analyst]

to buy liquor for their own use. In Awali liquor is sold through the medium of BAPCO, while residents in Manama must apply for a permit to buy liquor from H.B.M.'s Political Agent. 273

It is a serious offence in Bahrain for a Moslem to be found in possession of liquor, or "under the influence" and it is also illegal for non-Moslems in possession of liquor to give or sell it to Moslems.

### MEDICAL FACILITIES

There are in Bahrain a number of private and public hospitals, as well as dentists, doctors and chemists. 743 ●

For the benefit of the people of Bahrain the State Department of Health maintains a number of medical institutions in various parts of Bahrain. At the western end of Manama is the Naim Hospital for men and women, containing both public and private wards and equipped to deal with all emergencies. This hospital is used by the foreign community, except those employed by BAPCO, as well as by the people of the country. Also in Manama there are isolation hospitals, a mental hospital, a T.B. Sanatorium and the Office of Public Health. There are also State Hospitals in Muharraq and Hedd and dispensaries in the three towns and various villages. 657

For the use of its employees, both Bahraini and foreign, BAPCO has two hospitals in Awali.

The oldest hospital in Bahrain is that run by the mission of the Dutch Reformed Church of America in Shaikh Isa Road, Manama. This hospital contains both public and private wards. There are also several dentists and doctors practising privately in Manama. [797]

### RATES OF POSTAGE 205

| | Letters | Rs. | As. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Inland: | Not exceeding 1 oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 1½ |
| | For each additional oz. | 0 | 1 |
| Foreign: | | | |
| *Seamail:* | | | |
| | Kuwait, Dubai and Muscat, not exceeding 1 oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 1½ |
| | For each additional oz. | 0 | 1 |
| | Great Britain and Eire, British Empire and territories under British Mandate, U.S.A. and Egypt, not exceeding 1 oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 2½ |
| | For each additional oz. | 0 | 1 |
| | All other countries, not exceeding 1 oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 4 |
| | For each additional oz. | 0 | 2½ |
| *Airmail:* | | | |
| | Europe, per half oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 6 |
| | Australia, New Zealand, per half oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 12 |
| | Canada, U.S.A., per half oz. or fraction thereof | 1 | 0 |
| | India, per half oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 6 |
| | Saudi Arabia, Irak, Cyprus, Dubai, Egypt, Lebanon, Kuwait, Syria and Jordan, per half oz. or part thereof | 0 | 3½ |

## DIVING INDUSTRY

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There is little to report on this subject. Under present conditions it seems probable that in a few years the diving Nakhudas will find that it is impossible to obtain any recruits for diving in Bahrain. During the season only 12 boats went out to the banks from Bahrain and most of the divers who were engaged were from Persia and the Trucial Coast. So much money can be earned on shore that few men are willing to leave their shore jobs in order to dive during the summer months.

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The tax on imported pearls imposed by the Government of India was in force throughout and after the diving season and this contributed to a large extent to the slackness in the pearl trade. Taking into consideration the small number of boats employed in diving the catch was moderately good and pearl prices were not much lower than in the previous season.

## MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

### 1372

(Report by Dr. R. H. B. Snow, M.B.E., Senior Medical Officer)

**Summary of the Year**

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A change is gradually infiltrating and making itself evident in the scope and policy of medical work which is increasing in every department and subconsciously affecting the life of the Island. Traditions are now being established which the new generation are growing up with, and health ideas which once were revolutionary are now accepted as the normal course of reasonable upbringing.

657

The medical department which started in a small way, and expanded slowly is seeing results which are very satisfying but which are taken for granted, although they took years of striving to achieve. From its small beginnings and tiny nucleus of key staff it has now spread out from something rather personal to more of a departmental outlook. This in the course of things is bound to be, but its danger is that lack of co-ordination may develop or that the department may absorb the individual expression. At present there seems to be no signs of this because the various heads of departments meet together continually to exchange ideas and align themselves in a common policy, and also they are readily accessible to the public.

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Lines of expansion have shown themselves everywhere. The surgical work has been given great impetus by the advent of an F.R.C.S. specialist, Mr. R. D. Wilkins.

The operation theatre now runs a staff rota for every 24 hours of the day, made possible by recruiting Sister Ford and Sister Johnson from England. Sister Edwards was appointed to the Nursing Home to replace Sister Millson. The X-Ray department has an English Radiographer in charge—Mr. Havey. The Laboratory has a staff of six technicians. Four new Indian doctors arrived, one lady doctor for the Women's Hospital, and the others, male, were appointed to the Boys' Schools, The Port, and the Hospital. Mr. Burgin replaced Mr. Hanvey as Public Health Inspector, and Mr. Nambiar became the new Anti-Malaria Supervisor. Both hospitals recruited many more Indian trained nurses. The lack of sufficient staff has now been made good and at present meets all needs which recently have been very pressing. It means also that more specialised apparatus could be installed being safely handled by expert hands. Such things include a more powerful X-Ray plant, a modern anaesthetic apparatus to administer all gases and curare, an electro-cautery unit and an electro-cardiograph.

The Geneva T.B. project for Bahrain very unfortunately was cancelled owing to changes of policy and financial aid in the World Health Organisation. This severely dislocated the programme to meet this problem. However, a modified scheme has been evolved making use of the ideas of Geneva and London and will be launched next year when in-patient accommodation will be considerably increased. The number of patients seen this year and treated were 275 men and 87 women. Many were foreigners and returned to their countries. Ninety were admitted and a few promising patients sent to Miraj Sanatorium. It is very satisfactory to report that those treated in Bahrain are showing greater improvement than in the past due to better drugs and surgery. A few have been in hospital for two years. 743 758

The Bahrain Medical Society had a good year of meetings and the annual Persian Gulf conference at Kuwait was well attended from Bahrain and again proved most worth while. The co-operation of doctors and hospitals up and down the Persian Gulf is a noteworthy feature not only on account of valuable mutual aid, but of interchange of knowledge on problems common to all. This also applies to medical officers of the R.A.F. and Royal Navy. 759

The hot weather was of average intensity with no heat exhaustion cases except from ships and these numbered 36 with 2 deaths. This has been causing considerable concern among all medical officers in the Gulf dealing with ships who report similarly, and as this department admits many to hospital it has now assumed some importance here. Certain shipping lines provide adequate facilities, and others do not, among which are certain British ships. The matter was taken up in a personal interview with the Chief Medical Officer, Port of London, where it was found that air conditioning might be considered but has not come into force yet. One air conditioned emergency room on each ship would greatly solve the problem and this is a matter needing prior attention. 758 743

The health of the Islands for the year was again well maintained with no epidemics or serious outbreaks of disease. 164

**Miss W. E. Millson.** Sister-in-Charge Nursing Home and Operating Theatre. 000

It was with great regret that we accepted the resignation of Sister Millson who left to go to New Zealand in June 1953.

She had completed six and a half years of service in three contracts and been the first British Sister for this post.

By sheer hard work and selfless service she tackled these exacting dual duties with great determination and was not daunted by insufficient staff and ever increasing work.

She made a wonderful success of it, and her work will not be forgotten.

## BAHRAIN GOVERNMENT MALE DISPENSARIES

| | *Muharraq* | **E. Rafaa* | *W. Rafaa* | *Sitra* | *Karzakan* | *Aali* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total Patients | 29080 | 1582 | 3047 | 3252 | 2339 | 3415 | 41815 |
| New Patients | 12274 | 670 | 1252 | 1011 | 1159 | 1392 | 17758 |
| Old Patients | 16806 | 912 | 1795 | 1341 | 1180 | 2043 | 24077 |
| Schools | 7399 | 357 | — | 1195 | 785 | 1148 | 10884 |
| Opthalmia | 1518 | 76 | [illegible] | 135 | 150 | 196 | 2263 |
| Malaria | 328 | 3 | 17 | 10 | 18 | 19 | 395 |
| Venereal Disease | 134 | 3 | 5 | 68 | 13 | 7 | 230 |
| Dysentery | 189 | 19 | 40 | 16 | 27 | 34 | 325 |
| Worms | 758 | 58 | 143 | 122 | 139 | 128 | 1348 |
| T.B. | 24 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 7 | 3 | 41 |
| Minor Operations | 1003 | — | — | — | — | — | 1003 |
| Injections | 764 | 21 | 94 | 478 | 204 | 104 | 1665 |
| Vaccinations | 56 | — | 140 | — | 115 | — | 309 |

* = *Newly opened.*

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## FEMALE STATISTICS

Report by Dr. I. M. A. Doeg, Lady Medical Officer.

During the year the need for increased accommodation for women patients has made itself increasingly felt. This is more particularly so in the Maternity Department where on several occasions extra beds and "shake downs" have had to be provided to accommodate the overflow of patients beyond the full capacity of the present wards. As regards private room accommodation this has for a long time been completely inadequate for our numbers. In most instances the midwifery cases are remaining in hospital only 7 or 8 days instead of 10 days as formerly—but even so the beds are always full.

During the year a third Indian Lady Doctor has come and the Nursing Staff has been increased enabling us to have two nurses on night duty.

An Ante-natal Clinic has been started on Wednesday evenings from 5—7 p.m. and from the outset has been very well attended.

The Clinics in Muharraq Dispensary have been trebled.

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bazaar, a movie theatre, branches of the Eastern Bank and the Imperial Bank of Persia, a post office, a broadcasting station and a single gas station.

Little by little Manama is being modernized and the houses built by the Standard Oil Company for its American and British employees serve as models for the natives in the improvement of their own. There are three hospitals, one operated by the Bahrein Oil Company; a second, for men and women, with a British staff, by the government; and the third by the Arabia Mission of the Dutch Reformed Church in America. However, the facilities of these few establishments are quite limited and even under normal conditions 85% of the population suffers from one or more ailments.

The diseases endemic in Bahrein are malaria, the entire group of fevers, dysentery both amoebic and bacillary, bilharzia, trachoma and ankylostomiasis. At the head of the list should go the entire family of venereal diseases. Prostitution, forbidden in Saudi Arabia, has increased greatly under the complacent eyes of the authorities and Bahrein has become a kind of "pleasure island" where thousands of native and foreign employees of the oil companies from Arabia spend their leaves and money buying cheap pleasure, drinking arak, a 100 proof, colorless distillation of dates, contributing to vice and the propagation of disease.

The island is liable to epidemics of plague and cholera. From 1905 to 1911 Bahrein was visited every second year by plague and during the epidemic of 1911, in Manama, Muharraq and adjacent villages alone, more than two thousand persons died. Since World War I international control of plague and more vigorous quarantine measures by the British administration have limited the recurrence of this disease. Since 1920 epidemics of plague have occurred only at five year intervals.

Cholera epidemics are less frequent, probably because the water supply is less open to contamination than formerly. However, last year's epidemic was as serious in Bahrein as in the other ports of the Persian Gulf.

63:Simmons et al G-8 (1941-1951) 1954
MI Middle East
BAHREIN M22

spraying campaign. The existing species have not been determined: several are probably implicated in the spread of intestinal and eye infections. All forms of human lice are present. Numerous species of fleas occur, including presumably *Xenopsylla cheopis*, the usual vector of plague, which was frequently epidemic in the past.

### Food Sanitation

The sanitary supervision of the markets, coffee shops, bakeries and other premises where foods are prepared or sold is the responsibility of the municipal authorities in Manama and Muharraq. Little governmental control has been attempted, but the new public health division plans to develop inspection services. Most of the meat used is imported, and is not subject to inspection in Bahrain. There are slaughterhouses, however, in Manama and Muharraq which are operated under the supervision of the municipal officers. No regulations exist governing the sale of milk. It is obtained from small herds of goats, and is often contaminated.

## HEALTH SERVICES AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

### Health Organizations

The Public Health Department of the Bahrain government is responsible for the protection of the health of the inhabitants and the enforcement of international quarantine regulations. It is administered by the Chief Medical Officer, whose headquarters are located at Manama. The department came into being in 1936, when the government hospital was erected, but, with the exception of malaria control measures, its functions were concerned primarily with the operation of medical care facilities until its reorganization in 1952. In that year, public health services were developed within the department, which now incorporates separate curative and preventive divisions. The port health authority, formerly under the Indian Medical Services, was taken over by

p. 260(4)

744 the Bahrain government in 1948, and transferred to the Public Health Department in 1952. There are no local health services, but constituted municipal authorities in Manama, Muharraq and Hedd oversee the sanitation in their respective towns.

744 A quarantine medical officer is attached
648 to the headquarters staff of the British Resident for the Persian Gulf at Bahrain. He advises with the different local governments and supervises the conduct of international quarantine regulations in the Persian Gulf area.

747 The Board of Foreign Missions of the
743 Reformed Church of America supports hospitals for men and women at Manama, and carries on an active medical program among the people of the islands. The Bahrain Petroleum Company maintains a hospital and dispensaries for the benefit of its Bahraini and other personnel, and co-operates with the government medical services in its mosquito control campaign. A Persian Gulf Medical Society was organized at Bahrain in 1945 for the interchange of information among the doctors in the region.

### Medical Institutions

743 **Hospitals and Dispensaries.** In 1951, the government medical service operated 2 general hospitals at Manama—a hospital for men, with a capacity of 60 beds; and a separate unit for women, with a capacity of 34 beds. It also maintained isolation hospitals for men and women, with 12 and 16 beds, respectively; a tuberculosis hospital for men with 13 beds; a mental hospital with accommodations for 25 men and women; and, on one of the islands, a quarantine hospital which had 20 permanent beds and facilities for expansion in case of need. Women's clinics were conducted at Muharraq and Hedd; the former had 16 beds for maternity cases and the latter, 3 beds. In addition to the clinic services connected with the general hospitals, dispensaries were established for men at Muharraq, Hedd, Sitra, Karzakkan and West Rafaa and for women at East Rafaa,

Sukal Khamis and Karaakkan. Venereal disease and trachoma clinics were carried on in the boys' schools, and regular school health services in the girls' schools. 741

The Reformed Church of America started a medical mission in Manama at the end of the last century. Its Mason Memorial Hospital has sections for men and women which, in 1951, had a combined capacity of 100 beds, as well as outpatient clinics. 747 743

The Bahrain Petroleum Company maintains a hospital at Awali for the care of its employees. The division for the British and the American staff had a capacity of 40 beds in 1951, while that for the Arab and the Indian personnel had a capacity of 70 beds. The Company also operates dispensaries at its refinery and in the towns of Manama and Sitra. 743

Laboratories. A laboratory which undertakes examinations for all the government institutions is connected with the men's hospital in Manama. It has facilities for the performance of microscopic, bacteriologic, serologic and biochemical tests. Serologic, bacteriologic and clinical laboratories are attached to the hospital of the oil company in Awali. Clinical facilities are also available in the mission hospital. X-ray departments are incorporated in the government and the industrial hospitals. 742

Schools. No schools for the training of medical personnel exist in Bahrain, but plans are under consideration for the development of a course for the training of nurses in the government hospitals at Manama. Medical assistants are trained in all the general hospitals. 174 185

## Personnel

Physicians. Twenty-four British, American and Indian doctors were associated with hospitals in Bahrain in 1952. Of this number, 11 were in the government hospitals, 2 in the mission hospital and 11 in the oil industry hospital. A few Indian doctors are engaged in private practice in the town of Manama. 759

Dentists. One dentist is engaged by the

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHRAIN MZ 2

Responsibility for the protection of the health of the people resides in the Public Health Department of the Bahrain government. It has curative and preventive divisions, and is administered by a Chief Medical Officer with headquarters in Manama. Four general hospitals—government, mission and industrial—with an aggregate capacity of 324 beds were functioning in 1951. In addition, the government services operated 5 special hospitals with 86 beds, maternity clinics and scattered dispensaries for men and women. Water supplies are obtained from large numbers of artesian wells, as well as from springs and shallow wells. The town of Manama has a piped artesian supply which serves over 70 per cent of the houses. Sewage is disposed of by primitive methods, and most well and spring water sources are polluted.

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p. 265(A)

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 MI Middle East
Bahrain M22



one went to the Sheikh for the maintenance of his household and family; one was for current Government expenses and development projects; and one for investments abroad as a reserve for future contingencies. With the increase in income—directly from oil revenue and indirectly from customs duties—as a result of the Company's activities, Government services increased and a number of development projects were undertaken. By 1951 there were three hospitals on the islands—the American Mission Hospital and the Company hospital mentioned above, a Government hospital for men and women operated by a British staff, including a section for the mentally ill—as well as a number of municipal clinics. General health conditions were not good: malaria and other fevers and dysentery were prevalent; bilharzia, trachoma and hookworm took a heavy toll; and above all, a large proportion of the population was infected with venereal diseases. Medical services were supplied to every Bahreini free of charge.

Though there had been some educational facilities before the development of the oil industry,[22] it was not until 1934 that the Government engaged a number of Iraqi teachers and enlarged the facilities. By 1951 there were nine elementary schools, one secondary school, founded in 1940, and one school for girls opened in 1939, all tuition-free. The schools were staffed with 258 teachers, who instructed some 6,000 boys and girls. The Government, in conjunction with the Company, also provided scholarships to graduates of the secondary schools for study abroad.

The Government built roads, bridges, harbors and a large airport; water was supplied from artesian wells instead of being brought in by boat; and efforts were made to improve housing conditions. Though without a single newspaper in 1951, Bahrein had a broadcasting station, built in 1940 for Allied war purposes, a dial telephone system, forty miles of roads and 2,000 automobiles. Most of the streets of the main towns were electrically lighted, and a sewerage system had been installed. The net result was a higher standard of living for the Bahreinis, not only in comparison with their own pre-oil standard, but also with the people of the neighboring states.[23]

[22] In 1926 there was one school for boys only, and it was poorly attended. James Bell, "He Said Forward! to the Backward," *Life*, Nov. 17, 1952.
[23] U.N., *Summary 1952-53*, 58-59; Sanger, *The Arabian Peninsula*, 148-149;

172 high walls around a central courtyard are all that it consists of, and some
712 of the Omani guns still remain in the towers. The fort was built in 1800 by the Ruler of Muscat, Sultan bin Ahmed, who in that year seized Bahrain from the Khalifah and sent his brother, Sayed Said, to govern the Islands they were soon expelled but later returned. The Muscatis remained in their fort for nine years, but after their expulsion in 1809 by the Khalifah-Saudi alliance the fort was left deserted.

Near Muharraq town is the fort of Abu Mahur, already mentioned in connection with the Portuguese map and named after one of the largest undersea springs in Bahrain, which is situated near it. The fort, which dominates the southern approach to Muharraq and Manama, was built on the island-peninsular of Abu Mahur by Shaikh Abdulla al-Khalifah, who ruled jointly with his brother Sulman, builder of the fort at Rifaa ash-Sharqi. In 1843 Shaikh Abdulla was expelled from Bahrain by his son Muhammad, who was also unable to enjoy a peaceful reign, for after a dispute with Qatar Muhammad was replaced as Ruler of Bahrain by his brother Ali and the British shelled the fort
•[744] of Abu Mahur, which was destroyed with the exception of one tower. More recently the remains of the fort and the island was given to the Baluchi retainers of the Khalifah, but in 1930 the Baluchis were given land elsewhere and the island was turned into a Quarantine Station. This is therefore a fort which visitors are not advised to visit.

### THE QANATS

312 "Qanat" is the Arabic name for the underground water channels
172 which are found in many parts of Bahrain, particularly in the south-west of the island. Here, among others, is a long channel running inland from Sadad, another brings water to Karzarkan from the spring called Ijraiyi, a mile and a half to the north, and a third channel runs from the spring of Malakiya to the village of the same name. These are but a few of the many channels in Bahrain.

312 These channels are present in great numbers in Persia and are also
171 found in eastern Saudi-Arabia and Syria. It is probable that those in Bahrain were first built by the Persians. It is stated in at least one history that they were the work of the Persian King Anushirvan who captured Bahrain from the Arabs in the fourth century A.D. They have often been mentioned by travellers to Bahrain and in a local history it is stated that during a war that took place in the eighth century between the people of Bahrain and an army sent by the Caliph, the Bahrainis made good use of these same channels by passing through them till they reached the rear of the enemy forces and then making a successful surprise attack.

312 The channels were built to prevent the wastage of water from evapor-
172 ation which would have occurred had the water been carried in surface channels, By this method the water is sheltered from the sun and its flow is not hindered by falls of sand or the movements of sand dunes. It seems that the channels were first built as open ditches and then roofed with slabs of sea rock, called feroush. The roofs of the channels are sloping and after construction they were covered with sand to the

## CONCLUSIONS

161 The most striking fact which has emerged from the second census of Bahrein is that although there has been an increase in the total population of about 20% in nine years yet this increase is confined to Manamah and Muharraq alone, the growth of the population of Manamah being twice as much as in Muharraq. Even if the number of men who are working abroad is taken into consideration the lack of increase in the rural districts discloses an unsatisfactory state of affairs in the villages which was only revealed 165 by the census. During the preliminary registration, which in the case of the villages took about a fortnight, and the night of the census, the census staff recorded 43 deaths in a village population of about 31,500 (the Arab villages were not included in this total). In one small village with a population of 248 persons there were eight deaths in ten days and in every case the deaths were of very young children, yet no epidemic existed.

464 There is no unemployment in Bahrain and the cost of living in the villages is no higher than it was a few years ago. There is no reason to suppose that the lack of increase in the rural population is due to economic causes. 744 The people in the towns and in the villages which are near the towns make more use every year of the public health facilities which are provided by the Government. Cleanliness and sanitation have improved and the anti-malaria work which the Government has carried out has done much to reduce malaria, but few women patients come to the hospitals from distant villages, although today almost all the villages are on bus routes. From what information can be obtained, without vital statistics, it would appear that infant mortality rate in the villages is extremely high. It used to be equally high in the towns but conditions in this respect in the towns have much improved.

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## PUBLIC HEALTH

Report by Dr. J. D. Grant.

During its first year of existence the Public Health Service had its fair share of growing pains caused chiefly by Staff changes, a shortage of trained technical and clerical personnel and an apathy or lack of education on the part of local bodies and people in matters of hygiene and sanitation. On the other hand, the port and quarantine side functioned smoothly, anti-malaria control measures were extended to cover the whole Island except for a few villages in the southern end, and a Boys' School Medical Service was inaugurated.

**Staff.** Mr. L. J. Hussey, Public Health Inspector, resigned on the 1st March to rejoin the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company at Aden and was replaced by Mr. F. Burgin who arrived on the 2nd June.

The following new appointments were made :—

Dr. Ali Mustan, School Medical Officer, 26th November.
Dr. P. P. Mallow, Port Health Officer, 22nd June.

**Trained Personnel.** The shortage of this class of labour was a constant problem, and to fill some of the gaps it was necessary to recruit from Pakistan and India. These sources will have to be tapped further until requirements can be met from Bahrain.

**Hygiene and Sanitation.** Sanitary measures were chiefly confined to the Municipal areas, and in each case the local Council was responsible for carrying out these duties, with the Public Health Authorities acting in an advisory capacity. This arrangement proved unsatisfactory, as for one reason or another, the Ialadiyas were very loath to carry out the suggestions offered and most reluctant to implement the recently drawn up Sanitary Bye-laws. At the end of the year it was decided that much stronger action was required and that Health Education by legislation would have to be resorted to where necessary; the Public Health Authorities were therefore invested with summary powers to enforce sanitary measures.

The absence of a proper sewerage and drainage system continues to be one of the greatest stumbling blocks to any effort or progress in improving the standard of sanitation in Municipal areas. The present rapid rate of building adds daily to the problem and the stage has now been reached when it is imperative to change from the prevailing highly dangerous and obnoxious cesspool method of conservancy and drainage. The impending survey by a consultant Sanitary Engineer with this end in view is being looked forward to eagerly.

Regular inspections revealed a slight improvement in the standard of cleanliness of restaurants, eating houses, coffee shops, bakeries, aerated water factories and other premises used for the preparation and sale of foodstuffs. In future, licences for these premises will be issued direct by the Public Health Department after they have been inspected and passed as satisfactory and those premises which, after due warning fail to reach the standard required will be closed down. The hawking of foodstuffs will not be permitted unless adequate precautions against contamination by dust and flies are taken and the general sanitary conditions under which this type of business is conducted are satisfactory.

The new fish, meat and vegetable and fruit markets at Quadabiya were opened during the year, but so far have not proved very popular. They set a very good standard with fly proofing, cement floors, washing and drainage facilities and adjacent rubbish receptacles and latrines. A similar type of building is under construction in Manama for the sale of fruit and vegetables. The other Manama markets and all the Muharraq ones are in such an insanitary state that their reconstruction on the above lines is most essential and should be carried out without further delay.

The standard of domestic sanitation is poor. Dirt, disease and squalor reign in many houses causing much unnecessary sickness at considerable cost to hospital and medical services. Better and cleaner houses and less money spent on drugs and more on drains would be of greater value in the task of promoting health and preventing disease.

[Previously A.D. 1950 -- Annual]

**Anti-Malaria Control.** Control measures were continued on the same lines as in former years linking up with the Oil Company's campaign of the East and West central areas, and in addition a system of residual spraying on a large scale was introduced and the area of activities extended to cover practically the whole of the Island. The maximum labour employed at any time consisted of 27 semi-skilled and 70 unskilled workers under two supervisors.

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Malaria transmission is restricted to two periods, the first from March to June, and the second from October to January. Breeding, however, is perennial and the number of breeding places reported and treated was :—

| | Anopheline. | Culex. | Anopheline and Culex. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Town Areas .. .. .. | 188 .. | 1,340 .. | 129 |
| Garden and Country Area .. | 8,050 .. | 40,617 .. | 18,163 |
| Total .. | 8,238 | 41,957 | 18,292 |

Town breeding places are water storage containers, exposed sub-soil water, shallow wells, cesspools and faulty drains. The present building campaign is adding daily to the number in the form of cesspools and inadequate drainage. In the gardens and country areas, breeding occurs in badly maintained irrigation channels and drains, wells, borrow pits and stagnant pools resulting from an overflow.

Larvicidal measures consisted of oiling and suspensions to deal with water collections, weeding and canalising water channels and the use of larvivorous fish. A larvicidal oil containing Diesel 70 per cent., crude 20 per cent. and waste motor 10 per cent. with or without D.D.T. 1.5 per cent. was found to be most effective and economical. The measures employed against adult mosquitoes were fogging by Tifa machine, and residual spraying by Knapsack sprayers. Gammexane P.520 and D.D.T. were the chief insecticides used.

The incidence of malaria has been on the decline for some years past and is no longer a major problem. As the disease is not notifiable, it is not possible to define its exact proportions, but a spleen count carried out amongst 4,556 schoolboys gave a rate of enlarged spleen of 3.5 per cent. with the following figures for the most malarious areas :—

| School. | Total number of Boys. | Number of enlarged spleens. | Percentage. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sitra .. .. | 120 .. | 29 .. | 24.0 |
| Khamis .. .. | 281 .. | 48 .. | 15.0 |
| East Rafaa .. .. | 140 .. | 21 .. | 15.0 |
| Tubli .. .. | 60 .. | 8 .. | 13.0 |
| West Rafaa .. .. | 63 .. | 8 .. | 12.5 |
| Karzakan .. .. | 63 .. | 6 .. | 9.5 |

These figures show a decided improvement on those reported in a survey carried out some years ago when the average village spleen rate was much higher. The Bahrain Petroleum Medical Department reported a rate of 3.15 per cent. of malaria cases for the year with 0.4 per cent. occurring in the first transmission period and 2.75 per cent. for the second period. These cases were diagnosed on the presence of parasites in the blood and covered a group of 7,350 local employees from all over the Island.

Both these sets of statistics will be available in the future and will give an indication of the trend of the disease.

**School Medical Service (Boys).** This service was inaugurated in the early part of the year. The staff consisted of a Medical Officer and an Arab nursing orderly. The scope of the service was routine medical examination of all pupils, treatment of minor illnesses with the referring of the more serious cases to hospital, education in elementary hygiene and the supervision of school sanitation.

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1 [A D. 1952-53 ... 121]

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There are 19 Boys' Schools on the Islands with an attendance of 4,318 pupils located as follows :—

| School | | Number of Pupils |
|---|---|---|
| West Primary | Manama | 666 |
| East Primary | Manama | 195 |
| East Kindergarten | Manama | 453 |
| Secondary | Manama | 165 |
| Technical | Manama | 54 |
| Old Kindergarten | Muharraq | 405 |
| New Kindergarten | Muharraq | 364 |
| Primary | Muharraq | 687 |
| Samhij | | 96 |
| Hidd | | 340 |
| Budaiya | | 167 |
| Khamis | | 271 |
| Tubli | | 62 |
| Sanad | | 20 |
| Aali | | 68 |
| Karzakan | | 86 |
| West Rafaa | | 64 |
| East Rafaa | | 136 |
| Sitra | | 119 |
| | Total | 4,318 |

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All these pupils were examined during the year and the results noting the defects and other relevant information recorded on an individual school medical card.

The most common defects were :—

| Defect | Number cases... | Percentage Town School. | Country School. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Trachoma and Conjunctivitis | 1250 | 20.9 | 52.7 |
| Defective vision | 413 | 7.5 | 15.4 |
| Enlarged tonsils | 223 | 5.5 | 3.9 |
| Enlarged spleens | 182 | 1.4 | 12.3 |
| Skin diseases | 136 | 0.5 | 10.7 |
| Corneal opacities | 88 | 1.6 | 3.2 |
| Squint | 37 | 1.0 | 0.3 |

The number of defects was on the whole, much higher among boys attending country schools than boys at town schools and their rate of growth was slower between the ages of 11 and 16. (Fig. 1). A lower standard of living, malnutrition and poor sanitary conditions in the villages contribute towards this discrepancy but it is hoped that the extension of anti-malarial activities, the school medical service and, if possible, the provision of a school meal, will help to remedy this state of affairs in due course.

The measurement of the weight and height of all pupils was carried out and recorded graphically on each boy's school medical card. This procedure over a number of years should be of immense value in detecting disease and assessing health, as loss of weight, failure to gain, or cessation of growth may be early indications of such various conditions as tuberculosis, sub-acute rheumatism, malnutrition, chronic disease of an essential organ, etc. While every care was taken to ensure reasonable accuracy, the anthropometric technique employed was liable to a certain measure of error as it was not possible to provide at, or carry around to each school, a beam scale weighing machine, or a proper height measuring scale. In addition, it was often difficult to estimate the correct age, as births are not registered in Bahrain, and many children especially in towns, gain admission before the school entrance age of seven years, and are shown as being of that age. As a point of interest, comparative figures in respect of weights and heights between groups of English and Bahrain schoolboys are shown (Fig. 2) from which it will be seen that at all ages, English schoolboys are heavier and taller than Bahrain schoolboys.

The condition of school buildings varied, but in all cases overcrowding was common. The new schools are well built, lighted and ventilated and are provided with ample recreation space and adequate latrines and ablution facilities. Most of the others are reasonably good, but require improvements in lighting, ventilation, condition of floors and desks as the case may be. Samahij is, however, quite unsuitable and a new building is required. Some of the town schools are situated in congested areas and accordingly lack adequate playground space. All country schools must have good washing facilities and the pupils given routine baths. This would reduce their high incidence of disease resulting from dirt and uncleanliness.

The service has been well received by the teaching staff and has been given their full co-operation and help.

**Port and Quarantine.** The number of people entering Bahrain, their place of entry and the number arriving without valid certificates of vaccination were recorded as follows :—

| Number of arrivals. | Place of Entry. | Number without valid vaccination certificate. |
|---|---|---|
| 67,172 | Manama Jetty .. .. .. | 9,292 |
| 22,107 | Muharraq Airport .. .. | 721 |
| 2,112 | Muharraq Jetty .. .. | 684 |
| 2,344 | P. C. L. Jetty, Sitra .. .. | nil |
| 111 | Sitra Port .. .. .. | nil |
| Total 93,846 | | 10,697 |

This was an increase of 18,710 arrivals on last year's figures. Once again the heaviest traffic passed through Manama Jetty and also the largest number without vaccination certificates. This traffic was mostly local, coming from neighbouring Gulf ports by launch and dhow and necessitated a strict watch, but no quarantine measure other than vaccination was necessary.

Muharraq Airport still lacks adequate control arrangements for the segregation of passengers from the general public until they have passed through quarantine. To assist in this matter, a separate enclosure has now been provided for non-passengers, but due to lack of organisation it has not achieved its purpose.

The number of arrivals at Muharraq Jetty was small but important in that so many of them did not possess the necessary vaccination certificates.

Neither of the two remaining places of entry at Sitra presented any difficulty.

It was not necessary to place any person, ship or aircraft in quarantine and no case of quarantinable disease occurred during the year.

Medical attention was afforded to 1701 members of ships' crews, 1,258 attending the Port Health Dispensary at Sitra and the remaining 443 at the Public Health Dispensary in Manama. The Bahrain Government Hospital provided hospitalisation facilities and sick personnel from overseas tankers were accommodated in the Bahrain Petroleum Company's hospital. There were 36 heat cases with two deaths, otherwise illnesses were of a routine nature. Attention was again drawn to the inadequacy of arrangements on board many ships plying in the Persian Gulf in respect of insufficient supplies of cold drinking water, medicines, salt tablets, refrigeration, ventilation and air-conditioning facilities.

The Mecca Pilgrimage of the year 1372 Hegira (A.D. 1953). It is estimated that 2,578 pilgrims passed through Bahrain. All came by air, and a transit camp was established at the Airport. There was no case of infectious disease and all possessed the necessary certificates of vaccination against small-pox and cholera.

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Bahrain Port Health Regulations 1952 were drawn up in accordance with International Sanitary Regulations and were put into effect during the year.

**Number of Ships granted Pratique**

| | |
|---|---|
| After Boarding | 352 |
| Without Boarding | 1179 |
| Total | 1531 |

**Number of Passengers, Dhows and Launches arriving at Bahrain.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Manama Jetty | 1558 |
| Muharraq Jetty | 157 |
| P.C.L. Jetty, Sitra | 152 |
| Total | 1867 |

**Number of Passenger Aircraft arriving at Muharraq Airport** 4348

**Number of Aircraft, Ships or other vessels placed in Quarantine** nil.

**Number of Deratization Exemption Certificates issued** 38

**Number of Vaccinations and Inoculations carried out against :**

| | |
|---|---|
| Smallpox | 25,840 |
| Cholera | 3,698 |
| Enteric Group | 680 |
| Yellow Fever | 129 |
| Typhus | 120 |
| Plague | 104 |

9: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

632 Until 1348 the Government paid Rs 48,000/- per annum to municipal funds, and the municipality paid Rs 24,000/- to the Government towards public protection.

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**Municipal Achievements.**

**Manamah.** It is in Manamah that the work of the municipality is most conspicuous, partly because Manamah Municipality has had more money to spend and has existed for longer than the Muharraq Municipality.

**Roads.**

The most noticeable work in Manamah during the last ten years is the construction of roads and the widening of streets in the bazaar area. Ten years ago there were very few parts of the bazaar which could be reached in a car, and even the most important shops were housed in narrow lanes. Now most of the principal bazaars are accessible to cars. The wider streets, which are in some places permanently roofed, are more healthy and sanitary and are easier to keep clean. The style of building has changed: people are no longer concerned with low, dark shops, but build high, airy showrooms with windows in which their goods can be displayed. Although the first people to set this fashion were foreign shop-keepers, their example was very soon followed by the local traders, especially as, during the last two years, rents of good shops and offices, as well as houses, have risen considerably.

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**Conservancy, Sanitation, Water Supply, Malaria.**

For many years a municipal contractor was employed to clean the town; his work was satisfactory in the conspicuous parts of the bazaar and town, but not satisfactory in the back quarters of Manamah. The municipality now does the work itself, with more successful results. On the whole, the town is very clean and free from smells. One of the greatest problems which the municipality has to deal with is the reclamation of low ground behind the town, where water lies stagnant after the rainy season for many months. Originally the people of Manamah dug mud from this site for building houses, and now a large area of ground is only a few feet above sea level, so low that all attempts to drain the water into the sea have proved unsuccessful. During the last two years, special grants of Rs 10,000/- have been made by the Government to the municipality for filling this ground. The work is not yet complete.

Until a few years ago sanitation in Manamah consisted of cesspits in every house, which were emptied once or twice a year. The system was unsatisfactory; the municipal inspectors reported any leaking drains or insufficiently covered cesspits. Lately, however, many householders have installed a water supply, and an attempt at modern sanitation. In the case of houses on reclaimed land and near the sea, the drains flow into the sea, but the drainage conditions of houses distant from the sea is not satisfactory. A sewer which was built from the Municipal Garden to the sea, at the cost of over Rs 7,000/-, has not proved a success owing to the small difference in level between the garden and the sea, and drains which empty into this sewer have flowed backwards. At the time of writing, work is being done on the sewer, and it is hoped that it will eventually serve its intended purpose.

The water supply in Manamah now consists of a number of artesian wells, some of which are private property, others having been made by the Government. The Government and the municipality have issued regulations to prevent waste of water and the collection of stagnant water where mosquitoes will breed; these regulations are effective in the town. During certain months of the year, in the spring and autumn, there are a great many mosquitoes in Manamah and Muharraq. It has, I think, been proved that the main mosquito-breeding place is inside houses in the large earthenware water jars which are kept in every compound, usually in a dark corner under a shed. They are never emptied, but are refilled when the supply gets low. Until now the municipal council and the public have strongly opposed all suggestions that the water jars should be inspected. In Rafaa and Sakhir there are always quantities of mosquitoes, and these places are many miles from any gardens or water, which is an additional proof that the mosquitoes breed inside the houses. The municipalities spray oil on all standing water and take all possible steps to deal with breeding places which are not inside houses, but their officials have no authority to enter houses and inspect them.

At a future time it will be necessary to consider installing a regular town water supply, and possibly a drainage system as well. It is possible that a water system with a tap in every house would obviate the need of water jars and reduce the number of mosquitoes.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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The municipalities are valuable vehicles for carrying out sanitary and health measures among the public. It is easier to introduce unpopular rules, such as anti-malaria regulations, through the municipalities than by direct Government action.

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**Fire Precautions, etc.** In several parts of the town there are quantities of barasti houses made of palm branches; these buildings are very inflammable. When fires occur in these neighbourhoods the flames spread rapidly. The Manamah Municipality some years ago built fire stations in various parts of the town, equipped with a fire bell and tins of sand for use in emergency. The storing of more than a certain number of tins of petrol and paraffin inside the town was also forbidden, and for this reason the Anglo-Persian Oil Company were given a piece of ground on the sea shore beyond Manamah, on which they built an oil and petrol store. The Government has now ordered a fire engine from England, and when this arrives, valves will be fitted on to the artesian wells in the town so that the engine can fill from any well. The fire engine will be in charge of the police, and will be kept at the Fort.

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**Markets and Food Regulations.** During the last ten years the municipality has greatly improved the conditions under which food is sold in the bazars. Animals used to be slaughtered in the town opposite the Municipal Building, and the meat was sold under filthy conditions in a line of palm branch shops whose mud floors were never clean. The monopoly for the meat market and the slaughter-house was in the hands of Shaikh Sulman bin Shaikh Hamad. The municipality, in 1346, built a slaughter-house on the shore at Kouziba, actually in the sea, connected to the shore by a pier; and by means of an arrangement with Shaikh Sulman a proper stone meat market was built adjoining the Municipal Building. The municipality eventually, with the assistance of the Government, purchased Shaikh Sulman's rights over the slaughter-house, which is now a municipal concern. The negotiations, unfortunately, caused considerable ill-feeling, but the final results were satisfactory.

In 1931 a fish market was built, and during the present year three large steel markets have been erected by His Highness on his own property in the Suk al Arba, which are to be used as vegetable, lucerne, and fruit markets. These buildings, and a number of new stone shops, occupy a site which previously contained barasti buildings. After a serious fire at the end of 1936, the whole of the area was laid bare, and it was then possible to rebuild the markets, replacing straw shelters with stone shops and steel buildings.

Many regulations have been passed by the municipality affecting foodstuffs; dried fish, which has an evil smell, can only be sold in a certain area; the food sold in the hotels and coffee shops is regularly examined by municipal inspectors, who are also responsible for the cleanliness of soda factories. Other matters affecting food in which the municipality has shown an interest—sometimes a rather officious interest—are prevention of short-weight bread, use of soda, adulteration of real ghee with cheap vegetable ghee, short-weight rice, and also standardisation of weights and measures. During Ramadhan, the municipality buys a quantity of sheep and sells meat at cost price in order to assist the poor. Other charitable work which is done by the municipality is the payment of compensation to poor persons whose houses are destroyed in fires, and the burial of paupers.

**Public Health Measures.** In 1931 the municipality opened a lunatic asylum, which was badly needed. It is under the supervision of the Quarantine Medical Officer. The inmates are men and women, and it usually contains about a dozen patients.

The need for a leper settlement has been often discussed by the council, but this has been postponed until the Government has its own medical officer. There are a number of lepers in Bahrain, especially in the country villages, and undoubtedly steps should be taken to segregate them. Foreign lepers, when they are discovered, are immediately sent home to their own countries.

Attempts to enforce compulsory vaccination have not yet succeeded, though the need for this is appreciated by many members of the council.

Both in Manamah and Muharraq there are municipal midwives—Indian—who also have free dispensaries and clinics for women and children. The Government has recently opened a second

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women's dispensary in Manamah, which is in charge of a midwife who was trained in Iraq and was for some years in the Basra Civil Hospital. The work done among the women is much appreciated and is, in my opinion, very valuable. Bahrain is notorious as being the one place in the Gulf where local midwives still administer a certain sort of treatment to women after childbirth which has the most disastrous effects on ensuing childbirth. It is hoped that the work of trained midwives will combat the local practices.

All stagnant water inside the municipal area is sprayed regularly with crude oil, which is provided free for the purpose by the Bahrain Petroleum Company.

**Gardens, Cemeteries.** About thirteen years ago the Manamah municipality bought a large piece of ground inside the town for a municipal garden. Two years later an artesian well was drilled there and a quantity of trees, mostly obtained from Karachi, were planted in the garden. The trees are now very tall, and the garden is much frequented by the public, especially during the hot weather, when quantities of people go there in the afternoons and sit on the shade under the trees. Part of the ground has been made into a small zoological garden, and the Bahrain Sports Club, by arrangement with the municipality, has built two cement tennis courts, which are much used. It has been proposed regularly for the last four or five years in the municipal council that on one afternoon the garden should be set aside for women only. Every year the motion has been defeated, but each year by a smaller number of votes.

Two large cemeteries, formerly open on all sides, inside the town were surrounded by stone walls in 1930, which has done much to improve the appearance of the part of the town where they are situated. The tomb of Shaikh Ahmed, the first Khalifah Shaikh of Bahrain, on the southern edge of the town, was repaired and walled at the same time.

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**Muharraq Municipality.** The work of the Muharraq municipality is less conspicuous than that of Manamah. The most important work after town cleaning and road widening has been the filling in of what used to be a saltwater creek which reached from the shore almost to the entrance of the bazaar. The reclaimed ground is valuable, and is now occupied by stalls and the taxi stand. The sea road on the north of the customs office was built by the municipality about eight years ago, with assistance of a special grant from the Government. The question of extending this road is now under consideration.

Opportunity for town planning is almost non-existent in Muharraq, as the town is surrounded on three sides by the sea and on the north much of the shore has always been flooded during high tides. The municipality has made some effort to preserve the low-lying land outside the town by building a long, low wall on the shore which keeps back the sea.

During the last two years the Muharraq municipality has carried out work in Hidd, where no municipality exists, widening the main road and filling in a long and very insanitary sewer. The Government made a special grant for this work, which was outside the province of the Muharraq municipality.

The town of Muharraq is very congested; there are no open spaces or public gardens as in Manamah, and the streets are too narrow for trees to be planted in them. For this reason it is difficult to improve the appearance of the place. Houses in Muharraq are old-fashioned in style and, except on the sea road, few of them are detached; the bazaars do not contain any modern shops, and there are no public market buildings. For several years the commercial importance of Muharraq has been declining, though it is still a centre for pearl trading, as most of the biggest pearl merchants live there.

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MUHARRAQ MUNICIPALITY

| Year. | Revenue. Rs | Expenditure. Rs |
|---|---|---|
| 1346 ... | 46,000/- ... | 38,500/- |
| 1347 ... | 62,900/- ... | 59,600/- |
| 1348 ... | 95,600/- ... | 82,800/- |

5: Harrison - D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2
Saudi Arabia M31



were to be kept away from all food. That epidemic stopped as if it had been cut off with an ax. There was not another fresh case reported after that day.

Bahrein is full of malaria. One of the city officials came to me not long ago to inquire as to the possibility of putting kerosene oil on the stagnant pools with which Bahrein abounds and so diminishing the amount of that disease. In matters like these the medical missionary has a most wonderful opportunity to be the pioneer in public health service. He hopes to see the day when all such work will be taken up by the governing sheikhs and carried to a point far beyond anything that he can do, but in the meantime helping to get such projects started is one of his keenest pleasures. He is also interested in the creation of an elementary medical literature for these backward communities. Simple pamphlets on malaria have found a wide reading in Basra, and a series of similar popular presentations of the dangers, means of transmission, and treatment of tuberculosis, syphilis, gonorrhea and malaria is projected for Bahrein. This is a work that often taxes the medical missionary to the utmost, for his literary abilities are not always of a high order and his available time is still less adequate, but it is something that he must do.

Not the least charm of work in such a country as Arabia is the number of medical problems that invite investigation. We have, for instance, a large amount of tuberculosis in Arabia, especially in the nomad communities. In America probably seventy-five per cent of all tubercular infections are pulmonary, but in Arabia perhaps less than twenty-five per cent. Just what causes the difference it would be interesting to investigate. One is tempted to speculate on the possibility of Arabian tuber-

Pollution of the soil is common, although the practice is discouraged in the towns. 364 361

## Fauna and Flora

Except for investigations relating to the anopheline vectors of malaria, few entomologic studies have been undertaken in Bahrain. Five species of anopheline mosquitoes have been identified—*Anopheles stephensi, A. culicifacies, A. sergenti, A. fluviatilis* and *A. pulcherrimus*. *A. stephensi* breeds in shallow wells, seepage pools, water storage tanks and irrigation ditches, and is responsible for a large part of the malaria transmission on the islands. While *A. culicifacies* is probably a vector in some localities, it is generally regarded as of minor importance. *A. gambiae* is not indigenous, but it is sometimes found on board dhows upon arrival in port. Species of *Culex* are widespread. However, no vectors of filariasis have been recorded locally. Species of *Aedes* are known to be present. 164 136

A campaign for the control of malarial mosquitoes has been carried on by the government since 1939. Supplementary programs are conducted by the Bahrain Petroleum Company in the vicinity of its installations and throughout the southern half of Bahrain Island. The antilarval measures include the treatment of breeding places with oil or DDT preparations and the stocking of wells and drainage ditches with the larvivorous fish, *Gambusia*. The prevalence of anopheline mosquitoes reached minimal proportions in Manama by 1948, but was still extensive in the surrounding suburbs and date garden areas. The following year, the spraying of the marshes, rubbish dumps and gardens around the main towns and the residual spraying of the houses and the bazaars with DDT and Gammexane preparations were introduced for the suppression of both flies and mosquitoes. 744

Flies are abundant, although their numbers have been markedly reduced in the towns since the inauguration of the residual 136 744

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
BAHREIN M2 2

136 744 spraying campaign. The existing species have not been determined: several are probably implicated in the spread of intestinal and eye infections. All forms of human lice are present. Numerous species of fleas occur, including presumably *Xenopsylla cheopis*, the usual vector of plague, which was frequently epidemic in the past.

### Food Sanitation

744 656 The sanitary supervision of the markets, coffee shops, bakeries and other premises where foods are prepared or sold is the responsibility of the municipal authorities in Manama and Muharraq. Little governmental control has been attempted, but the new public health division plans to develop [439] inspection services. Most of the meat used is imported, and is not subject to inspection in Bahrain. There are slaughterhouses, however, in Manama and Muharraq which are operated under the supervision of the mu- 234 nicipal officers. No regulations exist governing the sale of milk. It is obtained from small herds of goats, and is often contaminated.

## HEALTH SERVICES AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

### Health Organizations

744 The Public Health Department of the Bahrain government is responsible for the protection of the health of the inhabitants and the enforcement of international quarantine regulations. It is administered by the Chief Medical Officer, whose headquarters 743 are located at Manama. The department 744 came into being in 1936, when the government hospital was erected, but, with the exception of malaria control measures, its functions were concerned primarily with the operation of medical care facilities until its 744 reorganization in 1952. In that year, public health services were developed within the department, which now incorporates separate curative and preventive divisions. The port health authority, formerly under the Indian Medical Services, was taken over by

744 the Bahrain government in 1948, and transferred to the Public Health Department in 1952. There are no local health services, but constituted municipal authorities in Manama, Muharraq and Hedd oversee the sanitation in their respective towns.

744 L78 A quarantine medical officer is attached to the headquarters staff of the British Resident for the Persian Gulf at Bahrain. He advises with the different local governments and supervises the conduct of international quarantine regulations in the Persian Gulf area.

747 743 The Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church of America supports hospitals for men and women at Manama, and carries on an active medical program among the people of the islands. The Bahrain Petroleum Company maintains a hospital and dispensaries for the benefit of its Bahraini and other personnel, and co-operates with the government medical services in its mosquito control campaign. A Persian Gulf Medical Society was organized at Bahrain in 1945 for the interchange of information among the doctors in the region.

### Medical Institutions

743 **Hospitals and Dispensaries.** In 1951, the government medical service operated 2 general hospitals at Manama—a hospital for men, with a capacity of 60 beds, and a separate unit for women, with a capacity of 54 beds. It also maintained isolation hospitals for men and women, with 12 and 16 beds, respectively; a tuberculosis hospital for men with 13 beds; a mental hospital with accommodations for 25 men and women; and, on one of the islands, a quarantine hospital which had 20 permanent beds and facilities for expansion in case of need. Women's clinics were conducted at Muharraq and Hedd: the former had 16 beds for maternity cases and the latter, 3 beds. In addition to the clinic services connected with the general hospitals, dispensaries were established for men at Muharraq, Hedd, Sitra, Karzakkan and West Rafaa, and for women at East Rafaa,

164 typhoid A infections, a large proportion of which occur among nonresidents.

Dysenteries. Both amebic and bacillary dysentery are widespread. The percentage [136] of carriers of *Endamoeba histolytica* is believed to be high, but the relative infection rates in the general population are uncertain. Over 1,000 cases of "dysentery" were treated in government institutions in 1950. The cases among men patients registered in the government isolation hospital in the two years from November, 1948, through October, 1950, totaled 120 for the first year and 176 for the second. Amebiasis was diagnosed in 59 to 71 cases and bacillary dysentery in 56 to 67. Mixed infections were recorded in a few cases, while in the second year, 30 cases were classified as diarrhea. Laboratory confirmation is not attempted, except in hospital cases, and the results of bacteriologic examinations are incomplete [136] in many instances. *Shigella paradysenteriae* (Flexner) predominates among the recognized infections, but Shiga, Schmitz, Sonne and Newcastle strains are encountered with 164 considerable frequency. The health authori- 744 ties anticipate a diminution in the prevalence of dysentery in Manama and Muharraq as a result of the fly control campaigns initiated in 1950.

Cholera. Cholera was formerly recurrent in the Persian Gulf ports, all of which are exposed to spread of the infection by coastwise traffic. Within recent years the rigorous application of quarantine measures has curtailed the number of outbreaks. Cholera has not appeared in Bahrain since the middle 1930s, when it was traced to the crew of a dhow visiting the port of Manama.

164 Helminthiases. Infection with intestinal 136 worms is almost universal. The rate of infection with *Ascaris lumbricoides* is estimated at 95 to 100 per cent. Heavy infections are encountered frequently, especially in children. Enterobiasis and trichuriasis are common. Taeniasis, caused by the beef tapeworm, *Taenia saginata*, is sometimes seen. A few cases of echinococcosis are treated in the local hospitals each year; the

was also believed to be high in many districts. The fatality rates among the hospitalized cases averaged 6 to 22 per cent. The disease subsided in the summer of 1950, and no cases were observed in 1951.

Vaccination against smallpox is not compulsory, but the health authorities endeavor to promote it in the school population. In 1948-49, a house-to-house campaign was carried on in the infected sections of Manama, and vaccination centers were established in the outlying districts. Vaccination is required of travelers to Bahrain, and persons who arrive without valid certificates of immunization are vaccinated by the medical officers upon landing.

**Other Infections.** Pneumonia is prevalent: a large proportion of the cases are probably bronchopneumonias. Measles, mumps and whooping cough are endemic, and often epidemic. Chickenpox and poliomyelitis are also endemic, but the reported cases are usually few in number. Meningococcus meningitis is sporadic, and occasional small outbreaks are recorded.

### Diseases Spread or Contracted Chiefly Through Contact

**Venereal Diseases.** Venereal diseases constitute a major problem, due to the transitory nature of a large section of the population. Local medical authorities believe that the syphilitic infection rate approximates 60 to 70 per cent. Numerous mild nonvenereal infections are observed among children, although the familiar manifestations of congenital syphilis are relatively rare. Gonorrhea is widespread, but chancroid and lymphogranuloma venereum are of minor significance. Cases of venereal disease are treated at the isolation hospital and the various dispensaries.

**Diseases of the Eyes.** Eye infections are prominent throughout this region. Ignorance of the basic principles of hygiene and the prevalence of flies, as well as the irritating effects of sand and wind during the *shamal* seasons, are underlying factors in the spread of trachoma, conjunctivitis and

other eye diseases. Trachoma is widely distributed, and estimates of prevalence range from 35 to 90 per cent, depending upon the locality. Trichiasis is frequent. The most serious effects are often observed among immigrants from Saudi Arabia, the Trucial Coast and Iran. In an average of over 1,200 men patients receiving medical or surgical ophthalmic treatment in the government hospital in each of the two years 1949-50, about 30 per cent were suffering from trichiasis. Special attention is given to the treatment of eye diseases in all the hospitals and dispensaries, and clinics are conducted in some of the boys' schools. 164 515 136 164 758

**Diseases of the Skin.** Mycotic infections of the skin are common, but the children appear to be relatively free from favus. In spite of the low standards of hygiene among the poorer inhabitants, scabies is seldom seen. 164 515

**Leprosy.** Although leprosy is present among the Baharna, it is rare in the Arab community. Cases are found on all the islands, probably with greatest frequency on Sitra. The severity of the infection seems to be decreasing, and the percentage of childhood cases in recent years has been low. The actual number of lepers in the indigenous population is uncertain: it was believed to be about 100 in 1951. No segregation is practiced, but lepers are forbidden to congregate and beg in the towns. 164

**Other Infections.** Sporadic cases of tetanus and of tetanus neonatorum occur occasionally. Rabies is not recorded at present.

### Diseases Spread by Arthropods

**Malaria.** Malaria was formerly one of the foremost disease hazards in Bahrain, but in recent years its importance has declined progressively with the expansion of the anopheline control program. The present morbidity is believed to be insignificant in comparison with that encountered before the inauguration of the government's antimalaria campaign in 1939. Treatment statistics are of doubtful value, yet they are 164 744 164 758

P. 263(B)

164 occurred intermittently in the past, chiefly in Manama and Muharraq. The islands are exposed to the introduction of the disease [744] from neighboring territories, but the enforcement of quarantine regulations has prevented its establishment for several decades.

**Other Infections.** Although a mild degree of louse infestation occurs among the inhabitants in some congested areas, louse-borne typhus is rarely, if ever, reported. Imported cases of cutaneous leishmaniasis, or Oriental sore, and filariasis are occasionally treated in the local medical institutions, but the insect vectors are not known to be present, and indigenous infections have not been recorded. Guinea worm infection is sometimes seen among persons from Iran, but it is not found in the resident population.

## Nutritional Diseases

146 The standards of nutrition have improved 361 materially in the last few years. Under- 571 nutrition is common, but serious defects are seen primarily among the inhabitants of outlying villages and the families of workers from the mainland. Poverty, traditional dietary customs and intestinal parasitism are contributory factors. Subclinical deficiencies in vitamin C are widespread, and scurvy is observed from time to time. Rickets is frequent among the children in the towns. Anemia is prevalent, and hemoglobin levels of 25 to 30 per cent are not unusual among the women.

## SUMMARY

619 Bahrain is an independent sheikhdom 131 which consists of an archipelago of 5 main 282 islands situated in the Persian Gulf near the 315 coast of Arabia. It has long been famous as a pearl fishing center, and, since 1932, has enjoyed prosperity as an oil-producing area. 161 It has a heterogeneous population which 162 numbered 109,650 in 1950, including 18,471 [illegible] foreigners. The people are predominantly of [illegible] mixed Arab and Persian origin, and about 96 per cent are Moslems.

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Amebic and bacillary dysentery, tuberculosis, venereal diseases and trachoma are major disease problems. Malaria ranks among the principal diseases on the islands, but it is rapidly being brought under control in the towns and the oases. Typhoid fever, measles and whooping cough are endemic, and sometimes epidemic. Outbreaks of smallpox are frequent, and protective vaccination is not compulsory. Leprosy exists among certain population groups. Poliomyelitis and meningococcus meningitis are sporadic. Ancylostomiasis, leishmaniasis, schistosomiasis, filariasis and guinea-worm infection are observed occasionally in nonresidents, but are not indigenous. Outbreaks of cholera and plague formerly occurred every few years, but recently they have been suppressed by quarantine measures.

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p. 265 (B)

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Sukal Khamis and Karzakkan. Venereal disease and trachoma clinics were carried on in the boys' schools, and regular school health services in the girls' schools.

The Reformed Church of America started a medical mission in Manama at the end of the last century. Its Mason Memorial Hospital has sections for men and women which, in 1951, had a combined capacity of 100 beds, as well as outpatient clinics.

The Bahrain Petroleum Company maintains a hospital at Awali for the care of its employees. The division for the British and the American staff had a capacity of 40 beds in 1951, while that for the Arab and the Indian personnel had a capacity of 70 beds. The Company also operates dispensaries at its refinery and in the towns of Manama and Sitra.

Laboratories. A laboratory which undertakes examinations for all the government institutions is connected with the men's hospital in Manama. It has facilities for the performance of microscopic, bacteriologic, serologic and biochemical tests. Serologic, bacteriologic and clinical laboratories are attached to the hospital of the oil company in Awali. Clinical facilities are also available in the mission hospital. X-ray departments are incorporated in the government and the industrial hospitals.

Schools. No schools for the training of medical personnel exist in Bahrain, but plans are under consideration for the development of a course for the training of nurses in the government hospitals at Manama. Medical assistants are trained in all the general hospitals.

### Personnel

Physicians. Twenty-four British, American and Indian doctors were associated with hospitals in Bahrain in 1952. Of this number, 11 were in the government hospitals, 2 in the mission hospital and 11 in the oil industry hospital. A few Indian doctors are engaged in private practice in the town of Manama.

Dentists. One dentist is engaged by the

## DIVING INDUSTRY

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There is little to report on this subject. Under present conditions it seems probable that in a few years the diving Nakhudas will find that it is impossible to obtain any recruits for diving in Bahrain. During the season only 12 boats went out to the banks from Bahrain and most of the divers who were engaged were from Persia and the Trucial Coast. So much money can be earned on shore that few men are willing to leave their shore jobs in order to dive during the summer months.

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The tax on imported pearls imposed by the Government of India was in force throughout and after the diving season and this contributed to a large extent to the slackness in the pearl trade. Taking into consideration the small number of boats employed in diving the catch was moderately good and pearl prices were not much lower than in the previous season.

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## MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

### 1372

(Report by Dr. R. H. B. Snow, M.B.E., Senior Medical Officer)

**Summary of the Year**

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A change is gradually infiltrating and making itself evident in the scope and policy of medical work which is increasing in every department and subconsciously affecting the life of the Island. Traditions are now being established which the new generation are growing up with, and health ideas which once were revolutionary are now accepted as the normal course of reasonable upbringing.

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The medical department which started in a small way, and expanded slowly is seeing results which are very satisfying but which are taken for granted, although they took years of striving to achieve. From its small beginnings and tiny nucleus of key staff it has now spread out from something rather personal to more of a departmental outlook. This in the course of things is bound to be, but its danger is that lack of co-ordination may develop or that the department may absorb the individual expression. At present there seems to be no signs of this because the various heads of departments meet together continually to exchange ideas and align themselves in a common policy, and also they are readily accessible to the public.

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Lines of expansion have shown themselves everywhere. The surgical work has been given great impetus by the advent of an F.R.C.S. specialist, Mr. R. D. Wilkins.

The operation theatre now runs a staff rota for every 24 hours of the day, made possible by recruiting Sister Ford and Sister Johnson from England. Sister Edwards was appointed to the Nursing Home to replace Sister Millson. The X-Ray department has an English Radiographer in charge—Mr. Havey. The Laboratory has a staff of six technicians. Four new Indian doctors arrived, one lady doctor for the Women's Hospital, and the others, male, were appointed to the Boys' Schools, The Port, and the Hospital. Mr. Burgin replaced Mr. Hanvey as Public Health Inspector, and Mr. Nambiar became the new Anti-Malaria Supervisor. Both hospitals recruited many more Indian trained nurses. The lack of sufficient staff has now been made good and at present meets all needs which recently have been very pressing. It meant also that more specialised apparatus could be installed being safely handled by expert hands. Such things include a more powerful X-Ray plant, a modern anaesthetic apparatus to administer all gases and curare, an electro-cautery unit and an electro-cardiograph.

## PUBLIC HEALTH

Report by Dr. J. D. Grant.

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During its first year of existence the Public Health Service had its fair share of growing pains caused chiefly by Staff changes, a shortage of trained technical and clerical personnel and an apathy or lack of education on the part of local bodies and people in matters of hygiene and sanitation. On the other hand, the port and quarantine side functioned smoothly, anti-malaria control measures were extended to cover the whole Island except for a few villages in the southern end, and a Boys' School Medical Service was inaugurated.

**Staff.** Mr. L. J. Hanvey, Public Health Inspector, resigned on the 1st March to rejoin the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company at Aden and was replaced by Mr. F. Burgin who arrived on the 2nd June.

The following new appointments were made :—

Dr. Ali Mustafa, School Medical Officer, 26th November.
Dr. P. P. Mathew, Port Health Officer, 22nd June.

**Trained Personnel.** The shortage of this class of labour was a constant problem, and to fill some of the gaps it was necessary to recruit from Pakistan and India. These sources will have to be tapped further until requirements can be met from Bahrain.

**Hygiene and Sanitation.** Sanitary measures were chiefly confined to the Municipal areas, and in each case the local Council was responsible for carrying out these duties, with the Public Health Authorities acting in an advisory capacity. This arrangement proved unsatisfactory, as for one reason or another, the Baladiyas were very loath to carry out the suggestions offered and most reluctant to implement the recently drawn up Sanitary Bye-laws. At the end of the year it was decided that much stronger action was required and that Health Education by legislation would have to be resorted to where necessary; the Public Health Authorities were therefore invested with summary powers to enforce sanitary measures.

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The absence of a proper sewerage and drainage system continues to be one of the greatest stumbling blocks to any effort or progress in improving the standard of sanitation in Municipal areas. The present rapid rate of building adds daily to the problem and the stage has now been reached when it is imperative to change from the prevailing highly dangerous and obnoxious cesspool method of conservancy and drainage. The impending survey by a consultant Sanitary Engineer with this end in view is being looked forward to eagerly.

Regular inspections resulted in a slight improvement in the standard of cleanliness of restaurants, eating houses, coffee shops, bakeries, aerated water factories and other premises used for the preparation and sale of foodstuffs. In future, licences for these premises will be issued direct by the Public Health Department after they have been inspected and passed as satisfactory and those premises which, after due warning fail to reach the standard required will be closed down. The hawking of foodstuffs will not be permitted unless adequate precautions against contamination by dust and flies are taken and the general sanitary conditions under which this type of business is conducted are satisfactory.

The new fish, meat and vegetable and fruit markets at Quadabiya were opened during the year, but so far have not proved very popular. They set a very good standard with fly proofing, cement floors, washing and drainage facilities and adjacent rubbish receptacles and latrines. A similar type of building is under construction in Manama for the sale of fruit and vegetables. The other Manama markets and all the Muharraq ones are in such an insanitary state that their reconstruction on the above lines is most essential and should be carried out without further delay.

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The standard of domestic sanitation is poor. Dirt, disease and squalor reign in many houses causing much unnecessary sickness at considerable cost to hospital and medical services. Better and cleaner houses and less money spent on drugs and more on drains would be of greater value in the task of promoting health and preventing disease.

7 [presumably A.D. 1953-1954 -- Analyst]

was also believed to be high in many districts. The fatality rates among the hospitalized cases averaged 6 to 22 per cent. The disease subsided in the summer of 1950, and no cases were observed in 1951.

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**Venereal Diseases.** Venereal diseases constitute a major problem, due to the transitory nature of a large section of the population. Local medical authorities believe that the syphilitic infection rate approximates 60 to 70 per cent. Numerous mild nonvenereal infections are observed among children, although the familiar manifestations of congenital syphilis are relatively rare. Gonorrhea is widespread, but chancroid and lymphogranuloma venereum are of minor significance. Cases of venereal disease are treated at the isolation hospital and the various dispensaries.

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5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bahrain MZ2



the last stages of the disease and obviously his time was short. I was unable to give him any but the most unfavorable prognosis, and he died just a week later.

Two or three days after his death, I heard myself under discussion in one of the reception rooms where I was paying a visit. "This man," said an Arab to his friend, "is certainly a remarkable doctor. He arrived in Riyadh some ten days ago, as you know, and Abdullah sent for him at once. As soon as the doctor stepped into Abdullah's house he pointed at him with his finger. 'You will die,' he said, 'in exactly a week.' Now he did not feel especially bad the following week; on the contrary he felt somewhat better, but just a week from that day he lay down and died."

A woman came to us in Bahrein suffering from an ovarian cyst. It was a huge affair weighing probably sixty or seventy pounds. We had no scales at hand large enough to weigh it. As it rested on the instrument table, the father of the patient came and asked for it. "You must give that to me," he said. "I want it."

"No," I said, "you don't want that. We do not give those things away. It will be of no use to you."

"Yes," persisted the man, "you must give it to me for I need it. This woman you have just operated on is my daughter and on account of this trouble she lost her good name. Her husband returned three years ago after a prolonged absence and finding her abdomen swollen he divorced her without any words. Now it is evident that this trouble was not due to unfaithfulness on her part, so I want to take this to the judge and clear her good name."

"Very well," I said. "If it will do anybody any good you are welcome to it." So they brought in a large

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East M1
Bahrain MZ 2



sheet, put the cyst in and tied the sheet catacorner both ways, hung it from a large pole and two men carried it down the street to the judge's house. He looked at it in great astonishment. "*Mashallah* (What the Lord is able to do)!" was his first comment. The great cyst was carried around and exhibited to every prominent house in the city and was the talk of the place. Then after three or four days, being a thin-walled structure, it burst, and that was the end of the first chapter.

But there was another chapter to the story of the cyst. Six months later I was in Katif on a visit and a man came into the reception room. "Do you know," he asked my host, "who this man is?"

"Well," he replied, "I know who he says he is. He says he is the doctor from Bahrein."

"That is just who he is. Do you know what he did?"

"No, what did he do?"

"What did he do? Why this is the man who operated on the woman from Bedaiah. He took an enormous sack from her abdomen. They took it to the judge and to the various prominent houses of Bahrein and showed it everywhere, and after three or four days decided that they would like to know what was inside, so they opened it up and a live chicken jumped out of it."

Some of the missionaries overheard the following description of one of the hospital operations. "What do you think," said the narrator, "that I saw this morning? I was in the operating room of the American Hospital and a man came in. The doctor listened to his chest with that funny little machine that he puts in his ears. 'Yes,' he said almost at once, 'there is something the matter with your heart. You will have to be operated on.' So he was put up on the operating table and the doctor made

## DIVING INDUSTRY

228 464 There is little to report on this subject. Under present conditions it seems probable that in a few years the diving Nakhudas will find that it is impossible to obtain any recruits for diving in Bahrain. During the season only 12 boats went out to the banks from Bahrain and most of the divers who were engaged were from Persia and the Trucial Coast. So much money can be earned on shore that few men are willing to leave their shore jobs in order to dive during the summer months.

651 439 228 The tax on imported pearls imposed by the Government of India was in force throughout and after the diving season and this contributed to a large extent to the slackness in the pearl trade. Taking into consideration the small number of boats employed in diving the catch was moderately good and pearl prices were not much lower than in the previous season.

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## MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

### 1372

(Report by Dr. R. H. B. Snow, M.B.E., Senior Medical Officer)

**Summary of the Year**

185 751 A change is gradually infiltrating and making itself evident in the scope and policy of medical work which is increasing in every department and subconsciously affecting the life of the Island. Traditions are now being established which the new generation are growing up with, and health ideas which once were revolutionary are now accepted as the normal course of reasonable upbringing.

657 The medical department which started in a small way, and expanded slowly is seeing results which are very satisfying but which are taken for granted, although they took years of striving to achieve. From its small beginnings and tiny nucleus of key staff it has now spread out from something rather personal to more of a departmental outlook. This in the course of things is bound to be, but its danger is that lack of co-ordination may develop or that the department may absorb the individual expression. At present there seems to be no signs of this because the various heads of departments meet together continually to exchange ideas and align themselves in a common policy, and also they are readily accessible to the public.

743 758 Lines of expansion have shown themselves everywhere. The surgical work has been given great impetus by the advent of an F.R.C.S. specialist, Mr. R. D. Wilkins.

The operation theatre now runs a staff rota for every 24 hours of the day, made possible by recruiting Sister Ford and Sister Johnson from England. Sister Edwards was appointed to the Nursing Home to replace Sister Millson. The X-Ray department has an English Radiographer in charge—Mr. Havey. The Laboratory has a staff of six technicians. Four new Indian doctors arrived, one lady doctor for the Women's Hospital, and the others, male, were appointed to the Boys' Schools, The Port, and the Hospital. Mr. Burgin replaced Mr. Hanvey as Public Health Inspector, and Mr. Nambiar became the new Anti-Malaria Supervisor. Both hospitals recruited many more Indian trained nurses. The lack of sufficient staff has now been made good and at present meets all needs which recently have been very pressing. It meant also that more specialised apparatus could be installed being safely handled by expert hands. Such things include a more powerful X-Ray plant, a modern anaesthetic apparatus to administer all gases and curare, an electro-cautery unit and an electro-cardiograph.

The Geneva T.B. project for Bahrain very unfortunately was cancelled owing to changes of policy and financial aid in the World Health Organisation. This severely dislocated the programme to meet this problem. However, a modified scheme has been evolved making use of the ideas of Geneva and London and will be launched next year when in-patient accommodation will be considerably increased. The number of patients seen this year and treated were 275 men and 87 women. Many were foreigners and returned to their countries. Ninety were admitted and a few promising patients sent to Miraj Sanatorium. It is very satisfactory to report that those treated in Bahrain are showing greater improvement than in the past due to better drugs and surgery. A few have been in hospital for two years. 743 758

The Bahrain Medical Society had a good year of meetings and the annual Persian Gulf conference at Kuwait was well attended from Bahrain and again proved most worth while. The co-operation of doctors and hospitals up and down the Persian Gulf is a noteworthy feature not only on account of valuable mutual aid, but of interchange of knowledge on problems common to all. This also applies to medical officers of the R.A.F. and Royal Navy. 759

The hot weather was of average intensity with no heat exhaustion cases except from ships and these numbered 36 with 2 deaths. This has been causing considerable concern among all medical officers in the Gulf dealing with ships who report similarly, and as this department admits many to hospital it has now assumed some importance here. Certain shipping lines provide adequate facilities, and others do not, among which are certain British ships. The matter was taken up in a personal interview with the Chief Medical Officer, Port of London, where it was found that air conditioning might be considered but has not come into force yet. One air conditioned emergency room on each ship would greatly solve the problem and this is a matter needing prior attention. 758 743

The health of the Islands for the year was again well maintained with no epidemics or serious outbreaks of disease. 164

**Miss W. E. Millson.** Sister-in-Charge Nursing Home and Operating Theatre. DDO

It was with great regret that we accepted the resignation of Sister Millson who left to go to New Zealand in June 1953.

She had completed six and a half years of service in three contracts and been the first British Sister for this post.

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majority are believed to have been acquired elsewhere. Cases of ancylostomiasis and schistosomiasis are occasionally observed, primarily among non-Bahrainis, yet no indigenous foci of infection are known to exist.

### Diseases Spread Chiefly Through the Respiratory Tract

**Tuberculosis.** Tuberculosis is widespread, but little precise information is available regarding its prevalence in the local population. The disease is believed to be extensive in Arabia, particularly among the Bedouin. In Bahrain, the migration of workers to and from the mainland, overcrowding and the generally low standards of personal hygiene are regarded as factors influencing the spread of the infection. The facilities for diagnosis and treatment are inadequate. The government operates a 13-bed tuberculosis sanatorium and provides treatment for tuberculous cases in its regular hospitals and dispensaries. It also subsidizes the transportation of certain cases to India for treatment, since many individuals do not respond favorably under the climatic conditions prevailing in Bahrain. About 220 to 350 cases were under observation in government institutions annually from November, 1948, to November, 1950. Pulmonary tuberculosis predominates, but a high rate of nonpulmonary infections also is encountered.

**Smallpox.** Bahrain is especially vulnerable to the introduction of smallpox from the neighboring Persian Gulf territories, Pakistan and India, and outbreaks are recorded at frequent intervals. Large-scale epidemics were reported in 1941-42 and in 1948-50, with sporadic cases in the intervening years. The most recent epidemic started in December, 1948, in the Hora section of Manama, and spread in a series of localized outbreaks, persisting into 1950. Eighty-six cases were transferred to the quarantine hospital in 1949, and about one third of that number the following year. The percentage of unrecognized infections

other eye diseases. Trachoma is widely distributed, and estimates of prevalence range from 35 to 90 per cent, depending upon the locality. Trichiasis is frequent. The most serious effects are often observed among immigrants from Saudi Arabia, the Trucial Coast and Iran. In an average of over 1,200 men patients receiving medical or surgical ophthalmic treatment in the government hospital in each of the two years 1949-50, about 30 per cent were suffering from trichiasis. Special attention is given to the treatment of eye diseases in all the hospitals and dispensaries, and clinics are conducted in some of the boys' schools. 164 515 136 164 758

**Diseases of the Skin.** Mycotic infections of the skin are common, but the children appear to be relatively free from favus. In spite of the low standards of hygiene among the poorer inhabitants, scabies is seldom seen. 164 515

**Leprosy.** Although leprosy is present among the Baharna, it is rare in the Arab community. Cases are found on all the islands, probably with greatest frequency on Sitra. The severity of the infection seems to be decreasing, and the percentage of childhood cases in recent years has been low. The actual number of lepers in the indigenous population is uncertain: it was believed to be about 100 in 1951. No segregation is practiced, but lepers are forbidden to congregate and beg in the towns. 164

**Other Infections.** Sporadic cases of tetanus and of tetanus neonatorum occur occasionally. Rabies is not recorded at present.

### Diseases Spread by Arthropods

**Malaria.** Malaria was formerly one of the foremost disease hazards in Bahrain, but in recent years its importance has declined progressively with the expansion of the anopheline control program. The present morbidity is believed to be insignificant in comparison with that encountered before the inauguration of the government's antimalaria campaign in 1939. Treatment statistics are of doubtful value, yet they are 164 744 164 758

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164 758 useful in portraying the persistence of the disease. Records for 1949-50 indicate that between 1,700 and 2,000 persons were treated annually for malaria in the government hospitals and dispensaries alone.

164 There are normally two seasons of transmission—from the middle of March through June, with a peak early in June, and from the middle of September to the middle of January, with a peak in November. When climatic conditions are exceptionally favorable for anopheline breeding, however, transmission may take place throughout the year, with a minimum of activity in the winter months.

Because of its location on the edge of the date garden belt, Manama has always been highly malarious. As the result of control operations, the degree of infection has lately been reduced to a low level in the town, but up to 1950 it was still extensive on the outskirts. In limited malaria surveys made in January and again in May and June, which were reported in 1938,[1] the spleen rate among 234 boys of 4 to 14 years of age examined in Manama averaged about 39 per cent, while the corresponding rate among 137 boys in Muharraq was 13 per cent. The parasite indices in January were calculated at about 22 per cent in Manama and 6 per cent in Muharraq.

136 164 [167] In general, *Plasmodium vivax* infections predominate in June and *P. falciparum* in November. In the opinion of some local medical authorities, the prevalence of *P. falciparum* was enhanced by the mobility of military and civilian personnel in this region during the war years 1939-45, but it is now diminishing. In 249 blood films prepared in January in connection with the above investigation, malaria parasites were detected in 34; *P. falciparum*, in 10; *P. vivax*, in 13; and *P. malariae*, in 10; while one showed both *P. falciparum* and *P. malariae*. *Anopheles stephensi* is considered to be the principal vector, but *A. culicifacies* is probably implicated to some extent in certain localities.

164 **Plague.** Severe outbreaks of plague have

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Sukal Khamis and Karzakkan. Venereal disease and trachoma clinics were carried on in the boys' schools, and regular school health services in the girls' schools. 743

The Reformed Church of America started a medical mission in Manama at the end of the last century. Its Mason Memorial Hospital has sections for men and women which, in 1951, had a combined capacity of 100 beds, as well as outpatient clinics. 747 743

The Bahrain Petroleum Company maintains a hospital at Awali for the care of its employees. The division for the British and the American staff had a capacity of 40 beds in 1951, while that for the Arab and the Indian personnel had a capacity of 70 beds. The Company also operates dispensaries at its refinery and in the towns of Manama and Sitra. 743

Laboratories. A laboratory which undertakes examinations for all the government institutions is connected with the men's hospital in Manama. It has facilities for the performance of microscopic, bacteriologic, serologic and biochemical tests. Serologic, bacteriologic and clinical laboratories are attached to the hospital of the oil company in Awali. Clinical facilities are also available in the mission hospital. X-ray departments are incorporated in the government and the industrial hospitals. 742

Schools. No schools for the training of medical personnel exist in Bahrain, but plans are under consideration for the development of a course for the training of nurses in the government hospitals at Manama. Medical assistants are trained in all the general hospitals. 874 185

## Personnel

Physicians. Twenty-four British, American and Indian doctors were associated with hospitals in Bahrain in 1952. Of this number, 11 were in the government hospitals, 2 in the mission hospital and 11 in the oil industry hospital. A few Indian doctors are engaged in private practice in the town of Manama. 759

Dentists. One dentist is engaged by the

Bahrain Petroleum Company. Two or three Indian dentists are reported to be practicing in Manama. 759

**Nurses.** In 1951, there were 24 trained nurses on the staffs of the different hospitals—10 in the government hospitals, 12 in the oil industry hospital and 2 in the mission hospital. In addition, 2 male nurses were working in the government institutions and 5 in the industrial. Ten nurse-midwives were connected with the government maternity hospitals and clinic.

**Others.** Bahraini and Indian medical assistants in various categories were employed in the hospitals and dispensaries.

## DISEASES

In the absence of adequate reporting of morbidity and mortality on the islands, the information available regarding the prevalence of specific diseases is necessarily incomplete. Few scientific medical investigations have been undertaken in this area. The records of cases treated in the hospitals and the dispensaries provide data of general value in assessing the health status of the people, but they are limited in scope and applicable as a rule to a small percentage of the inhabitants. Moreover, the population is continually fluctuating, and many cases of illness treated in the local hospitals originated outside Bahrain. 164

### Diseases Spread or Contracted Chiefly Through Intestinal or Urinary Tract

**Typhoid and Paratyphoid Fevers.** Typhoid fever is endemic, but apparently it is not as prevalent as the insanitary conditions regarding food and water supplies would seem to warrant. Cases tend to be sporadic, although water-borne outbreaks attributed to contaminated well supplies sometimes occur. From 48 to 60 cases were reported annually in the 4 years 1948-51—probably a small part of the numbers actually present. Paratyphoid fevers are common. According to local medical authorities, most of the cases seen in the hospitals are para- 164 364 164

316 339 is quarried, lorry loads of wood are brought out, and, as in the manufacture of lime, layers of gypsum are interspersed with layers of wood and the pile fired. The slabs of gypsum are then removed and beaten into a fine powder which, when mixed with water, acts like cement. It has the advantage of being quick setting and is still used by those who cannot afford to buy imported cement.

### WEAVING

288 438 291 [697] Weaving is carried on in some of the villages of Bahrain, in Abu Saiba, south of the Budaiya Road and elsewhere. "Awzars," simple garments worn by the villagers around their waists in the summer, are woven from imported cotton, while in many coastal villages the sailors spend the winters weaving sail-cloth. The prisoners on Jidda Island are also employed in weaving, on imported Irish looms, but their activities can hardly be classed as a local industry.

## CHAPTER VIII

## THE ANTIQUITIES OF BAHRAIN

### THE WORLD'S LARGEST GRAVEYARD

172 764 THE tumuli of Bahrain have never been counted, but their number has been estimated at 50,000. In these tumuli Bahrain possesses one of the unsolved mysteries of archaeology, for despite the numerous expeditions that have been made to discover their origin, this is still in dispute.

There are three groups of tumuli in Bahrain. The largest group is that which lies on the plain between Aali and the Rifaas. The second group is to the far north of Bahrain, on each side of the Manama-Budaiya Road between Jidhafs and Diraz. The third group, consisting of a few dozen graves, is in the clearing to the north of the Suq al-Khamis Mosque.

The first group of tombs is daily passed by hundreds of people travelling between Manama and Awali, but the best examples of tumuli in this group are not along the main road but are near the village of Aali. These mounds are the largest in Bahrain and while some of them are used by the villagers for baking their pottery, the majority are just as they were left after their opening by various archaeologists. Most of these tombs face south-west and P. B. Cornwall[1] has suggested that the reason for this is that the builders of the mounds worshipped the Evening Star, Venus, which at sunset lies to the south-west. The majority of the tumuli have two storeys and, in the chamber tombs, there are niches cut into the sides of the passages. The sides and roofs of the graves themselves are of local stone and were originally covered with a layer of gypsum. Some of the tumuli are surrounded by low walls of mud and gravel. Finds in these tumuli have included the bones of men and animals, ivory statues, pieces of circular boxes, golden ornaments and earthenware vessels decorated with black stripes.

There is little agreement among the experts as to the origin and dating of these burials and each has drawn his own deductions from the

finds that have been made. Mackay, who opened 34 tumuli in 1924-, believed that they were the work of nomads who brought their dead from the mainland of Arabia. He gives as proof for this theory the fact that the pottery he found was round-bottomed, indicating that it was used in sandy country, and also the finding of ostrich eggs. After a study of the bronze objects and taking into consideration other finds Mackay considered that the tombs dated from between 1500 and 1200 B.C.

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Cornwall also believes that the Aali tombs date from the second millennium B.C.[3] and holds to the belief that the ancient "Dilmun" of cuneiform inscriptions was the Bahrain Island of to-day. Dr. W. F. Albright, who has also studied some of the finds from these tombs, places them in the first half of the second millenium B.C.

Inscriptions are of particular help to archaeologists but only one cuneiform inscription has been discovered in Bahrain, the stone slab found by Captain Durand[4] and described in Part II. This is the only cuneiform and indeed the only pre-Islamic inscription that has been found in Bahrain.

Proceeding from Manama to Budaiya the road passes through the village of Jidhafs, and beyond it through some more tumuli. Many of these mounds are also of some size and there are a number of interesting specimens which have been opened, disclosing the complex interiors and the protecting walls built from large blocks of stone. In each of these tombs there were a number of burials, in some the skeletons lay at full length, in others they were in a crouching position. Finds in these tombs also included glass and pottery, jewellery, household implements and objects carved from ivory and bone.

Mackay, who also opened some of these tombs, dates them from the third century B.C., while P. B. Cornwall believes that they were built during the Sassanid period (226-640 A.D.). It is known that the Persians seized Bahrain during the reign of Shapur II, following raids by the Arab inhabitants on the Persian coast; Shapur reigned from 300—325 A.D.

These two views are very different, but there is yet a third divergent view about these same tumuli. While the Bahrain Government was building a new road in this area it also opened some tumuli and the contents, which included ivory, glass, stone and pottery, were sent to the British Museum for identification. Their verdict was that beads found in the tumuli were a mixture of Arab and pre-historic work; that the bronze objects were of Sassanid origin; that a bronze bust was of the second to fifth century A.D.; and that a granite pot, with legs, decorated with oblique lines and circles in bands, was of very early date, possibly 2500 B.C. or even prehistoric. The Museum considered that the tombs were probably built between the sixth and eighth century A.D., which was the date of Islamic pottery found in them, and the experts explained the presence of such a mixture of objects by the fact that excavated material has always been valued throughout the Middle East and was often used by its finders.

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The tumuli on the Budaiya road are therefore as interesting as those to the south, in the Aali group, and are well worth a visit. Also on the north side of the road is a large mound believed to have been a temple of some sort; this can be distinguished by its large rooms and high protecting wall.

The third and smallest group of tombs is the group to the north of the Suq al-Khamis Mosque. While no detailed study has been made of these tumuli, the Manama Municipality, while collecting sand in this area, unearthed a tomb containing a small stone bowl with a simple circular design around the rim. According to the British Museum, this bowl dated from about 2500 B.C. and so it would seem that it has some connection with the granite bowl found near the Budaiya Road.

### THE SUQ AL-KHAMIS MOSQUE AND BILAD AL-QADIM

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The oldest existing Moslem building in Bahrain and one of the most ancient Islamic relics in the Persian Gulf is the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, situated in the centre of the clearing about three miles from Manama on the road to Awali. Although its unusual twin minarets serve to identify it to the visitor, they are of comparatively recent construction and the ruined columns and walls within the low wall are all that remain of the ancient structure.

For many years the mosque has been slowly decaying, but in 1950 the Bahrain Government carried out some restoration work and the blocks and columns which for many years had lain in the sand were restored to their original position, the floor was cleared of the scrub growing there and it is now possible to obtain a better idea of the original shape and appearance of the mosque. Its former importance is shown by its careful construction from heavy columns and blocks hewn from Bahrain stone. There are few other ancient mosques in Bahrain which have been built with such care, most of them are simple erections of wood and mud, closely resembling the typical open mosques found, to this day, in Saudi Arabia.

The Suq al-Khamis Mosque differs from these other mosques in that it is of the more advanced courtyard type. The mosque itself is surrounded by an outer wall which was originally 27 by 30 yards but which is now slightly smaller. The interior of the mosque consists of three naves on each side of a central courtyard, the columns of the naves, which have been replaced by the Bahrain Government, are built from drum-shaped stones 1 ft. by 2 ft. and joined together with mortar. The pillar facades of the courtyard are still standing as they were built by the makers of the mosque. The Qibla (west) wall consists of broad pillars with half-column profiles and, according to Diez,[5] the strengthening wall of ragstone that can be seen at the base of the pillars and colums of the courtyard was erected when the mosque was rebuilt in the fifteenth century. The side walls of the courtyard are formed from double columns and the entrance or east wall of single columns. An interesting find that was made while the Bahrain Government was working on the mosque was of two graves below the east wall. The

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graves were like those in the ancient graveyard nearby, they did not point towards Mecca as do Moslem graves, and so it would seem that the mosque was built on top of part of the ancient burial ground. The pillars and columns of the mosque were connected by keel-pointed arches and the ceiling was supported by two teak pillars 13 feet in height on the top of which rested a beam. The pillars and beam have been removed from the mosque and are in the possession of the Bahrain Government. It would seem that owing to the comparative weakness, of the pillars the roof can only have been made of some light material probably brushwood or palm-branches covered with earth.

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Diez states that when he visited the mosque, early in the century, there was a long inscription in the Qibla wall of the courtyard which showed that the mosque in its latest form was built in the year 740 A.H. (1339/40 A.D.). This tablet, together with some inscribed blocks which used to be above the Qibla wall, have fallen from their place and while some pieces of them are still in the possession of the Bahrain Government many have disappeared. These inscriptions and the square inscribed stone over the door of the western minaret are all of the same period, but it seems probable that the shorter inscription near the door of the minaret dates from the eleventh century A.D. At the feet of the pillars of the west wall of the courtyard are the remains of two Qibla stones. These have also fallen into disrepair since the visit of Diez, the top half of each stone has disappeared and the writer has been unable to trace them. The presence of these Qibla stones is unusual, only in the mosques of Ibn Tulun in Cairo and of the Prophet at Medina are they present. Qibla stones were used before the introduction of the mihrab niche to indicate the direction of prayer.

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The two Qibla stones bear inscriptions that show them to be of Shiite origin and so the mosque in its present form is a Shiite one. The inscription on a wooden pillar which once supported the roof and which has also disappeared, was of the same period and bore a similar inscription. The wooden pillars formerly in the mosque led Diez to ascribe the original mosque to the tenth or eleventh centuries A.D. It is interesting to note that wooden pillars of the same style and with the same ornamentation were found in the mosque at Samarra, in Iraq, which was founded by the Caliph al-Mu'tasim in 836 A.D. The mosque also had a school and a well attached to it, the traces of the latter can still be seen near the graves to the east of the mosque itself.

In the corner of Bilad al-Qadim nearest to the Suq al-Khamis mosque is another ancient inscription, in the mosque known as Masjid ar-Raf'ia. This is also a Qibla stone, set into the west wall of the mosque, but although it is in Kufic characters the work does not seem as fine as in the Kufic inscriptions in the Suq al-Khamis Mosque, possibly because this mosque was of less importance than the one at the Suq. The inscription bears the names of Muhammad, Ali, Fatima, Hussein and Hassan and is therefore also of Shiite origin. Bilad al-Qadim itself presents a sorry spectacle and with the exception of the

south-west corner the town is deserted and in ruins. Also on this plain is the Abu Zaidan Mosque, built over a spring of the same name. This mosque has recently been repaired by the Government and is much used by the Shia people of Manama, especially by the women during weddings.

To the north of the Budaiya Road is the ruined mosque of Abu Mahara, a strange little building with two storeys and a tall column in the centre of the spring. This mosque was built in the year 889 A.H. (1484 A.D.) as shown by an inscription to this effect in its west wall.

There are many other mosques in Bahrain, some of which contain inscriptions giving the date of their foundation, but they are of comparatively recent date and the mosques themselves are of no architectural interest.

### THE FORTS OF BAHRAIN

Portuguese and Persians, Arabs and Omanis, all these have at one time or another attacked and occupied Bahrain and have retained control of the islands by the construction and garrisoning of forts and castles. The oldest surviving fort in Bahrain is the Qalat al-Ajaj, built by the Portuguese some time after their occupation of Bahrain in 1521. This fort lies on the northern shore of Bahrain Island some three miles from Manama and the easiest way to visit it is by driving along the Manama-Budaiya Road and then by turning off to the north when the ruins of the fort can be seen through the date palms.

On the sea shore below the fort can be seen the steps by which the Portuguese entered their boats, but with the exception of these remains there are no relics of the Portuguese in Bahrain. A number of cannon have been found, but there is a surprising absence of inscriptions, coins or gravestones.

The exact date of the construction of the fort is not known, but the fort was repaired in 1562 and 1586, this need for continual repair was no doubt due to the many revolts which took place in Bahrain against the Portuguese. Shaikh Khalifah an-Nabhani, in his history of Bahrain, mentions that he visited the fort and saw this latter date inscribed in four places on the walls of the fort, but today there is no sign of these inscriptions.

Page 62 shows a map of north Bahrain Island and Muharraq taken from a Portuguese book of the seventeenth century. It is interesting to see that whereas the Portuguese fort, in fact, has five sides, with square towers at four corners and a turret at the fifth, in the map the fort appears as square in shape while the moat is five-sided. The fort is at present in such a bad state of repair that it is almost impossible to discover the purposes of the various towers and chambers found in it, but an idea can be obtained of the great skill and care that went into the making of the walls by an examination of the towers and wall on the west side of the fort. The moat is no longer filled by the sea due to its neglect, although after the expulsion of the Portuguese the fort continued to be used by the Persian garrison in Bahrain.

A further examination of the map reveals that in the time of the

by Sunni Arabs who were prosperous when the pearling industry flourished but who depend today upon fishing, the oil company and transporting jus from Hawar for their living. In the summer the heat and the shortage of water (for although Jaw has a well it is brackish and more to the taste of the date palms that grow around it than to the people) drive most of the inhabitants to migrate to Sitra. Jaw was once spread some distance along the shore, as can be seen from the ruins that surround it, and in addition to having been a pearling centre it was inhabited by the people of Zubara when they wanted to escape the tyrannical rule of the Wahhabis in the 19th century. Jaw is the point on Bahrain nearest to Zubara and the Qatar coast, and for that reason it was always garrisoned when there was a threat to Bahrain from the mainland, but today the Police Camel Corps, which is stationed there, is to prevent the smuggling into Bahrain of Arabs from the Trucial Coast who come seeking work.

North of Jaw on the road to the Refinery is Asker and opposite it the island of Mushaikha, where an old tomb is the centre of pilgrimage for one of the Moslem sects, the Buharas. The interior of the tomb is filled with bottles of rose water, brought by pilgrims as offerings. Asker itself is a village much like Jaw and Dour.

### JIDHAFS

We must now return to Manama and follow the other road that leads out of the town, this time in the direction of Budaiya. After passing through some miles of gardens the road reaches Jidhafs, a large village, which is also said to have been at one time the capital of Bahrain. Its inhabitants have a reputation for being enterprising and go-ahead, they have recently demonstrated this by deciding to build a club, the first in any of the villages, although in the towns there are many. Jidhafs contains one of the Shiite Juma Mosques and Friday Prayer is said there. It may seem strange that this should be a claim to fame, but according to Moslem custom only certain mosques are used for the Friday Prayers which is intended to encourage large congregations and to prevent the dispersal of the faithful in all the other mosques.

Like all the villagers, those of Jidhafs enjoy a visit to the town every now and then, and in the evenings bus loads of men and many cyclists can be seen coming in to town to enjoy themselves by going to the cinema or sitting gossiping with their friends in the coffee-shops to the blare of wireless music.

South of Jidhafs in the direction of Suq al-Khamis is the village of Ain al-Dar; although today it presents a quiet and peaceful appearance it was once the headquarters of a notorious gang of robbers who used a ruined house, inhabited by a lunatic, as a cache for storing their loot.

### BUDAIYA

This strange town, on the north-western tip of Bahrain Island, is connected with Manama by a good motor road which runs through the village of Jidhafs. Budaiya used to be a large town, divided into Two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya.

there is a deep depression surrounded by large blocks of stone which was once a great spring said to have irrigated much of north-western Bahrain. This spring, known as Ain Sejour, is traditionally associated with the name of the Caliph Abd al-Malik (685-705) who is reputed to have come to Bahrain with an army to chastise the people who had given refuge to politico-religious refugees from Iraq. According to local histories the Bahrainis worsted the invaders in a war by a clever use of the underground water channels and a truce was signed. Later the Caliph is said to have murdered the Bahraini leaders and to have filled in this well "to reduce the pride of the people of Bahrain," since then it has been dry and the land around it has reverted to desert. It seems unlikely that the Caliph himself came to Bahrain, he probably sent one of his generals and later tradition ascribed the leadership to the Caliph himself. 172

Several well-to-do families own houses in Diraz, and when pearling flourished its people were important nakhudas (captains) and pearl merchants. Many of the villagers are still divers and keep their boats on the shore near the little mosque north of Budaiya Garden. For use in these boats the villagers weave their own sail-cloth on local looms. 228 288 554

JESRA

On the edge of the open plain about 4 miles south of Budaiya is Jesra, the point where the pipeline from Arabia crosses to Bahrain, here also is a village whose Arab inhabitants are mainly retainers of the Ruling Family. Several Shaikhs have also built substantial houses in the village, as well as gardens irrigated from artesian wells. Another road leads from Jesra to Rifaa al-Gharbi, following the route of the pipeline across the desert. 315 361 491

MALAKIYA

Four miles south of Jesra the road, after passing through the villages of Karzakan and Dumistan, enters the little village of Malakiya, set in the centre of thriving date gardens, some of which belong to merchants in Manama. The only claim to interest in this village is a large tomb which is held in great veneration by the Shia community of Bahrain and is visited by pilgrims from all parts of the Islands. The tomb is of a certain Amir Zaid, but there is some difference of opinion about his identity. Some contend that he was Zaid bin Sohan, one of the Companions of the Prophet, but according to other local authorities he was a certain Amir Zaid bin Umaira al-Abdi who witnessed a covenant of truce made between the people of the Islands and al-Mua'lla bin al-Hadrami, the Moslem conqueror of Bahrain. A third version is that the worthy Amir was the leader of the people of Bahrain in a war that took place between them and the Caliph Abd al-Malik (See paragraph on Diraz). It has not yet been decided which of these versions is in fact the true one, but this does not deter Shia pilgrims from visiting Malakiya. 361 778

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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A roadside Mosque. Photo : *Sir Charles Belgrave.*

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A Qanat (Water Channel) Photo : *The Author.*

796 to various points in the neighbourhood of Mecca connected with the
788 life of the Prophet Muhammad and drinking the water of Zamzam Well. On the last day of the ceremony the pilgrims stand before Ararat, a small mountain near Mecca, and throw stones at various places to symbolise the stoning of the devil. On the 10th Day of Dhul Hajj a great feast takes place. The pilgrims remove their pilgrim's garb and throughout the Moslem world there is feasting and visiting.

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535 11th and 12th of Dhul Hajj. In former days there were very colourful scenes and ceremonies at this feast, the retainers of the Ruler used to perform war dances in front of the palace, discharging their ancient rifles into the air, and occasionally at an unlucky member of the audience. The divers, who returned home during the Eid, danced in huge groups for the entertainment of the people and were feasted in the houses which they visited, but today the Ruler has few casual retainers and the Bedouin, who were the mainstay of the dances, have settled down and become ordinary citizens. Arab dances are therefore a
[517] thing of the past and the men who used to perform in them now find their amusements in attending football matches and cinemas.

MUHARRAM

796 The circumstances that brought about the division of the majority of Moslems into the Sunni and Shiite sects have been mentioned in Chapter II. The battle of Kerbela is still recognised by the Shia of Bahrain as a day of mourning for the martyrs who were killed.

During the first nine days of the month of Muharram, the first month in the Islamic year, there is a general mourning among the
[346] Shia for their loss. In the Bahrain martams, which are religious meet-
796 ing houses not to be confused with the mosques, preachers tell the story
537 of the growth of Islam and the way in which Ali and his family were
[781] set aside by those who became the early Caliphs. These mullas, many of whom come from the Holy Cities of Iraq for the purpose, are often so eloquent that they reduce their audience to tears and wailing for the mortifications inflicted on those whom they regard as the highest of mankind after the Prophet himself. Night and day the tale is unfolded as the mullas take it in turn to preach to the assembled crowds. During the day the martams are not so full but at sunset the congregation increases as men return from their daily work. In the villages and in the towns, in the yellow light of kerosene lamps and in the glare of electricity, the story is told of those events which happened over 12 centuries ago. Many people are introduced into the story, the Old Testament prophets, the Prophet Muhammad, his family and his enemies, angels and archangels and other religious figures.

796 As the days pass the orators and their audience get more carried away so that by the 10th of the month all are ready for the next act of what has been called the "Miracle Play of Hassan and Hussein." This is the public procession of the Shia which takes place every evening

# CHAPTER IX

## RELIGIOUS OCCASIONS AND LOCAL CUSTOMS

### RAMADAN

796 785 THIS fast, which is the name of a month in the Islamic calendar, has often been described as the Moslem Lent. During Ramadan there is a complete ban on eating, drinking and smoking during the hours [805] of daylight. The Moslem day begins at sunset, and each evening during Ramadan the setting of the sun is announced by the firing of guns in various towns, the signal that eating and drinking may commence. Two meals are eaten during the night, the first as soon as possible after sunset and the second shortly before dawn. It is often the custom to break the fast with a drink of butter-milk, before proceeding to the heavy eating. After the first meal is over people in Bahrain go visiting and sit in the coffee-shops and cinemas. At the beginning of Ramadan, all through the night the town is busy with the coming and going of the people, radios and gramophones play at full blast in the coffee-shops and night is turned into day. Later in the month there is some slackening of activity, people return earlier to their homes and endeavour to get some sleep, but they are soon awakened by the drummers who go around the town before dawn waking the sleepers so that they may eat before it becomes light. Of necessity the non-Moslem follows the Islamic time-table during this month, for he is usually kept awake by the activity in the streets, and if he does succeed in getting to sleep he is soon awakened by the persistent drummers on their rounds.

According to Moslem Law eating, drinking and smoking must cease directly it is possible to discern the difference between a black and a white thread, but it is now the custom in Bahrain towns to fire guns to announce the break of day. During the day in Ramadan life moves at a slower pace than during the other months of the year, and this is especially true when Ramadan falls in the summer, for the combination of no food and drink and the heat and dampness of [691] Bahrain reduces peoples' energy. It is noticeable that there are more court cases about domestic troubles during Ramadan while the serious crimes decrease. In the evenings in this month the townsfolk go out to the gardens and sit in the shade of the trees waiting for darkness to fall. Adari is particularly popular, many fasters try to reduce their thirst by swimming lazily in the cool waters of the pool.

As with all Moslem occasions, the end of Ramadan is decided by the appearence of the new moon, about which there is usually a dispute. While the Sunni recognise the Royal Observatory at Cairo as an authority on the appearance of the moon, the Shia insist that it should be seen in Bahrain. The result has often been that the Eid has started on two different days for the two sects, and in one memorable year there were three Eid days, one for each of the two sects and a third for the Ismailis, who have their own way of reckoning dates.

A three day holiday follows Ramadan, Eid al-Fitr, during which there are great celebrations and much visiting of neighbours to wish them "Eid-Kum Mubarak" (Happy Holiday), the answer to which is "Aadana Allah Ala Amthaleh." On the Eid the Ruler receives visitors at the Palace. The Eid is particularly colourful owing to the bright new clothes which are worn by the children. The boys wear new white thobes and bright-coloured silk caps and the girls proudly appear in gold-decorated dresses. In many cases small boys go calling with their parents, eagerly clutching handfuls of sweets as they leave their various hosts. Local bands, composed of the negro inhabitants of Bahrain, pass through the streets of the towns and villages playing tunes on their locally made instruments. These include many types of drums, flutes, lutes and a local form of bagpipe made from the stomach of a sheep. As the bands of players go from house to house they are tipped by the owners, who often, if they are wealthy, provide a meal for the musicians.

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### NEW YEAR'S DAY

It is the custom in Bahrain on New Year's Day of the Christian Calendar for groups of Bahrainis of African origin to form into bands and go playing through the streets of Manama. These men, who to day are the same as all other Bahrainis, are descended from freed slaves or were themselves slaves who escaped to Bahrain and were manumitted. In gratitude for their freedom they thus celebrate New Year's Day. They play first at H.B.M.'s Political Agency and the Adviserate and on leaving these places they split up into smaller parties to serenade their friends. Around Bahrain flags, borne by the leaders of the musicians, these people, both men and women, dance steps and play the music which was brought many centuries ago to Bahrain by their African ancestors. In the music to which they dance the rhythm of the drum plays an important part, but to a European it may seem strange that the drummers frequently leave off playing whenever they feel tired, or if they want to talk to a friend or drink a cup of tea or coffee, and when the distraction is over they again join the band.

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It has occasionally been stated in newspapers and even recently in a book on Bahrain by some one who should know better that slavery still exists not only in the Persian Gulf but also in Bahrain. The celebrations of these Bahrainis at their freedom are proof enough that in Bahrain at least slavery is a thing of the past.

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### THE HAJJ

The Hajj is the annual pilgrimage to Mecca which, according to his religion, every Moslem who is able to do so must perform once at least during his lifetime. The pilgrimage takes place during the month of Dhul Hajj. The pilgrims, many of whom have reached Mecca by most hazardous routes, wearing the two white unseamed garments that are mandatory, perform the various rites of the ceremony which includes the circumambulation of the Kaaba, pilgrimages and visits

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312 many of the travellers who have visited the islands. Men with deflated sheepskins dive down to the spring and place the mouth of the skin over the place where the fresh water emerges ; the skin then fills with fresh water and when full the diver comes to the surface. Before artesian wells were drilled in Bahrain both Muharraq and Manama obtained much of their water in this way, but today, owing to artesian piped wells and water systems, the undersea springs are little used except those to the north of Bahrain near the pearling banks. A Turkish traveller who visited Bahrain in 1554, Sidi Ali, says of the submarine springs, "The sailors provided with a leather sack, dive down into the sea and bring the fresh water from the bottom for Rais Murad's (the Governor of Bahrain) use. This water is particularly pleasant and cold in spring time. God's Power is boundless !" There is a 173 legend concerning the spring of Abu Mahur which says that in the time of the Caliph Merwan (684-685) a certain Ibn Hakim, a chief in Qatif, wished to marry the lovely daughter of a Bahrain shaikh. His suit was refused and so he attacked the islands and captured all the wells which supplied the towns on Bahrain Island, but the guardian diety of the Bahrainis caused the well Abu Mahur to appear in the sea near Muharraq to succour his people.

### NABIH SALIH

101 A most attractive island is Nabih Salih, set in the Khor-al-Kab between Umm al-Hassan and the mainland of Bahrain. With its 529 thick cultivation, for the date palms run right down to the sea shore, and its many springs, including a large pool much frequented by ●[788] bathers, Nabih Salih is a very popular place for visitors. In addition to its pool it is a place of pilgrimage for the Shia of Bahrain who go to pay their respects to the tomb of Salih after whom the island is named. The date palms of the island are particularly fine, they compare very favourably with those elsewhere in Bahrain, which is mainly due to the pool already mentioned, Safahiya, which irrigates much of the island. [505] Nabih Salih can be visited by launch or sailing boat, the nearest point to it on Bahrain is Ain al-Hakim ; boats can also be obtained from Umm al-Hasan or from Sitra. People have been known to swim to the island, but this is not the only way of getting there and in the summer this method is inclined to be rather exhausting.

### SITRA

[101] South of Nabih Salih and close to the coast of Bahrain is Sitra 361 Island, which in addition to its many villages and gardens contains the Tank Farm and Drum Plant of BAPCO and the land end of the jetty. The site of these installations is a strip of bare and often sea-swept sands, but to the north of the island there are many gardens and a sizeable pool, Ain Raha, which is much visited by the people of Muharraq and Manama. Among the villages of North Sitra are Wadiyan, Sufala, Kharijya and Kuriya. Near the third village is a school and police station. To the south of the island is Umm al-Baidh, literally "Mother

During the year the Department[1] sent a deputation consisting of one of the members of the committee and the Superintendent to Kuwait to make a claim for the Waqf funds from the large and very valuable building on the Sea Road west of the Customs pier. This building was acquired by one Hilal Al Materi a Kuwaiti pearl merchant. He dedicated it as a Waqf for charitable purposes, not specifying whether the funds should be spent in Bahrain or in Kuwait. The Sunni Waqf Department obtained an opinion on the case from Al Azhar in Cairo supporting their claim that the Waqf should be spent in the country where the property was situated. The Deputation was not received with any enthusiasm in Kuwait, some sort of compromise was arrived at but at the end of the year the Department had not received any contribution from the Waqf towards charitable objects in Bahrain.

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## PASSPORT DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Mr. Kadhim Al Asfoor, Passport Officer)

**Revenue.** The total revenue was Rs. 53,789/-, about Rs. 19,000 less than was collected in 1371. This decrease was due to a shortage of book passports which were being printed in England. Some changes were made in the new passports which now contain the name of the holder on the outside of the cover as well as inside it. A further change in the wording is "date of birth" instead of "age," though at present very few of the people who use the passports know either the date of their birth or their age. Revenue from Travel Passes was Rs. 22,339, from entry forms, Rs. 8,236 and from miscellaneous forms Rs. 5,041.

**Pilgrims.** Only 280 persons did the Pilgrimage to Mecca, this number included 19 Persians, long resident in Bahrain who were granted passport facilities to perform the pilgrimage. Over 3,500 Shia pilgrims visited the Holy Cities of Iraq, an increase of about 500 over the previous year's number. These pilgrims included many people from the villages. Some of them crossed from Iraq to Persia and visited the Shia shrines of Persia. Such journeys are lengthy and expensive and the increase in the number of Shia pilgrims every year is an indication of prosperity among the working classes.

About 200 Arabs from Bahrain went to the Lebanon, mostly during the summer, this was about half the number who travelled there last year. In spite of inducements by the Government of the Lebanon to encourage tourists from the Gulf the people of Bahrain are beginning to find that they cannot afford to pay the excessively high prices which prevail in Beirut and in mountain resorts. The much advertised wealth of certain Gulf states seems to have caused the people of the Lebanon to regard any Arab from the Gulf as a rich traveller and a potential spender.

| | | *Arrivals.* | *Departures.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Passengers.** | By Air .. .. .. | 22,542 .. | 23,758 |
| | By steamers .. .. | 13,206 .. | 13,136 |
| | By Country Craft .. .. | 34,220 .. | 35,228 |

Number of dhows and launches visiting Bahrain : 4,958.

During the year 1,077 gratis passes were issued to Shaikhs, their followers, teachers and students. Numerous members of the Ruling Family with their followers went on hunting trips to Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Kuwait.

During the diving season 496 Persian divers were allowed to land in Bahrain and to return to Persia after the diving season.

[1] [Sunni Waqf Department -- Analyst]

in neighbouring countries. Figures often make dry reading, but the following may be of some interest as they demonstrate the mixture of races present in the islands.

| Nationalities. | |
|---|---|
| Bahrainis | 91,179 |
| Persians | 6,934 |
| Indians, Pakistanis and Goanese | 3,043 |
| Saudi Arabs | 2,526 |
| Omanis and Muscatis | 2,466 |
| Europeans and Americans | 2,208 |
| Other foreigners | 1,264 |
| | 109,650 |

| Distribution. | |
|---|---|
| Manama | 39,648 |
| Muharraq and Hedd. | 25,577 |
| Other towns and villages | 40,579 |
| Awali and ships in port | 3,846 |

*Sexes* : Males, 58,601. Females, 51,049.
The excess of men over women is due to the number of foreigners working in Bahrain who do not have families with them.

At the current rate of increase it was *estimated* that the population of Bahrain in 1952 was about 115,000 persons, and of Manama, 45,000 persons.

Many races have gone into the making of the Bahrain people ; there are the Baharna, the original inhabitants of the islands, who are said to be descended from Arabs taken by Nebuchadnezzar into Iraq, who later fled from that country and settled in Bahrain. They are Shiite Arabs and live mostly in the villages and in certain quarters of Manama. Formerly the Baharna were second class citizens and were content to farm and work for their masters, but today they take an active part in all walks of life in Bahrain. Then there are the Sunni Arabs, most of whom came to Bahrain in the 18th century and during subsequent years ; the Ruling Family of Bahrain, the al-Khalifah, are in this group. There are also a number of negroes, mainly of the Sunni sect, who are descended from freed slaves or who were slaves themselves and escaped from other parts of the Gulf to Bahrain where they were manumitted. Persians have also settled in the islands, having left the trials and tribulations of their own country to seek their fortune in Bahrain.

It might here be as well to digress slightly from this description of the people of Bahrain to explain the meaning of "Shiite" and "Sunni," terms which so often appear in descriptions of Bahrain and its history. These names refer to the two main sects of Islam between whom the people of Bahrain are about equally divided.

The dispute that was to split the Moslems into two rival camps started soon after the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632 A.D. and concerned the future leadership of the young Moslem community which was so rapidly expanding and sweeping over territories which are known today as Iraq, Palestine, Syria, Egypt and Persia. The Prophet was succeeded by two of his Companions, who had stood at his side from the early days of his ministry, Abu Bakr (A.D. 632-34) and Omar (A.D. 634-44), and on the death of the latter a third Compan-

795 ion, Othman, became Caliph. During his period of office Othman allowed nepotism to affect his appointment of office holders and some rebellious officers from Egypt, disliking his governor of that province, appeared in Medina and in the fracas that followed Othman was murdered. On his death Muawiya, Governor of Damascus, who had strengthened his position in Syria by a far-sighted policy towards the inhabitants, announced himself as avenger of his kinsman Othman and made fiery speeches in the Damascus Mosque. Ali, the Prophet's first cousin and son-in-law, for he had married Muhammad's daughter Fatima, was, however, recognised by many as the rightful Caliph. Ali established himself in Iraq, where most of his supporters lived, and for a number of months skirmished verbally and physically with Muawiya. Finally the two great Arab leaders came to blows at the battle of Siffin in 657. At first the fight went in favour of Ali, but the wily Muawiya, seeing this, suggested that the matter should be decided not by war but by the Quran. Ali was unable to refuse this appeal to a higher authority and arbitration followed, the proceedings of which are not fully known, but which resulted in both candidates being disqualified from the Caliphate. This was a success for Muawiya, who so far had not laid claim to this position and so lost nothing, while Ali had been declared Caliph by his supporters and was forced to ignore the decision. Both leaders retired to their respective provinces and in 661 Ali was murdered by a fanatic of the Kharajite sect. The members of this sect had been Ali's followers but had broken with him on account of the arbitration, which they considered illegal, saying that the sword should have decided the dispute. On Ali's death Muawiya over-ran Iraq and Persia and came to terms with Ali's elder son, Hassan, to whom he granted a pension. When Muawiya died he was succeeded by his son Yazid, and in 680 Ali's younger son, Hussein, together with his family and a small band of followers, left Medina for Kufa in Iraq, where he had been promised support. The treacherous Kufans broke their word, and on the plain of Kerbela the small band of men, women and children were killed or taken prisoners. It is in mourning for this event that the Shiites of Bahrain still hold their Passion Play on the 9th and 10th of the Arabic month of Muharram. The death of Hussein under such tragic circumstances transformed what had been a political dispute into a religious issue, and the breach thus made between the Orthodox Sunnis and the Shiites has been widened down the ages by the activities of fanatics on both sides.

The Sunnis have been all-powerful under the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphs, the Seljuqs and the Ottoman Turks, while the Fatimids of Egypt and the Safavids of Persia have been of Shiite origin. Today the Shia are mostly found in Iraq, Persia and Pakistan, while the Sunni are in the majority in other parts of the Islamic world. In the islands of Bahrain the majority of the Shia are of the moderate Ithnashariya sect and the Sunnis are of the Malaki rite.

142 The typical Bahrain Arab is short and slight in build, but on the whole he is strong and healthy, the average height of a man is 5' 5".

before this day, but gathers strength on the night of the 9th. As the mourners leave the martams they are joined by others, some bearing torches and others carrying models of the tombs of Ali, Hussein and the others, while small children act the parts of the children of Hussein. Bands of men perform complex dances as they beat their backs with metal whips, while others cut their foreheads with swords. Men beat their bare chests as they are led by flag-bearers who keep time for the dancers. Music is supplied by the drums and chanting which fills the air with the sound, while wailing of black-clothed women on the roof-tops of the houses lining the route adds to the noise of the procession. White horses painted red to represent the blood of the martyrs, little children carried in litters and various other figures represent events in the drama of the passion play. As the morning of the 10th breaks preparations are made for the renewal of the procession, police line the routes, by-standers gather and the members of the procession leave the martams, joined later by the Shia from the villages. Slowly the great mass of men and boys passes through the streets, often taking over 1½ hours to pass one point but always completely under control and in time with the beating of the drums and the clash of the cymbals. Each group of men is led by one who is in charge of them and sees that they keep in time. In front of the breast-beaters is a man with a flag whose duty it is to indicate where they are to stop walking and start thumping their chests, and with his flag he indicates the tempo, and all along the route the thud can be heard as thousands of brawny men crash their arms and fists against their chests. In the centre of each huge circle of chain-men are two men with cymbals; these run up and down the road beating the cymbals and shouting "Ya Hussein" as the black robed men and boys strike their naked backs with copper chains. Despite its sound, this latter does little harm to the men and it is very rare that blood is drawn.

In former times it has been known for the man who acted the part of Yazid, the villain of the Passion Play, to have been seriously wounded by people carried away by the scene, but today Yazid no longer appears in the procession, nor does the Christian who gave water to Hussein and his people and who was formerly represented as a man with a sun-helmet, waving a whisky bottle and obviously drunk. This was in the days when the British were the only Christians in Bahrain and this was therefore considered the way in which to indicate a Christian ! Today, with the exception of the small children who are carried in litters the only person who appears in the play is Zain al-Abdin, the only adult male survivor of the massacre, who appears riding on a horse or a camel and whose part is usually taken by one of the religious teachers or their assistants.

The procession[1] is arranged in nationalities, the Bahrainis, Persians, Qatifis and Hasawis, and the two latter groups of people come to Bahrain from Saudi Arabia, where the procession is banned. Each group, led by men with huge embroidered banners, passes along the road through rows of silent onlookers, many of whom are Sunni and

1 [On the 10th Muharram ** - Analyst]

796 who therefore disapprove of the whole affair, but it is rare that there
795 is any trouble between the two sects, both of them having adopted the principle of live and let live.

796 In the afternoon of the 10th Muharram the more energetic members of the procession go out into the villages where similar smaller processions take place and which are often made more colourful by the use of additional model tombs which are no longer seen in Manama. In the evening, as in every evening of the first ten days of the month, those who took part in the processions are feasted in the martams, and for three more days the orators continue to preach to the people, for it was for three days that Hussein lay on the field of Kerbela. But on the 13th of the month the period of mourning ends, the "props" are returned to the various martams, the collecting boxes are again displayed in the Shiite shops, out of which some of the expenses of Ashura are paid, and the Mullas return home to Iraq.

796 Europeans are permitted to witness the procession on the 9th and
609 10th days of Muharram, but it is illegal to photograph any part of the
656 procession and the State Police remove the cameras or movie-cameras and expose the film of those who break this law. In addition, unwary photographers have often been roughly handled by members of the Shiite faith, who feel that a sacred procession is not a suitable subject for casual snap-shots. It is therefore much more tactful to dispense with artificial means and to rely on one's memory for recording what is an unique occasion, for the procession has been banned in Iraq and Persia and so Bahrain is now one of the very few places where it can be seen.

## CHAPTER X

## BAHRAIN'S STAMPS

205 THE generally accepted date for the establishment of the first post office in Bahrain, in the town of Manama, is 1884, and as the Indian Government was at that time responsible for political relations with the Ruler of Bahrain, it naturally followed that Indian stamps were used in the Islands. It was not till 1911, however, that a formal agreement granting the British a monopoly of postal services in Bahrain was signed.

In the first instance Indian stamps were used without an overprint—Indian stamps of Queen Victoria and George V post-marked "Bahrain," and it is only possible to trace stamps used in Bahrain by the post-mark. The two most usual post-marks are a circle with bars outside and two circles with the name at the top and the date across the centre. Fortunately the word Bahrain shows up quite well in most of these, provided that there is enough of the post-mark on the stamp if the latter is not on a cover. These issues were usually limited to 3 pies, ½ anna, 1 anna and 2½ anna stamps.

The following are the first days of the next ten Hijra years : 805

1372—September 21st, 1952
1373—September 10th, 1953.
1374—August 30th, 1954.
1375—August 20th, 1955.
1376—August 8th. 1956.
1377—July 29th, 1957.
1378—July 18th, 1958.
1379—July 7th, 1959.
1380—June 26th, 1960.
1381—June 15th, 1961.

## WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

In addition to the standard weights and measures, the following are in use in Bahrain : 804

| *Weight.* | | *Length.* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 39 tolas | = 1 ratl (1 pound) | 12 busas (inch) | = 1 qadm (foot) |
| 4 ratls | = 1 rub'a | 3 aqdam | = 1 waar (yard) |

56 ratls = 1 maund.
14 rub'as = 1 maund.

## SUNRISE AND SUNSET

| *Date.* | *Sunrise.* | *Sunset.* | *Date.* | *Sunrise.* | *Sunset.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st Jan. | 7.25 a.m. | 5.58 p.m. | 1st July | 5.49 a.m. | 7.34 p.m. |
| 1st Feb. | 7.44 a.m. | 6.20 p.m. | 1st Aug. | 6.03 a.m. | 7.26 p.m. |
| 1st Mar. | 7.02 a.m. | 6.40 p.m. | 1st Sep. | 6.18 a.m. | 6.57 p.m. |
| 1st April | 6.31 a.m. | 6.55 p.m. | 1st Oct. | 6.30 a.m. | 6.25 p.m. |
| 1st May | 6.02 a.m. | 7.09 p.m. | 1st Nov. | 6.47 a.m. | 5.56 p.m. |
| 1st June | 5.41 a.m. | 7.27 p.m. | 1st Dec. | 7.08 a.m. | 5.45 p.m. |

## CHURCHES

At the time of writing there are three churches in Bahrain, the Roman Catholic Church on Shaikh Isa Road, Manama, where there is also an English speaking school, and the Dutch Reformed Church of America, at the junction of Shaikh Isa Road and Shaikh Abdulla Road. 795 ● 797

There is also in Bahrain an Anglican Chaplain and an Anglican Church on a plot of ground to the east of the Police Fort donated by the Ruler of Bahrain.

There is a church building in Awali which is used for services by various denominations.

## NEWSPAPERS AND BOOKS

There are no English language newspapers published in Bahrain with the exception of a fortnightly duplicated magazine published by and for the English speaking employees of BAPCO. There are, however, four Arabic publications. The *Government Gazette*, the official publication of the Bahrain Government in which official notices, laws and reports are found, *Sawt al-Bahrain*, a monthly with articles of literary, cultural and religious interest, articles on Bahrain, poetry and a gossip column, *al-Khamila*, a weekly mainly concerned with the doings of the entertainment world in Egypt and containing light articles, jokes and poems and *al-Qafila*, the newest publication. 204

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167 Indians and Pakistanis (3,043) mostly living in Manamah, were the next largest foreign community followed by Saudi-Arabians (2,526) who included many Hassawis employed as agricultural labourers; Omanis, Muscatis and Arabs from the Trucial Coast (2,466) were mostly people who entered Bahrain in recent years seeking work; British, Americans and other Europeans numbered 1,683, this total does not include ships crews at Sitra and at Jufair (584). In Manamah and Muharraq the British and American population was 270, including R.A.F. personnel. Other nationalities included Iraqis (224), Qataris (438), Kuwaitis (149), Yemenis (105). In the population of Bahrain at the time of the census over 30 nationalities were represented.

[208]
795 Owing to local feeling Sunnis and Shias were not registered separately but sectarial distribution outside Manamah and Muharraq is sharply defined. The Shia villages contain no Sunnis and the Sunni villages contain very few Shias. Muharraq contains a small number of Shia Baharna, who are scarcely distinguishable from the Arabs and a long established community of Persian Shias. In Manamah the Shias, both Baharna and Persians, are a large and important section of the population; certain quarters of the town are inhabited almost exclusively by Baharna and some of the suburbs are occupied almost entirely by Persians.

795
162 Bahrain is predominantly Moslem. There are less than 4,000 persons belonging to other religions, of these 2,348 are Christians, not including men on ships in the harbours, 293 are Jews and 975 are Hindus.

AGE AND SEX.

162 Reliable information about ages was difficult to obtain because few of the local inhabitants knew their own ages. There is as yet no registration of births

## MUNICIPALITIES

### MANAMA MUNICIPALITY

(From the report of Mr. Mohamed Saleh Shater, Secretary of the Manama Municipality)

At the beginning of the year, owing to sectarian differences between Sunni and Shia members in 1371, which caused the resignation of the Shia members, Municipal affairs were being dealt with by a committee of Sunnis. This was the situation until the middle of the year when the Government succeeded in persuading the Shia members to resume their duties on the Council. They returned on the understanding that they would serve for only one year after which an election should be held.

During the latter part of the year the Council functioned in a more or less normal manner; by shelving all matters which might cause controversy between the sects the Council succeeded in performing its duties without serious differences. The situation, however, was not satisfactory.

**Finance.** The Financial Committee which drew up the budget was formed from the temporary Sunni committee. Estimated revenue for 1372 was Rs. 7,04,000 and expenditure was assessed at the same figure. The actual revenue exceeded the estimate by Rs. 1,16,000, the expenditure was Rs. 61,000 more than was expected and at the end of the year a surplus of revenue over expenditure amounting to Rs. 61,000 was added to the Reserve which was then Rs. 2,83,000.

The increase in revenue was due to a great extent to higher receipts from house and shop taxes. There were many new buildings in the town and higher rents were charged for existing buildings, both for houses and shops. House taxes and shop taxes on buildings which are leased are charged on a percentage basis of the rent. Taxation on houses which are occupied by their owners is extremely low in comparison with that of rented premises. A large proportion of the rented houses are occupied by foreigners and most of the houses in which the owners live are occupied by people of the country.

During the year the Municipality sold land to the public at the price of Rs. 35,200 and it purchased a new fire engine for Rs. 48,000. The Government presented to the Municipality a motor-driven trailer fire pump and jeep, a rubbish carrying vehicle and a gully emptying vehicle.

**Municipal activities.** Town cleaning was effected during the year by two trucks and 30 donkey carts, town rubbish was utilised to reclaim a large portion of sea on the shore at Hora, opposite Cable and Wireless premises. The method of employing donkey carts to carry town refuse is not a satisfactory one. An order was placed in England during the summer for small rubbish-carrying vehicles which can be used in narrow streets.

A number of roads in the town were metalled, the area dealt with was about 380,000 square feet on which was used 480,000 cubic feet of stone and 105,000 cubic feet of sand, the whole costing approximately Rs. 1,76,000.

Some progress was made in widening streets in the bazaar area, 112 new street lights were installed and more trees were planted on the roads, unfortunately each year a number of trees are destroyed, by wind or sometimes by rain which when it falls strongly seems to kill both plants and trees.

There was much building activity both in the town and on the outskirts of the town, numbers of small houses were built for occupation by their owners and more European style bungalows and flats were built for letting. House rents are excessively high, landlords expect to recover the cost of their property in less than ten years, so building houses for letting is at present a profitable investment. However, so many houses are now being built that it seems possible that in a short time there may be more houses than tenants.

During the year permits for new buildings were issued by the Municipality for 144 stone houses and 100 barasti huts and permits for repairs and additions to 186 shops and 717 houses were also granted.

[AD M:1-52 Analyst]

659 133 **Aerial Survey.** One of the most important items in general use is a map, and throughout history it has been found that the mapping of new areas has been among the first of man's activities.

114 The first reliable maps of Bahrain was produced in 1905, following a survey of the island which was carried out under the direction of Lieut. Colonel F. B. Longe, R.E., Surveyor-General of India. This map, copies of which can still be obtained in the Land Department, is a very good map and shows towns, villages, tracks, mounds and contours, but as it was produced many years ago, since when there have been many changes in the towns and villages and in the area under cultivation, it was thought desirable to carry out a new survey. Messrs. Hunting Aerosurveys Ltd., were commissioned to make an aerial survey of Muharraq Island, Manama town and the area south of Manama as far as the coast. This work was carried out in December 1951. In May 1952 the survey was extended by arrangement with the Bahrain Petroleum Company to cover the whole of Bahrain Island and the neighbouring islands.

During the first survey both vertical and oblique photographs were taken and by the end of 1952 a considerable amount of interesting material had arrived in Bahrain. It consisted of 51 oblique photographs produced in two sizes, 10-in. × 12-in. and 5-in. × 5 in. The series of vertical photographs covered the whole of the area which had been included in the survey.

From the vertical photographs maps were produced, one covering the whole of Muharraq Island, Muharraq town in seven sections at a scale of 200 feet to an inch, the area south east of Manama as far as Jufair, also in seven sections, on a scale of 200 feet to an inch and the town of Manama in thirteen sections, one for each district, a scale of 100 feet to an inch. In addition, mosaics of Manama and Muharraq were produced. All these photographs and mosaics are on sale to the public and can be obtained from the Land Department.

Following the first survey, the Bahrain Petroleum Company made available to the Government all the material which they had obtained from the aerial survey which had been carried out on their behalf and they also provided valuable information from their land surveys which included an initial survey of the town of Manama which was done some months before the aerial work. Last year all the available information was collected and a map was hand-drawn on the basis of this information. Hunting Aerosurveys was instructed to produce a map of Bahrain, in four colours, on the scale of 1 inch to the mile. The map is now in the hands of the printers. It will cover the whole of Bahrain and Muharraq islands as well as the nearby smaller islands, but not the Hawar group. It will contain inserts showing the town areas of Manama, Muharraq and Awali. This map will be on sale in London and New York, as well as in Bahrain, on plain paper or mounted on linen or folded on linen. To produce this map information has been obtained from the Survey of India Office, the Royal Geographical Society and the Bahrain Petroleum Company and from the War Office map of 1939 and with the information now available it will be a reasonable task to revise the map, in future, should it require again bringing up to date after some years have passed.

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## SUNNI WAQF DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Shaikh Atiyyatallah bin Abdurrehman AlKhalifah. Superintendent of the Department)

647 871 ●795 The Department is controlled by a committee of Sunni merchants and by a Superintendent and clerical staff, the latter are paid by the Government. All Waqf property is administered by the Department which pays out of the revenue collected from the property the salaries and emoluments of mosque officials, it also contributes towards the cost of the religious school in Manama and towards the expenses of some young men who are studying religion abroad.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# SOCIAL CLASSES AND TENSIONS IN BAHRAIN

*Fahim I. Qubain*

(See map, facing p. 239.)

ONE OF THE more interesting principalities in the Persian Gulf is the tiny island shaykhdom of Bahrain. Its geographical location, its maritime commerce, and its ancient pearl industry have all combined to create a multi-group society of its small population of about 110,000. On the whole, the country is well and efficiently governed, the various groups in the population have by generations of experience learned to tolerate each other, and crime in the Western sense of the word is almost nonexistent. At the same time, latent tensions exist that can be exploited if the proper circumstances arise. For instance, riots broke out between the Sunnis and the Shi'is during Muharram in September 1953. It took the use of the whole police force and the imposition of a curfew to bring peace back to the country.[1] In July of the following year, when some Shi'is were convicted for being involved in a fight with Sunnis, the whole Shi'i sect staged a demonstration, conducted an attack on a police post during which four Shi'is were killed, and finally all Shi'i workers went on strike.[2] Six months later, in December 1954, another general strike took place in support of demands made to the government for certain reforms which had already been promised by the ruler.[3] We propose, in this article, to examine the nature of these tensions and to evaluate their seriousness for the future.

## *POPULATION BREAKDOWN AND DISTRIBUTION*

Until 1941 only estimates existed regarding the population of the Bahrain cluster of islands. In that year, the government, primarily for food control purposes, conducted the first census in the history of the islands; in 1950 a second census was taken. At that time the population was 109,650.[4] (See Tables I, II, and III.)

[1] Government of Bahrain, *Official Gazette*, September 24, 1953, p. 3.
[2] *Times* (London), July 13, 1954, p. 7.
[3] *Ibid.*, December 6, 1954, p. 7.
[4] Government of Bahrain, *Census 1950* (Bahrain, 1950).

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[See p. 270, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

8: Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



162 Over 61 percent of this population lives in the three towns of Manamah, Muharraq, and Hedd;[5] the rest, 38.5 percent, is scattered about in 90 villages and hamlets concentrated mostly in the northern and northeastern tip of the largest island. In the 9-year period between the two censuses the population had increased 22 percent, mainly in the three towns mentioned. The village population remained almost stationary (actually an absolute
166 increase of 3.5 percent and a relative decrease of 5.5 percent). The concentration of increase in the towns can be explained by the better sanitary conditions existing there and the influx of foreigners. Evidently there was little local migration during this period from village to town, although in some cases it was found that villages had been deserted or greatly reduced in size.[6] It is interesting to note that the only population movement took place in some of the Arab Sunni villages.[7]

162 571 Tables I and III are in a certain sense misleading, for they give a false picture of homogeneity in the population (84 percent Bahrain subjects, 96 percent Muslims) that does not exist. Society in Bahrain is divided into several groupings, in most cases distinct and recognizable. Association with one group in many instances implies a certain occupational specialization, but the main forces that have determined social division are religion, tribal loyalties, and nationality.

## *THE SHI'IS AND THE SUNNIS*

162 ●795 578 101 The Muslim Arab population of Bahrain is divided into Shi'is and Sunnis, who in almost all cases never live in the same village. The Shi'is live in their own tightly-knit communities and do not intermix with the rest of the population to any considerable degree. Fighting — especially in the larger towns, when the two communities do come into contact — frequently breaks out between the two groups, necessitating the intervention of the [633] police and even the British navy.[8] A recent index of the feeling between the two groups is the fact that for the last several years there has been no municipal council for the capital city, Manamah, for the simple reason that no agreement could be reached on the number of seats to be allotted each of the two Muslim groups.

101 795 565 Aside from the small minority of Persians, the Shi'is are all Baharnah. There is no agreement as to the ethnic origin of these people; however, they now speak Arabic and are regarded as Arabs. They are the oldest group among the present inhabitants of the shaykhdom and have been subjected through the centuries to successive conquests, so that although at present they equal or exceed the Sunnis in number — as the 1941 census

[5] See Table II.
[6] *Census 1950*, p. 6.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[8] Abbas Faroughy, *The Bahrain Islands* (New York, 1951), p. 99.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



101 795 565 [463] [177]

indicates — they constitute the poorer and lower classes of society and manifest all the markings of a minority group. Until recently they lived hardly above the servile state, their occupational specialization being exclusively the cultivation of the soil and other menial labor. The arrival of the British, which has assured them some security in person and a guarantee of minimum rights, and the development of the oil industry, which has opened possibilities of alternative employment, have had the effect of gradually raising these people from their status as second-class citizens.

The Sunnis act as the majority group. This has been especially true since a Sunni tribe established its political dominance over the islands in the 18th century. The Sunnis present a common front toward other groups; among themselves, however, they are divided into several communities and tribes. The largest Sunni community is the Huwalah. Its members are townsmen living by trade; and as townsmen everywhere, they do not manifest marked feelings of solidarity. They can perhaps be regarded as the nucleus of a future middle class.

101 565 [291]

The Utab, if not the largest Sunni tribe, is the most influential. This is due to the fact that the Khalifah family, one of its sub-tribes, has ruled the islands without serious interruption for almost 200 years. Every member of the Khalifah family has the title of "shaykh." Along with the privileges and prestige he enjoys as a result of his position, he has certain obligations and restrictions on his conduct and manner of life. For instance, in recent years many Bahrain subjects, especially among the younger city population, have taken to wearing European dress. No member of the ruling family may do so.

The two other Sunni tribes of any importance are the Sadah and the Dawasir, the first because of its alleged sacred origin, the second because of its comparative wealth.*

795 463

Unlike the Shi'is, the Sunnis are relatively mobile. They depend for their livelihood on trade, pearling, fishing, and more recently on employment in the oil industry. Boat building also used to be a fairly important industry. It is very seldom that a Sunni is found engaged in agriculture as a life occupation except as a landowner.

578 565 795

As has been shown, among the two main native elements social division and social tensions rest on religious foundations. Religious affiliation determines to a considerable degree the social and economic position of the individual. When mass violence breaks out it has so far been in terms of Shi'is and Sunnis, never in terms of economic groups.

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An interesting development in recent years is the stress of the dominant

* Most of the Dawasir returned in anger to the Arabian mainland in the early 1920's, soon after Shaykh Hamad, whom they disliked, assumed control. For the story of their return see Government of Bahrain, *Administrative Report for the Years 1926-1937* (Bahrain, 1937), pp. 8-9.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



are the moulders of the new generation of Bahrainis. It is significant that all these teachers come from countries which have just emerged from British or French control.

### *TRENDS FOR THE FUTURE*

Social realignment among the Sunnis and the Shi'is must be thought of in terms of the distant future. It is true that secular and technical education, nationalism, and economic forces are all operating to bring these two groups together. As a result they have begun to cooperate with each other in certain areas of common interest as nonreligious groups; nevertheless, the old loyalties and social patterns are still strongly entrenched, as is very graphically illustrated by the religious riots of 1953 and 1954. It is even conceivable that when and if religion loses the depth of meaning it has at present to both groups, it may still remain as the basis of political alignment or power, as is the case in highly literate Lebanon.

Nationalism has replaced religious tradition as the basis of the relations of the Jews with the major segments of society. The resultant tension is being resolved through emigration, but a few will no doubt remain. All indications are that the political struggle between the Arabs and Israel will leave them little chance of reintegrating themselves on some new basis into society in Bahrain. It is possible, although highly improbable thanks to the presence of the British, that mass violence may be used against them. If this does take place, the problem in all likelihood will assume an international character. Israel, which has established itself as the protector and defender of Jewish minorities, no doubt would use every measure to dramatize the plight of this minority to the world.

The animosity of the native population toward Persians and Indians does not arise from fundamental issues of a permanent nature. There is, for instance, no parallel feeling toward Iran, India, or Pakistan; on the contrary, warm sympathy prevails for them as combatants against Western domination. Both the causes and the issues are transitory in character, and

*Table IV.* FOREIGN TEACHERS IN BAHRAIN

| *Year* | *Egypt* | *Syria* | *Lebanon* | *Palestine* | *Other Arab Countries* | *Other Nationalities* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1944/45..... | 12 | 2 | 12 | — | — | 2 | 28 |
| 1945/46..... | 10 | — | 13 | .. | 1 | 2 | 26 |
| 1946/47..... | 13 | 9 | 12 | — | 1 | 2 | 37 |
| 1947/48..... | 11 | 7 | 14 | — | 1 | 2 | 35 |
| 1948/49..... | 22 | 6 | 14 | — | 1 | 3 | 46 |
| 1949/50..... | 20 | 7 | 14 | 9 | 1 | 3 | 54 |
| 1950/51..... | 9 | 9 | 15 | 10 | 1 | 3 | 47 |
| 1951/52..... | 9 | 7 | 27 | 18 | 2 | 4 | 67 |

Source: Government of Bahrain, Dept. of Education, *Report on the Condition of Education in Bahrain* (Bahrain, 1952), p. 47. (In Arabic.)

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Maritime Arabs MK2
Bahrain M22
Saudi Arabia MJ1



and graphic portrayal of the sufferings of saints and martyrs, has a large following among present-day Arabs, particularly in Mesopotamia and among the pearl divers of the Persian Gulf. It seems to appeal especially to the laboring classes. The vast majority of the pearl divers of Bahrein and the East Coast are Shiahs. Just when this schismatic faith penetrated the district no one seems to know. Bahrein is an island, and was once under Persian domination, although the Persian mainland is much farther away than the Arabian, which indeed is in sight of Bahrein on clear days. Possibly as a result of this Persian occupation, the islands and the adjacent Arabian mainland are populated by a peculiar community known as the Baharina, which bears every evidence in temperament and otherwise of being a mixture of Arab and Persian blood. A certain number of Sunni Arabs do dive for pearls, but generally they are strangers who come from outside. The two classes rarely associate even in their work. The Baharina as a community are solidly Shiah in their religious convictions.

The ideas of the Shiahs have never penetrated deeply into inland Arabia, and there the date gardeners are Sunnis, as are also the artisans. Hasa, however, which is at the same time a large oasis and a pearl-diving community near the coast, has been reached by the Shiah faith, with the result that the community is divided sharply into two classes. The smaller class includes the rulers and the merchants and land-owners and is Sunni in its religious convictions. The other, much larger class includes pearl divers and artisans, of whom there are thousands, and the gardeners, who must constitute from seventy-five to ninety per cent of the population, and these are all Shiahs. One might almost say that every man in Hasa who does an honest days work is a Shiah.

132 siderable violence, particularly in June and July and in January and February.

## POPULATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### Population

161 At the time of the second census in 1950, the population of Bahrain numbered 109,650, with 91,179 Bahrain subjects and 18,471 foreigners. In addition, about 5,000 Bahrain nationals were believed to be working in other countries, chiefly in Saudi 162 Arabia. Among the foreign residents there were 6,934 Iranians, 3,043 Indians, Pakistanis and Goanese, 2,526 Saudi Arabians, 2,466 Omanis and Muscatis, and 2,208 British and other Europeans and Americans.

144 The Bahrainis represent a medley of Arab and Persian peoples, as well as various Negro admixtures, descendants of former slaves from Africa. The Baharna, the original inhabitants of the islands, are of mixed Arab-Persian origin, while the Arabs derive 795 chiefly from the mainland of Arabia. The population is almost exclusively Moslem: in 1950, only 4 per cent of the local residents belonged to other religious communities, with 2,348 Christians, 975 Hindus and 293 Jews. Both the Shia and the Sunni sects of Islam are prominent. The Baharna and the Iranians are Shiites, while most of the Arabs are Sunnites, including a small contingent which adheres to the Wahhabi 191 branch of central Arabia. Arabic is the national language. Other tongues are employed by the different racial groups, but most educated Bahrainis and town-dwelling laborers are familiar with English.

62 The returns of the 1950 census indicated 632 that almost 62 per cent of the people lived in the 3 main towns of Manama, Muharraq and Hedd, and the remainder in some 80 rural villages and settlements. Manama, the seat of government and the largest town, located on the island of Bahrain, had a population of 39,648. Muharraq, the chief town on the adjacent island, numbered ap-

164 occurred intermittently in the past, chiefly in Manama and Muharraq. The islands are exposed to the introduction of the disease [644] from neighboring territories, but the enforcement of quarantine regulations has prevented its establishment for several decades.

**Other Infections.** Although a mild degree of louse infestation occurs among the inhabitants in some congested areas, louse-borne typhus is rarely, if ever, reported. Imported cases of cutaneous leishmaniasis, or Oriental sore, and filariasis are occasionally treated in the local medical institutions, but the insect vectors are not known to be present, and indigenous infections have not been recorded. Guinea worm infection is sometimes seen among persons from Iran, but it is not found in the resident population.

### Nutritional Diseases

146 361 511 The standards of nutrition have improved materially in the last few years. Undernutrition is common, but serious defects are seen primarily among the inhabitants of outlying villages and the families of workers from the mainland. Poverty, traditional dietary customs and intestinal parasitism are contributory factors. Subclinical deficiencies in vitamin C are widespread, and scurvy is observed from time to time. Rickets is frequent among the children in the towns. Anemia is prevalent, and hemoglobin levels of 25 to 30 per cent are not unusual among the women.

## SUMMARY

619 131 282 315 Bahrain is an independent sheikhdom which consists of an archipelago of 5 main islands situated in the Persian Gulf near the coast of Arabia. It has long been famous as a pearl fishing center, and, since 1932, has enjoyed prosperity as an oil-producing area.

161 162 795 144 It has a heterogeneous population which numbered 109,650 in 1950, including 18,471 foreigners. The people are predominantly of mixed Arab and Persian origin, and about 96 per cent are Moslems.

p. 264(B)

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



comes the north wind, and in violence the south-wester (*Qaus*), which is fiercely hot in August and blows irregularly between December and April. See further, vol. ii, p. 346 f.

## Population

Though no census has been taken, the population of the 4 towns and 104 villages in the principality has been estimated as over 100,000, of whom 60,000, chiefly townsmen, are Sunni, and 40,000, chiefly villagers, Shiah. The latter are for the most part *Bahārinah* (see p. 299), but this class, which is mainly agricultural, is here hardly above the servile state. The most numerous Sunni community is that of the *Hūwalah*, who are townsmen of Manāmah, Muharraq, Budeyya', Hadd, and Hālah Bin Anas, living by trade and without solidarity among themselves or influence on others. The 'Utūb, Sādah, and Dawāsir are the most influential tribesmen, the first on account of their connexion with the ruling family, the second by virtue of their supposed sacred origin, the Dawāsir because they are well disciplined by their chief and comperatively wealthy; there are also a few Beni Khālid (see below, p. 608). The remainder of the Sunni population live mostly on the coast, and depend for their subsistence rather on the sea than on cultivation. There are at least 5,000 free negroes and 6,000 negro slaves; a few Persians, Hindus, Basra Arabs and Jews complete the population. Life in Bahrein is more various and many-coloured than on the mainland of Arabia; the exclusiveness of a people cut off from intercourse with other races is absent, and the opportunity to indulge a taste for luxury has not been disdained. Direct relations with Persia and India have influenced costume, domestic appliances, and the architecture of the larger houses, in which the pointed arch is a conspicuous feature.

## Industries and Trade

The most important occupation in Bahrein is pearl-fishing, and the fisheries are the most valuable in the Gulf next to those of Trucial Oman. Were the fisheries to cease, most of the urban population would have to leave the country. They employ more than 900 boats, each with a crew of about 20, the total crews amounting to nearly 20,000 men. The pearling season opens in May, and some boats continue operations until about October. Special measures had to be taken in 1915 by the Sheikh, in conjunction with the British Resident, to enable the pearl-fishing population to tide over the crisis caused by the stoppage of the

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



## Government and Administration

The rule of the Sheikh, which is personal, is directly exerted over the part of Bahrein adjacent to Manāmah, and over the island of Muharraq, where he resides except during the four hottest months of the year. His authority over the rest of the principality is little more than nominal, for the land is divided among various relatives of his own, who hold it as almost independent fiefs, collecting their own taxes, and administering their own justice. Thus the islands of Sitrah and Nebi Sālih, with all the villages on the E. side of Bahrein to the S. of Khōr el-Kabb, and the inland villages of Rifā' esh-Sharqi and Rifā' el-Gharbi, are held by the Sheikh's brother Khālid. The subtraction of all this territory considerably reduces the Sheikh's revenue, which is derived not only from customs, but also from agricultural duties, taxes on pearl-boats, judicial fees, and rent of town lands, shops, or *khāns*. The Sheikh is assisted in the government by a *wazīr*, whose aid is all the more necessary, as the ruler is frequently absent on the mainland, chiefly for sporting purposes. In the towns of Manāmah and Muharraq there are deputy governors with the title of *emīr*.

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Justice, in criminal cases and important civil cases, is administered on behalf of the Sheikh by a chief qādhi. The treatment of minor cases depends upon the religious belief of the parties: if both are Sunnis, they go before the (Sunni) Sheikh of Muharraq: if both are Shiahs, before the (Shiah) Sheikh of Manāmah. There are, in addition, seven other qādhis permitted to adjudicate upon cases referred to them by agreement.

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Mercantile cases, especially those in which foreigners are concerned, are decided by a tribunal variously called *Mejlis el-'Urfi* or *Mejlis et-Tijārah*, a Customary or Commercial Court, with permanent members nominated by the Sheikh in consultation with the British Political Agent. When one or more of the parties to a case is a British subject, or when none of them are Bahrein subjects, the Mejlis is usually convoked by the Agent, and sits at the Agency, a representative of the Sheikh being permitted to attend. Cases arising out of pearl-diving operations are settled by a special board of arbitration known as the *Sālifat el-Ghaus*.

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## Recent History and Present Politics

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Although the Sheikhs of the Khalīfah family had been in direct relations with us since 1805, and under treaty since 1820, another sixty years elapsed before the ruler of Bahrein entered into a binding

# CHAPTER IX

## RELIGIOUS OCCASIONS AND LOCAL CUSTOMS

### RAMADAN

796 785 [805] THIS fast, which is the name of a month in the Islamic calendar, has often been described as the Moslem Lent. During Ramadan there is a complete ban on eating, drinking and smoking during the hours of daylight. The Moslem day begins at sunset, and each evening during Ramadan the setting of the sun is announced by the firing of guns in various towns, the signal that eating and drinking may commence. Two meals are eaten during the night, the first as soon as possible after sunset and the second shortly before dawn. It is often the custom to break the fast with a drink of butter-milk, before proceeding to the heavy eating. After the first meal is over people in Bahrain go visiting and sit in the coffee-shops and cinemas. At the beginning of Ramadan, all through the night the town is busy with the coming and going of the people, radios and gramophones play at full blast in the coffee-shops and night is turned into day. Later in the month there is some slackening of activity, people return earlier to their homes and endeavour to get some sleep, but they are soon awakened by the drummers who go around the town before dawn waking the sleepers so that they may eat before it becomes light. Of necessity the non-Moslem follows the Islamic time-table during this month, for he is usually kept awake by the activity in the streets, and if he does succeed in getting to sleep he is soon awakened by the persistent drummers on their rounds.

According to Moslem Law eating, drinking and smoking must cease directly it is possible to discern the difference between a black and a white thread, but it is now the custom in Bahrain towns to fire guns to announce the break of day. During the day in Ramadan life moves at a slower pace than during the other months of the year, and this is especially true when Ramadan falls in the summer, for the combination of no food and drink and the heat and dampness of Bahrain reduces peoples' energy. [691] It is noticeable that there are more court cases about domestic troubles during Ramadan while the serious crimes decrease. In the evenings in this month the townsfolk go out to the gardens and sit in the shade of the trees waiting for darkness to fall. Adari is particularly popular, many fasters try to reduce their thirst by swimming lazily in the cool waters of the pool.

As with all Moslem occasions, the end of Ramadan is decided by the appearence of the new moon, about which there is usually a dispute. While the Sunnis recognise the Royal Observatory at Cairo as an authority on the appearance of the moon, the Shia insist that it should be seen in Bahrain. The result has often been that the Eid has started on two different days for the two sects, and in one memorable year there were three Eid days, one for each of the two sects and a third for the Ismailis, who have their own way of reckoning dates.

A three day holiday follows Ramadan, Eid al-Fitr, during which there are great celebrations and much visiting of neighbours to wish them "Eid-Kum Mubarak" (Happy Holiday), the answer to which is "Aadana Allah Ala Amthaleh." On the Eid the Ruler receives visitors at the Palace. The Eid is particularly colourful owing to the bright new clothes which are worn by the children. The boys wear new white thobes and bright-coloured silk caps and the girls proudly appear in gold-decorated dresses. In many cases small boys go calling with their parents, eagerly clutching handfuls of sweets as they leave their various hosts. Local bands, composed of the negro inhabitants of Bahrain, pass through the streets of the towns and villages playing tunes on their locally made instruments. These include many types of drums, flutes, lutes and a local form of bagpipe made from the stomach of a sheep. As the bands of players go from house to house they are tipped by the owners, who often, if they are wealthy, provide a meal for the musicians.

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NEW YEAR'S DAY

It is the custom in Bahrain on New Year's Day of the Christian Calendar for groups of Bahrainis of African origin to form into bands and go playing through the streets of Manama. These men, who to day are the same as all other Bahrainis, are descended from freed slaves or were themselves slaves who escaped to Bahrain and were manumitted. In gratitude for their freedom they thus celebrate New Year's Day. They play first at H.B.M.'s Political Agency and the Adviserate and on leaving these places they split up into smaller parties to serenade their friends. Around Bahrain flags, borne by the leaders of the musicians, these people, both men and women, dance steps and play the music which was brought many centuries ago to Bahrain by their African ancestors. In the music to which they dance the rhythm of the drum plays an important part, but to a European it may seem strange that the drummers frequently leave off playing whenever they feel tired, or if they want to talk to a friend or drink a cup of tea or coffee, and when the distraction is over they again join the band.

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It has occasionally been stated in newspapers and even recently in a book on Bahrain by some one who should know better that slavery still exists not only in the Persian Gulf but also in Bahrain. The celebrations of these Bahrainis at their freedom are proof enough that in Bahrain at least slavery is a thing of the past.

[567]

THE HAJJ

The Hajj is the annual pilgrimage to Mecca which, according to his religion, every Moslem who is able to do so must perform once at least during his lifetime. The pilgrimage takes place during the month of Dhul Hajj. The pilgrims, many of whom have reached Mecca by most hazardous routes, wearing the two white unseamed garments that are mandatory, perform the various rites of the ceremony which includes the circumambulation of the Kaaba, pilgrimages and visits

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796 788 to various points in the neighbourhood of Mecca connected with the life of the Prophet Muhammad and drinking the water of Zamzam Well. On the last day of the ceremony the pilgrims stand before Ararat, a small mountain near Mecca, and throw stones at various places to symbolise the stoning of the devil. On the 10th Day of Dhul Hajj a great feast takes place. The pilgrims remove their pilgrim's garb and throughout the Moslem world there is feasting and visiting.

796 535 In Bahrain, Eid al-Adhar is celebrated for three days, the 10th, 11th and 12th of Dhul Hajj. In former days there were very colourful scenes and ceremonies at this feast, the retainers of the Ruler used to perform war dances in front of the palace, discharging their ancient rifles into the air, and occasionally at an unlucky member of the audience. The divers, who returned home during the Eid, danced in huge groups for the entertainment of the people and were feasted in the houses which they visited, but today the Ruler has few casual retainers and the Bedouin, who were the mainstay of the dances, have settled down and become ordinary citizens. Arab dances are therefore a [517] thing of the past and the men who used to perform in them now find their amusements in attending football matches and cinemas.

### MUHARRAM

796 The circumstances that brought about the division of the majority of Moslems into the Sunni and Shiite sects have been mentioned in Chapter II. The battle of Kerbela is still recognised by the Shia of Bahrain as a day of mourning for the martyrs who were killed.

During the first nine days of the month of Muharram, the first month in the Islamic year, there is a general mourning among the [346] Shia for their loss. In the Bahrain martams, which are religious meeting houses not to be confused with the mosques, preachers tell the story 796 of the growth of Islam and the way in which Ali and his family were 537 set aside by those who became the early Caliphs. These mullas, many [781] of whom come from the Holy Cities of Iraq for the purpose, are often so eloquent that they reduce their audience to tears and wailing for the mortifications inflicted on those whom they regard as the highest of mankind after the Prophet himself. Night and day the tale is unfolded as the mullas take it in turn to preach to the assembled crowds. During the day the martams are not so full but at sunset the congregation increases as men return from their daily work. In the villages and in the towns, in the yellow light of kerosene lamps and in the glare of electricity, the story is told of those events which happened over 12 centuries ago. Many people are introduced into the story, the Old Testament prophets, the Prophet Muhammad, his family and his enemies, angels and archangels and other religious figures.

796 As the days pass the orators and their audience get more carried away so that by the 10th of the month all are ready for the next act of what has been called the "Miracle Play of Hassan and Hussein." This is the public procession of the Shia which takes place every evening

before this day, but gathers strength on the night of the 9th. As the mourners leave the martams they are joined by others, some bearing torches and others carrying models of the tombs of Ali, Hussein and the others, while small children act the parts of the children of Hussein. Bands of men perform complex dances as they beat their backs with metal whips, while others cut their foreheads with swords. Men beat their bare chests as they are led by flag-bearers who keep time for the dancers. Music is supplied by the drums and chanting which fills the air with the sound, while wailing of black-clothed women on the roof-tops of the houses lining the route adds to the noise of the procession. White horses painted red to represent the blood of the martyrs, little children carried in litters and various other figures represent events in the drama of the passion play. As the morning of the 10th breaks preparations are made for the renewal of the procession, police line the routes, by-standers gather and the members of the procession leave the martams, joined later by the Shia from the villages. Slowly the great mass of men and boys passes through the streets, often taking over 1½ hours to pass one point but always completely under control and in time with the beating of the drums and the clash of the cymbals. Each group of men is led by one who is in charge of them and sees that they keep in time. In front of the breast-beaters is a man with a flag whose duty it is to indicate where they are to stop walking and start thumping their chests, and with his flag he indicates the tempo, and all along the route the thud can be heard as thousands of brawny men crash their arms and fists against their chests. In the centre of each huge circle of chain-men are two men with cymbals; these run up and down the road beating the cymbals and shouting "Ya Hussein" as the black robed men and boys strike their naked backs with copper chains. Despite its sound, this latter does little harm to the men and it is very rare that blood is drawn.

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In former times it has been known for the man who acted the part of Yazid, the villain of the Passion Play, to have been seriously wounded by people carried away by the scene, but today Yazid no longer appears in the procession, nor does the Christian who gave water to Hussein and his people and who was formerly represented as a man with a sun-helmet, waving a whisky bottle and obviously drunk. This was in the days when the British were the only Christians in Bahrain and this was therefore considered the way in which to indicate a Christian ! Today, with the exception of the small children who are carried in litters the only person who appears in the play is Zain al-Abdin, the only adult male survivor of the massacre, who appears riding on a horse or a camel and whose part is usually taken by one of the religious teachers or their assistants.

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The procession[1] is arranged in nationalities, the Bahrainis, Persians, Qatifis and Hasawis, and the two latter groups of people come to Bahrain from Saudi Arabia, where the procession is banned. Each group, led by men with huge embroidered banners, passes along the road through rows of silent onlookers, many of whom are Sunni and

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1 [On the 10th Muharram[73] - Analyst]

796 795 who therefore disapprove of the whole affair, but it is rare that there is any trouble between the two sects, both of them having adopted the principle of live and let live.

796 In the afternoon of the 10th Muharram the more energetic members of the procession go out into the villages where similar smaller processions take place and which are often made more colourful by the use of additional model tombs which are no longer seen in Manama. In the evening, as in every evening of the first ten days of the month, those who took part in the processions are feasted in the martams, and for three more days the orators continue to preach to the people, for it was for three days that Hussein lay on the field of Kerbela. But on the 13th of the month the period of mourning ends, the "props" are returned to the various martams, the collecting boxes are again displayed in the Shiite shops, out of which some of the expenses of Ashura are paid, and the Mullas return home to Iraq.

796 609 656 Europeans are permitted to witness the procession on the 9th and 10th days of Muharram, but it is illegal to photograph any part of the procession and the State Police remove the cameras or movie-cameras and expose the film of those who break this law. In addition, unwary photographers have often been roughly handled by members of the Shiite faith, who feel that a sacred procession is not a suitable subject for casual snap-shots. It is therefore much more tactful to dispense with artificial means and to rely on one's memory for recording what is an unique occasion, for the procession has been banned in Iraq and Persia and so Bahrain is now one of the very few places where it can be seen.

## CHAPTER X

## BAHRAIN'S STAMPS

205 THE generally accepted date for the establishment of the first post office in Bahrain, in the town of Manama, is 1884, and as the Indian Government was at that time responsible for political relations with the Ruler of Bahrain, it naturally followed that Indian stamps were used in the Islands. It was not till 1911, however, that a formal agreement granting the British a monopoly of postal services in Bahrain was signed.

In the first instance Indian stamps were used without an overprint—Indian stamps of Queen Victoria and George V post-marked "Bahrain," and it is only possible to trace stamps used in Bahrain by the post-mark. The two most usual post-marks are a circle with bars outside and two circles with the name at the top and the date across the centre. Fortunately the word Bahrain shows up quite well in most of these, provided that there is enough of the post-mark on the stamp if the latter is not on a cover. These issues were usually limited to 3 pies, ½ anna, 1 anna and 2½ anna stamps.

to buy liquor for their own use. In Awali liquor is sold through the medium of BAPCO, while residents in Manama must apply for a permit to buy liquor from H.B.M.'s Political Agent. 273

It is a serious offence in Bahrain for a Moslem to be found in possession of liquor, or "under the influence" and it is also illegal for non-Moslems in possession of liquor to give or sell it to Moslems.

### MEDICAL FACILITIES

There are in Bahrain a number of private and public hospitals, as well as dentists, doctors and chemists. 743

For the benefit of the people of Bahrain the State Department of Health maintains a number of medical institutions in various parts of Bahrain. At the western end of Manama is the Naim Hospital for men and women, containing both public and private wards and equipped to deal with all emergencies. This hospital is used by the foreign community, except those employed by BAPCO, as well as by the people of the country. Also in Manama there are isolation hospitals, a mental hospital, a T.B. Sanatorium and the Office of Public Health. There are also State Hospitals in Muharraq and Hedd and dispensaries in the three towns and various villages. 657

For the use of its employees, both Bahraini and foreign, BAPCO has two hospitals in Awali.

The oldest hospital in Bahrain is that run by the mission of the Dutch Reformed Church of America in Shaikh Isa Road, Manama. This hospital contains both public and private wards. There are also several dentists and doctors practising privately in Manama. [797]

### RATES OF POSTAGE 205

| | Letters | Rs. | As. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Inland : | Not exceeding 1 oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 1½ |
| | For each additional oz. | 0 | 1 |
| Foreign : | | | |
| *Seamail* : | | | |
| | Kuwait, Dubai and Muscat, not exceeding 1 oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 1½ |
| | For each additional oz. | 0 | 1 |
| | Great Britain and Eire, British Empire and territories under British Mandate, U.S.A. and Egypt, not exceeding 1 oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 2½ |
| | For each additional oz. | 0 | 1 |
| | All other countries, not exceeding 1 oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 4 |
| | For each additional oz. | 0 | 2½ |
| *Airmail* : | | | |
| | Europe, per half oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 6 |
| | Australia, New Zealand, per half oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 12 |
| | Canada, U.S.A., per half oz. or fraction thereof | 1 | 0 |
| | India, per half oz. or fraction thereof | 0 | 6 |
| | Saudi Arabia, Irak, Cyprus, Dubai, Egypt, Lebanon, Kuwait, Syria and Jordan, per half oz. or part thereof | 0 | 3½ |

Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 M22 Bahrain M22

The following are the first days of the next ten Hijra years : 805

1372—September 21st, 1952
1373—September 10th, 1953.
1374—August 30th, 1954.
1375—August 20th, 1955.
1376—August 8th, 1956.
1377—July 29th, 1957.
1378—July 18th, 1958.
1379—July 7th, 1959.
1380—June 26th, 1960.
1381—June 15th, 1961.

## WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

In addition to the standard weights and measures, the following are in use in Bahrain : 804

| *Weight.* | | *Length.* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 39 tolas | = 1 ratl (1 pound) | 12 busas (inch) | = 1 qadm (foot) |
| 4 ratls | = 1 rub'a | 3 aqdam | = 1 waar (yard) |

56 ratls = 1 maund.
14 rub'as = 1 maund.

## SUNRISE AND SUNSET

| *Date.* | *Sunrise.* | *Sunset.* | *Date.* | *Sunrise.* | *Sunset.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st Jan. | 7.25 a.m. | 5.58 p.m. | 1st July | 5.49 a.m. | 7.34 p.m. |
| 1st Feb. | 7.44 a.m. | 6.20 p.m. | 1st Aug. | 6.03 a.m. | 7.26 p.m. |
| 1st Mar. | 7.02 a.m. | 6.40 p.m. | 1st Sep. | 6.18 a.m. | 6.57 p.m. |
| 1st April | 6.31 a.m. | 6.55 p.m. | 1st Oct. | 6.30 a.m. | 6.25 p.m. |
| 1st May | 6.02 a.m. | 7.09 p.m. | 1st Nov. | 6.47 a.m. | 5.56 p.m. |
| 1st June | 5.41 a.m. | 7.27 p.m. | 1st Dec. | 7.08 a.m. | 5.45 p.m. |

## CHURCHES

At the time of writing there are three churches in Bahrain, the Roman Catholic Church on Shaikh Isa Road, Manama, where there is also an English speaking school, and the Dutch Reformed Church of America, at the junction of Shaikh Isa Road and Shaikh Abdulla Road. 795 797

There is also in Bahrain an Anglican Chaplain and an Anglican Church on a plot of ground to the east of the Police Fort donated by the Ruler of Bahrain.

There is a church building in Awali which is used for services by various denominations.

## NEWSPAPERS AND BOOKS

There are no English language newspapers published in Bahrain with the exception of a fortnightly duplicated magazine published by and for the English speaking employees of BAPCO. There are, however, four Arabic publications. The *Government Gazette*, the official publication of the Bahrain Government in which official notices, laws and reports are found, *Sawt al-Bahrain*, a monthly with articles of literary, cultural and religious interest, articles on Bahrain, poetry and a gossip column, *al-Khamila*, a weekly mainly concerned with the doings of the entertainment world in Egypt and containing light articles, jokes and poems and *al-Qafila*, the newest publication. 204

## GENERAL

648 **Distinguished Visitors.** Among the many notable persons who visited Bahrain during the year were H.R.H. The Duchess of Kent and H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, who were on their way to the Far East. H.H. Shaikh Abdulla As Salim, Ruler of Kuwait paid his usual visit to the country ; H.E. Ghulam Mohammed, Governor General of Pakistan, stayed for a night on his way to Saudi Arabia. Other visitors were H.E. Dr. Mohammed Fadhel Al Jamali, Prime Minister of Iraq ; Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck ; His Eminence Jirgis, Daoud Kandila, Metropolitan of the Syrian Catholic Church ; a group of British Members of Parliament ; numerous rulers of the Shaikhdoms of the Trucial Coast ; foreign diplomats ; journalists of many nationalities and senior British and American Army, Navy and Air Force Officers.

**Coronation of King Faisal.** H.E. Shaikh Isa, the eldestson of His Highness, represented his father at the coronation in Baghdad in June of H.M. King Faisal II. He was accompanied by several of his relations. The Bahrain delegation travelled to and from Baghdad by air.

655 **Postage Stamps.** A Bahrain 1½ Anna stamp, for internal postage, bearing a portrait of His Highness Shaikh Sulman, was brought into circulation during the year. Some progress was made in the process of the Government gradually taking over the administration of the postal services.

000 **"Caltex Bahrain."** The new oil tanker, *Caltex Bahrain*, was launched in December, in England. The launching ceremony was performed by Lady Belgrave.

471 274 **Pepsi Cola Factory.** Mr. Husain Ahmedi, a local merchant, built a factory on the south-west of Manama for making Pepsi Cola. This is the first enterprise of this type which has been undertaken in Bahrain.

423 656 **Stamped Paper and Title Deeds.** The Government adopted a new design of stamped paper, which is used for agreements, receipts, powers of attorney, etc. New forms were also introduced for title deeds.

●797 **Anglican Church.** The building of an Anglican Church was completed on a site east of the Fort which was presented to the Anglican Community by His Highness Shaikh Sulman.

000 **Agriculture.** No report on agriculture has been included this year as Mr. J. Edmond, the Agricultural Officer, completed his period of contract with the Government and proceeded on leave, pending retirement, on 15th September, 1952.

Mr. Van Ollenbach was appointed Agricultural Officer and began his duties on 5th January, 1953.

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## HIS HIGHNESS SHAIKH SULMAN'S VISIT TO ENGLAND

648 His Highness Shaikh Sulman left Bahrain, by air, on 13th May and arrived back in his country on June 26th. His party consisted of his youngest son, Shaikh Mohammed bin Sulman, Sir Charles and Lady Belgrave, Mr. Husain Yateem and two secretaries.

He travelled by air to Beirut where he stayed for one night ; by sea, in S.S. *Esperia*, to Venice where he stayed for three days ; by train to Montreux, on the Lake of Geneva, where he spent four days, and on by train to Paris where he stayed for two nights. He reached London on May 28th.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



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The Jews have lived in the country in comparative peace and security for centuries. Their position was clear and definite. As non-Muslims they were outside the pale of the law and could not participate fully in the life of the community; but as "People of the Book" they were a *dhimma*, a protected community. In civil matters they enjoyed the same legal rights as all other Bahrain subjects. Here again social lines of demarcation were drawn on a religious basis.

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With the appearance of the Palestine problem the position of this small minority became progressively more precarious. Today the Jews are socially ostracized and economically boycotted, and there have been instances where physical violence has been employed against them. The local press of Bahrain is replete with references to Bahraini Jews, the Jews in general, and to Israel. Such references include, among other things, threats to publish the names of those who associate with Jews in Bahrain or buy from them, references to the United Nations as a Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world, and editorial protests to the government against allowing allegedly Israeli airlines to land in Bahrain, or against radio-communications with Israel.[10]

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The government of Bahrain has no official policy of enmity toward Israel as have the other Arab states. Commercial traffic is not prohibited with Israel or with the Jews as a whole, but in practice it is virtually so. This boycott is due in part to social pressure and in part to the fact that a large part of the goods imported into Bahrain is re-exported to Saudi Arabia, a country which has strict regulations against traffic with Jews.

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Owing to their present position, the Jews are the only native community whose interests and aspirations are at complete variance with those of the native population. It is a matter of public knowledge that many of them have either left or are in the process of leaving the country to start a new life in Israel, the United States, or Europe.

### *THE PERSIANS AND THE INDIANS*

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The two major foreign elements in the country are the Persians and the Indians.[11] Their social status and relations with the native population are determined primarily by psychological, political, and economic factors rather than by religion or tribal loyalties.

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The Persians are the largest foreign group, but it should be noted that they are foreigners in the legal and political sense only, for they are as much a part of the scene as the legal citizens of the country. Iran has had a long and checkered association with the islands going back to pre-Islamic times. At one period, the islands were directly controlled by it, and as late

[10] See any number of *al-Qafilah*, a weekly newspaper, or *Sawt al-Bahrain*, a monthly magazine. Both are published in Bahrain in Arabic.

[11] As used in this paper, the term "Indians" includes Indians, Pakistanis, Anglo-Indians, and Goanese.

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228 The financing of a pearl boat is a complicated affair. Formerly most boats were owned by their captains, but today the majority of the larger boats belong to land merchants. In cases where boats belong to captains but are financed by land merchants, the latter make a profit of about 10%, but in cases where the merchants both own and provision the boats they receive 20% of the profits. After deducting costs, the remainder of the profit is shared in fixed proportions, the nakhuda receiving five parts, the diver two and the Saib one.

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228 When the nakhuda sells the catch he must always be accompanied by two members of the crew, to see fair play. Sales are carried out in an unusual way. If the nakhuda and the purchaser or broker do not want the audience to know the amounts offered for the pearls, and as the sales take place in the quarter of the pearl brokers there are always interested bystanders, they spread a cloth over their hands and bargain by a sort of deaf and dumb language. Once they have agreed on the price the nakhuda must obtain the consent of the two witnesses before the sale is considered valid. The value of the pearls is established in
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228 a special way. In the case of ordinary pearls, they are collected in great numbers, sorted for size by a set of graded sieves, and each group is weighed and counted and their value in "chows," a form of measurement derived from the weight of the pearls, is discovered from a book printed for the purpose. Once a pearl or pearls have been assessed at so many chows, the question of the value per chow is settled by bargaining, the price per chow depending on the average shape, texture and colour in the case of bunches of pearls or in single pearls. In the case of pairs of pearls their value depends greatly on how well they are matched. Seed pearls, the smallest form of pearls, are sold entirely by weight, while a single pearl has been known to sell for as much as £15,000, as in the case of the Bahrain pearl which was eventually bought by a well known American lady.

228
433 It is very difficult to estimate the value of the Bahrain catch in past years, the figure for 1833 was estimated at £240,000, £400,000 in 1835 and £303,941 in 1896. In more recent years the Bahrain Government has given official figures which outline the history of the industry during the past quarter of a century. In 1833 it was also said that there were 1,500 boats leaving Bahrain annually for the pearl banks, and in 1896, 900. The largest number of Bahrain pearling boats has been given as 2,000 but this figure is probably an exaggeration. That the industry has declined is proved by the figures, in 1930, 509 boats manned by 19,300 men found pearls worth Rs. 2,125,000, while in 1948 there were only 83 boats with a crew of 2,000 and finding a catch worth Rs. 855,000. Although the numbers of boats and divers decreased by about 6 times and 9 times respectively it is noticeable that the catch only decreased in value by 2½ times and in 1950 the catch was worth Rs. 1,650,000, more than half of the 1930 figure.

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433 The reason for the decline in the industry, which started in 1930, was the severe trade depression which began in that year and which reduced the wealth of those in Europe who were in the habit of buying

The following are the first days of the next ten Hijra years : 805

1372—September 21st, 1952
1373—September 10th, 1953.
1374—August 30th, 1954.
1375—August 20th, 1955.
1376—August 8th, 1956.
1377—July 29th, 1957.
1378—July 18th, 1958.
1379—July 7th, 1959.
1380—June 26th, 1960.
1381—June 15th, 1961.

## WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

In addition to the standard weights and measures, the following are in use in Bahrain : 804

| *Weight.* | | *Length.* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 39 tolas | = 1 ratl (1 pound) | 12 busas (inch) | = 1 qadm (foot) |
| 4 ratls | = 1 rub'a | 3 aqdam | = 1 waar (yard) |

56 ratls = 1 maund.
14 rub'as = 1 maund.

## SUNRISE AND SUNSET

| *Date.* | *Sunrise.* | *Sunset.* | *Date.* | *Sunrise.* | *Sunset.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st Jan. | 7.25 a.m. | 6.58 p.m. | 1st July | 5.49 a.m. | 7.34 p.m. |
| 1st Feb. | 7.44 a.m. | 6.20 p.m. | 1st Aug. | 6.03 a.m. | 7.26 p.m. |
| 1st Mar. | 7.02 a.m. | 6.40 p.m. | 1st Sep. | 6.18 a.m. | 6.57 p.m. |
| 1st April | 6.31 a.m. | 6.55 p.m. | 1st Oct. | 6.30 a.m. | 6.25 p.m. |
| 1st May | 6.02 a.m. | 7.09 p.m. | 1st Nov. | 6.47 a.m. | 5.56 p.m. |
| 1st June | 5.41 a.m. | 7.27 p.m. | 1st Dec. | 7.08 a.m. | 5.45 p.m. |

## CHURCHES

At the time of writing there are three churches in Bahrain, the Roman Catholic Church on Shaikh Isa Road, Manama, where there is also an English speaking school, and the Dutch Reformed Church of America, at the junction of Shaikh Isa Road and Shaikh Abdulla Road. 795 797

There is also in Bahrain an Anglican Chaplain and an Anglican Church on a plot of ground to the east of the Police Fort donated by the Ruler of Bahrain.

There is a church building in Awali which is used for services by various denominations.

## NEWSPAPERS AND BOOKS

There are no English language newspapers published in Bahrain with the exception of a fortnightly duplicated magazine published by and for the English speaking employees of BAPCO. There are, however, four Arabic publications. The *Government Gazette*, the official publication of the Bahrain Government in which official notices, laws and reports are found, *Sawt al-Bahrain*, a monthly with articles of literary, cultural and religious interest, articles on Bahrain, poetry and a gossip column, *al-Khamila*, a weekly mainly concerned with the doings of the entertainment world in Egypt and containing light articles, jokes and poems and *al-Qafila*, the newest publication. 204

## WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

804 The unit of measure employed in Bahrein is the *Dhrā*, equivalent to a cubit, or 19 inches. 4 Dhrā=1 ba', or fathom (6 feet, 4 inches).

The chief weights are:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Habba | | | 1 grain, Brit., U.S. |
| Mithqual | — 70 Habba | | 70 grain, Brit., U.S. |
| Bar | — 10 Mithqual | | 700 grain, Brit., U.S. |
| Ruba | — 40 Bar | | 4 lbs. avoirdupois |
| Man | — 14 Ruba | | 56 lbs. " |
| Rufa | — 10 Man | | 560 lbs. " |

Before the adoption of the new standard the Mithqual had a weight of 72 grains, corresponding in the Persian scale of weights to 24 *Nokhods* of 4 grains each (1 Persian grain = 0.75 Brit., U.S. gr.). Correspondingly, the Ruba was equivalent to 4.114 lbs. However, if the weights have "shrunken" in the operation, the Bahreinis have had the consolation of seeing their Dhrā grow a quarter inch.

In the pearl trade two units of weight are used, one real and the other nominal. By the former they are weighed, and by the latter they are sold. The real weight is the Mithqual, as shown in the table, corresponding to 70 U. S. grains. The nominal weight is the *Chow*, corresponding to 0.212 U.S. grains. The table of equivalents is as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 Mithqual | — 330 Chow | |
| 1 Chow | — 4 Quarters | — 100 Ducra |
| 1 Quarter | — 25 Ducra | |

The general rule for reducing the real to the nominal weight is as follows: Multiply the square of the number of Mithquals by 330 and divide the number of pearls, the quotient being the number of Chows.

If $M$ represents the number of Mithquals, and $n$ the number of pearls, the formula

$$\frac{330M^2}{n}$$

gives the number of Chows.

804 The Chow is also used as the nominal weight in Bombay by the pearl traders, but the Bombay Chow weighs only one-fourth the Bahrein.

## CURRENCY

436 Indian money is the national currency. The rupee, a silver coin about the size of a United States half-dollar, is the basic unit and is worth about thirty cents, its sterling equivalent being ls. 6d. The rupee is divided into 16 *annas* (sing., *anna*).

Other silver coins are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Half rupee | — 8 annas |
| Quarter rupee | — 4 annas |
| Eighth rupee | — 2 annas |
| Pice | — ¼ anna |
| ½ Pice | — ⅛ anna |

Copper coins less than one anna in value are also in circulation. There are 12 pies to an anna, or 192 pies to a rupee.

Indian paper currency is also in general use.[1] Besides the rupee the Persian *rial*[2]; (about $0.29), the Saudi Arabian *riyal*,[3] the Maria Theresa Thaler, (about $.45), and the Turkish pound, or *lira*, (about $3.60), are also in limited use.

## STAMPS

205 Up to 1947, the stamps of Bahrein were the old stamps of British India, with the word "Bahrain" over-printed across in black ink.[4] However, since the division of Indian colony into Dominions of India and Pakistan, the stamps used in Bahrein are those of United Kingdom with the word "BAHRAIN" and values in rupees over-printed in black ink. The Sheikdom has adhered to the International Postal Union and its membership in that organization is the only international agreement signed by Bahrein.

[648]

1. One hundred thousand rupees is called a *lakh*, and is written Rs. 1,00,000.
2. The Persian rial is fixed by the law of 1932 at a value of 0.07322382 grammes of gold.
3. The Saudi Arabian riyal was declared in 1940 to be equivalent to the Indian rupee.
4. The British and American differ in spelling the name of the island. Throughout the book we have followed the American use.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BAHRAIN MZ2



## Currency

436 Rupees and other Indian coins are the most popular medium of exchange, but the *riyāl* or Maria Theresa dollar is largely current during the pearling season, as the divers, who are chiefly Arabs from the mainland, are used to it and averse from change. The Turkish *līra* passes at about Rs. 14. The ordinary unit for small values is an imaginary coin called the Bahrein *qrān*, worth two-fifths of a rupee. The *tawīlah* of Hasa (see p. 302) is accepted, though not gladly, as the equivalent of ½ anna.

## Weights and Measures

•804 A want of uniformity in local weights hampers the retail trade carried on by British Indian subjects, and the introduction of standard weights is much to be desired. The following is a table of local weights :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ruba' Mithqāl | = | 0·04 lb. English. |
| Nisf Mithqāl | = | 0·08 ,, |
| Mithqāl | = | 0·16 ,, |
| Nisf Ruba' eth-Thamīn | = | 0·32 ,, |
| Ruba' eth-Thamīn | = | 0·64 ,, |
| Thulth Thamīn | = | 0·86 ,, |
| Nisf Thamīn | = | 1·29 ,, |
| Qiyās | = | 1·54 ,, |
| Thamīn | = | 2·57 ,, |
| Alf | = | 3·09 ,, |
| Ruba' | = | 4·11 ,, |
| Mann | = | 57·60 ,, |
| Rafa'ah | = | 576·00 ,, |

The following is a table of linear measure :—

| | |
|---|---|
| 6 Sha'arāt Bardhūn (mule hairs) | = 1 Habbat Sha'īr (barley corn). |
| 6 Habbat Sha'īr | = 1 Asba' (finger breadth), plur. Asābi'. |
| 4 Asābi' | = 1 Qabdhah (fist), plur. Qabdhāt. |
| 6 Qabdhāt | = 1 Dhrā' (cubit), plur. Adhru'. |
| 4 Adhru' | = 1 Bā' (fathom). |
| 1,000 Bā' | = 1 Mīl (plur. Amyāl) Hāshimi (mile). |
| 3 Amyāl | = 1 Farsakh (hour's walk). |
| 4 Farsakh | = 1 Barīd (post runner's stage). |
| 3½ Barīd | = 1 Darjah (degree). |
| 360 Darjah | = 1 Dā'irat el-Ardh (circuit of the earth) |

# CHAPTER IX

## RELIGIOUS OCCASIONS AND LOCAL CUSTOMS

### RAMADAN

796 785 This fast, which is the name of a month in the Islamic calendar, has often been described as the Moslem Lent. During Ramadan there is a complete ban on eating, drinking and smoking during the hours [805] of daylight. The Moslem day begins at sunset, and each evening during Ramadan the setting of the sun is announced by the firing of guns in various towns, the signal that eating and drinking may commence. Two meals are eaten during the night, the first as soon as possible after sunset and the second shortly before dawn. It is often the custom to break the fast with a drink of butter-milk, before proceeding to the heavy eating. After the first meal is over people in Bahrain go visiting and sit in the coffee-shops and cinemas. At the beginning of Ramadan, all through the night the town is busy with the coming and going of the people, radios and gramophones play at full blast in the coffee-shops and night is turned into day. Later in the month there is some slackening of activity, people return earlier to their homes and endeavour to get some sleep, but they are soon awakened by the drummers who go around the town before dawn waking the sleepers so that they may eat before it becomes light. Of necessity the non-Moslem follows the Islamic time-table during this month, for he is usually kept awake by the activity in the streets, and if he does succeed in getting to sleep he is soon awakened by the persistent drummers on their rounds.

According to Moslem Law eating, drinking and smoking must cease directly it is possible to discern the difference between a black and a white thread, but it is now the custom in Bahrain towns to fire guns to announce the break of day. During the day in Ramadan life moves at a slower pace than during the other months of the year, and this is especially true when Ramadan falls in the summer, for the combination of no food and drink and the heat and dampness of [691] Bahrain reduces peoples' energy. It is noticeable that there are more court cases about domestic troubles during Ramadan while the serious crimes decrease. In the evenings in this month the townsfolk go out to the gardens and sit in the shade of the trees waiting for darkness to fall. Adari is particularly popular, many fasters try to reduce their thirst by swimming lazily in the cool waters of the pool.

As with all Moslem occasions, the end of Ramadan is decided by the appearence of the new moon, about which there is usually a dispute. While the Sunnis recognise the Royal Observatory at Cairo as an authority on the appearance of the moon, the Shia insist that it should be seen in Bahrain. The result has often been that the Eid has started on two different days for the two sects, and in one memorable year there were three Eid days, one for each of the two sects and a third for the Ismailis, who have their own way of reckoning dates.

1: Belgrave F-3 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

205 For those interested in sending food parcels to friends or relatives in England the following facts may be of interest. Not more than one parcel may be sent at any one time to one consignee in England. The total weight of the food parcel may not exceed 18 pounds, and no more than four pounds of any one commodity can be sent. There are no restrictions at present in force regarding the export of foodstuffs from Bahrain.

There are three post offices in Bahrain, one on Prior Road, Manama, a second on Sea Road, Muharraq and a third at Awali.

## PUBLIC HOLIDAYS

627 The following are public holidays in Bahrain :

*Every Friday*, this is the Moslem sabbath.

*New Years Day*.

*Eid Ramadan*, a three days holiday at the end of the month of fasting, in 1953 this feast will fall on the 13th, 14th and 15th June.

*Eid al-Hajj*, a three days holiday on the 10th 11th and 12th of the Arabic month of Dhul Hajj at the conclusion of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. In 1953 this feast will fall on the 10th, 11th and 12th August.

*Ashura*, a two days holiday, but not a feast; these days, the 9th and 10th Muharram are when the Shia mourn the death of Hussein at Kerbela. In 1953 this holiday will take place on the 18th and 19th September.

*The Prophet's Birthday*, the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad. In 1953 this feast will take place on 19th November.

*Christmas Day*.

The dates of Moslem feast days and holidays are based on the Islamic lunar calendar, and consequently *move back ten days each year and eleven days in leap years*,

## CALENDAR

805 The official calendar in Bahrain is the Moslem calendar and as stated above, Moslem holidays are based on it. The Moslem months are as follows :

| | |
|---|---|
| Muharram | Rajab |
| Safar | Shaban |
| Rabia al-Awal | Ramadan |
| Rabia ath-Thani | Shawal |
| Jamadi al-Awal | Dhul Qada |
| Jamadi ath-Thani | Dhul Hajj |

The Islamic calendar dates from 622 A.D., the year in which the Hijra took place.

805

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804

In addition to the standard weights and measures, the following are in use in Bahrain :

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| *Date.* | *Sunrise.* | *Sunset.* | *Date.* | *Sunrise.* | *Sunset.* |
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## CHURCHES

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## NEWSPAPERS AND BOOKS

204

There are no English language newspapers published in Bahrain with the exception of a fortnightly duplicated magazine published by and for the English speaking employees of BAPCO. There are, however, four Arabic publications. The *Government Gazette*, the official publication of the Bahrain Government in which official notices, laws and reports are found, *Sawt al-Bahrain*, a monthly with articles of literary, cultural and religious interest, articles on Bahrain, poetry and a gossip column, *al-Khamila*, a weekly mainly concerned with the doings of the entertainment world in Egypt and containing light articles, jokes and poems and *al-Qafila*, the newest publication.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East M1
Bahrain MZ 2



sheet, put the cyst in and tied the sheet catacorner both ways, hung it from a large pole and two men carried it down the street to the judge's house. He looked at it in great astonishment. "*Mashallah* (What the Lord is able to do)!" was his first comment. The great cyst was carried around and exhibited to every prominent house in the city and was the talk of the place. Then after three or four days, being a thin-walled structure, it burst, and that was the end of the first chapter.

But there was another chapter to the story of the cyst. Six months later I was in Katif on a visit and a man came into the reception room. "Do you know," he asked my host, "who this man is?"

"Well," he replied, "I know who he says he is. He says he is the doctor from Bahrein."

"That is just who he is. Do you know what he did?"

"No, what did he do?"

"What did he do? Why this is the man who operated on the woman from Bedaiah. He took an enormous sack from her abdomen. They took it to the judge and to the various prominent houses of Bahrein and showed it everywhere, and after three or four days decided that they would like to know what was inside, so they opened it up and a live chicken jumped out of it."

Some of the missionaries overheard the following description of one of the hospital operations. "What do you think," said the narrator, "that I saw this morning? I was in the operating room of the American Hospital and a man came in. The doctor listened to his chest with that funny little machine that he puts in his ears. 'Yes,' he said almost at once, 'there is something the matter with your heart. You will have to be operated on.' So he was put up on the operating table and the doctor made

which opens at 11 a.m. and at midnight, for an hour, to allow the passage of vessels through the deep channel between the two islands. There is a toll gate at the bridge and cars coming from Muharraq to Manama are charged 4 annas. Beyond the bridge, around a group of white buildings, the Customs House, Police Station and Municipal Office, there is always a scene of much activity. Here boats unload their cargoes and buses fill with passengers bound for all parts of the Islands. The sea road continues along the water front until it turns inland towards the airport. Much of the ground inside the sea road has not yet been reclaimed and at high tide the sea forms little squares of still water where children sail home-made boats. On Muharraq sea front there are several important buildings, a government dispensary, a large school and, at the northern corner, a block of flats.

491 486 344 [857]

Another road, opposite the causeway, runs up into the town passing through the bazaars, which branch off to the north and south. The Muharraq shops are of the old fashioned type, with neither plate glass nor fixed prices. There are antique dealers and carpet sellers and all the usual traders found in Arab towns. Ships chandlers are numerous as Muharraq has always been a sea faring centre. Arab chests, carved or brass bound, carpets, worked leather sandals, divers' equipment and goods of interest to tourists can be bought here at prices lower after judicious bargaining, than those in Manama.

491 443

Today Muharraq is still a typically Arab town, a fact of which its inhabitants are proud. Most of the shops are owned by Arabs and are not occupied by Indians or Persians as in Manama. The town, although it was once the capital of Bahrain, the centre of the pearl industry and the focus of trade (a fact that its inhabitants remember with pride) has developed more slowly than Manama. There are few modern buildings, only one cinema and no large European style shops, but its climate is said to be pleasanter than Manama and it is not so humid in the summer. Muharraq was once a walled town but no traces of the walls now remain. The high old houses which line the narrow streets have changed little during the last century, except where corners have been cut away to make passages for large American cars. Many of the larger houses belong to the Ruling Family. They are built around courtyards and in some cases a big house contains three or four such courtyards, surrounded by high walls with few outward-looking windows in them to screen the house from prying eyes.

361 342

Muharraq has a telephone service, electric light, a Post Office and a filling station, but no main water supply, apart from artesian wells. As in the case of Manama, the affairs of the town are controlled by an elected Municipal Council presided over by a member of the Ruling Family.

361 633

The sea surrounds the town on three sides but at the northern end a new residential area is developing on land which is being sold by the Municipality for building purposes. East of the town is the bay of Arad, the ancient name for Muharraq at the time of Alexander,

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692 cases if the defendant is a Bahrain citizen and the plaintiff is a foreigner the case is heard in a Joint Court. The language of the Bahrain Courts is Arabic and no barristers or wakils who are not Bahrainis are allowed to appear in them.

647 At the eastern end of the sea road[1] is the Adviserate, the Ruler deals with affairs of State in this office on Tuesdays and Saturdays. Beyond the Adviserate is H.B.M.'s Political Agency which was built early in the century.

743 At the western end of the Sea Road is the Government Hospital. It includes a men's and women's hospital, administrative offices, X-Ray, laboratories, operating theatres and out-patients' rooms. There are beds for men and for women, with a few private rooms in each section. The Indian Staff occupy a large three storied building close to the hospital and behind the Women's Hospital is the house of the British nursing sisters. On Awal Road there is a large Public Health Office and beyond it a T.B. Sanatorium and a Mental Hospital. Opposite the Police Fort there are also two small isolation hospitals. In Muharraq there is a maternity hospital in the centre of the town and a clinic on the sea front. In Hedd and in some of the villages there are also small clinics. The Government Medical Staff includes a number of British and Indian doctors and nurses.

871 Education in Bahrain is not, at present, compulsory, but every year
658 the number of boys' and girls' schools increases. The oldest school in Bahrain is the Muharraq Boys' School in North Muharraq town, which was built in 1919, and there are now 28 government schools including village schools, town schools, a boys' secondary school, and a technical school where carpentry and engineering are taught. At the beginning of the 1952-53 term there were 4000 boys and 2,500 girls attending government schools. Except in the secondary school, education is free and every year scholarships are given by the Government and BAPCO to enable students to obtain advanced education at the American University of Beirut. There is a students' hostel in Manama which accommodates about 100 boys, here students from the villages and other towns are housed while they attend the more advanced town schools.

[875] Most of the teachers are Bahrainis though there are a certain number of teachers from neighbouring Arab countries. English is taught in the higher classes as well as the usual subjects. All the schools close during the summer from about the middle of June till the end of September. Some of the government schools are among the most noticeable of the modern buildings in Manama.

871 In addition to the Government schools there are a number of private schools including a European day school at Awali, Catholic, Persian and Indian schools in Manama and a girls school run by the mission of the Dutch reformed Church of America. The Oil Company also has a trade school for its Arab employees.



[1] [at Manama -- Analyst]

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**Anti-Malaria Control.** Control measures were continued on the same lines as in former years linking up with the Oil Company's campaign of the East and West central areas, and in addition a system of residual spraying on a large scale was introduced and the area of activities extended to cover practically the whole of the Island. The maximum labour employed at any time consisted of 27 semi-skilled and 70 unskilled workers under two supervisors.

Malaria transmission is restricted to two periods, the first from March to June, and the second from October to January. Breeding, however, is perennial and the number of breeding places reported and treated was :—

| | Anopheline. | Culex. | Anopheline and Culex. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Town Areas .. .. .. | 188 .. | 1,340 .. | 129 |
| Garden and Country Area .. | 8.050 .. | 40,617 .. | 18.163 |
| Total .. | 8,238 | 41,957 | 18,292 |

Town breeding places are water storage containers, exposed sub-soil water, shallow wells, cesspools and faulty drains. The present building campaign is adding daily to the number in the form of cesspools and inadequate drainage. In the gardens and country areas, breeding occurs in badly maintained irrigation channels and drains, wells, borrow pits and stagnant pools resulting from an overflow.

Larvicidal measures consisted of oiling and suspensions to deal with water collections, weeding and canalising water channels and the use of larvivorous fish. A larvicidal oil containing Diesel 70 per cent., crude 20 per cent. and waste motor 10 per cent. with or without D.D.T. 1.5 per cent. was found to be most effective and economical. The measures employed against adult mosquitoes were fogging by Tifa machine, and residual spraying by Knapsack sprayers. Gammexane P.520 and D.D.T. were the chief insecticides used.

The incidence of malaria has been on the decline for some years past and is no longer a major problem. As the disease is not notifiable, it is not possible to define its exact proportions, but a spleen count carried out amongst 4,556 schoolboys gave a rate of enlarged spleen of 3.5 per cent. with the following figures for the most malarious areas :—

| School. | Total number of Boys. | Number of enlarged spleens. | Percentage. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sitra .. .. | 120 .. | 29 .. | 24.0 |
| Khamis .. .. | 281 .. | 48 .. | 15.0 |
| East Rafaa .. .. | 140 .. | 21 .. | 15.0 |
| Tubli .. .. | 60 .. | 8 .. | 13.0 |
| West Rafaa .. .. | 63 .. | 8 .. | 12.5 |
| Karzakan .. .. | 63 .. | 6 .. | 9.5 |

These figures show a decided improvement on those reported in a survey carried out some years ago when the average village spleen rate was much higher. The Bahrain Petroleum Medical Department reported a rate of 3.15 per cent. of malaria cases for the year with 0.4 per cent. occurring in the first transmission period and 2.75 per cent. for the second period. These cases were diagnosed on the presence of parasites in the blood and covered a group of 7,350 local employees from all over the Island.

Both these sets of statistics will be available in the future and will give an indication of the trend of the disease.

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**School Medical Service (Boys).** This service was inaugurated in the early part of the year[1]. The staff consisted of a Medical Officer and an Arab nursing orderly. The scope of the service was routine medical examination of all pupils, treatment of minor illnesses with the referring of the more serious cases to hospital, education in elementary hygiene and the supervision of school sanitation.

1 [A.D. 1952-53. -- Analyst]

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



744
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There are 19 Boys' Schools on the Islands with an attendance of 4,318 pupils locatedas follows :—

| School. | | Number of Pupils. |
|---|---|---|
| West Primary | Manama .. .. .. | 666 |
| East Primary | Manama .. .. .. | 195 |
| East Kindergarten | Manama .. .. .. | 453 |
| Secondary | Manama .. .. .. | 165 |
| Technical | Manama .. .. .. | 54 |
| Old Kindergarten | Muharraq .. .. .. | 305 |
| New Kindergarten | Muharraq .. .. .. | 364 |
| Primary | Muharraq .. .. .. | 687 |
| Samhij .. .. | .. .. .. .. .. | 96 |
| Hidd .. .. | .. .. .. .. .. | 340 |
| Budayia | .. .. .. .. .. | 167 |
| Khamis | .. .. .. .. .. | 271 |
| Tubli | .. .. .. .. .. | 62 |
| Sanad | .. .. .. .. .. | 20 |
| Aali .. .. | .. .. .. .. .. | 68 |
| Kazakan | .. .. .. .. .. | 86 |
| West Rafaa | .. .. .. .. .. | 64 |
| East Rafaa | .. .. .. .. .. | 136 |
| Sitra .. .. | .. .. .. .. .. | 119 |
| | Total .. | 4,318 |

744
871
164
145

All these pupils were examined during the year and the results noting the defects and other relevant information recorded on an individual school medical card.

The most common defects were :—

| Defect | Number cases.. | Percentage Town School. | Country School. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Trachoma and Conjunctivitis .. | 1250 .. | 20.9 .. | 52.7 |
| Defective vision .. .. | 413 .. | 7.5 .. | 15.4 |
| Enlarged tonsils .. .. | 223 .. | 5.5 .. | 3.9 |
| Enlarged spleens .. .. | 182 .. | 1.4 .. | 12.3 |
| Skin diseases .. .. | 136 .. | 0.5 .. | 10.7 |
| Corneal opacities .. .. | 88 .. | 1.6 .. | 3.2 |
| Squint .. .. .. | 37 .. | 1.0 .. | 0.3 |

The number of defects was on the whole, much higher among boys attending country schools than boys at town schools and their rate of growth was slower between the ages of 11 and 16. (Fig. 1). A lower standard of living, malnutrition and poor sanitary conditions in the villages contribute towards this discrepancy but it is hoped that the extension of anti-malarial activities, the school medical service and, if possible, the provision of a school meal, will help to remedy this state of affairs in due course.

The measurement of the weight and height of all pupils was carried out and recorded graphically on each boy's school medical card. This procedure over a number of years should be of immense value in detecting disease and assessing health, as loss of weight, failure to gain, or cessation of growth may be early indications of such various conditions as tuberculosis, sub-acute rheumatism, malnutrition, chronic disease of an essential organ, etc. While every care was taken to ensure reasonable accuracy, the anthropometric technique employed was liable to a certain measure of error as it was not possible to provide at, or carry around to each school, a beam scale weighing machine, or a proper height measuring scale. In addition, it was often difficult to estimate the correct age, as births are not registered in Bahrain, and many children especially in towns, gain admission before the school entrance age of seven years, and are shown as being of that age. As a point of interest, comparative figures in respect of weights and heights between groups of English and Bahrain schoolboys are shown (Fig. 2) from which it will be seen that at all ages, English schoolboys are heavier and taller than Bahrain schoolboys.

The condition of school buildings varied, but in all cases overcrowding was common. The new schools are well built, lighted and ventilated and are provided with ample recreation space and adequate latrines and ablution facilities. Most of the others are reasonably good, but require improvements in lighting, ventilation, condition of floors and desks as the case may be. Samahij is, however, quite unsuitable and a new building is required. Some of the town schools are situated in congested areas and accordingly lack adequate playground space. All country schools must have good washing facilities and the pupils given routine baths. This would reduce their high incidence of disease resulting from dirt and uncleanliness.

The service has been well received by the teaching staff and has been given their full co-operation and help.

**Port and Quarantine.** The number of people entering Bahrain, their place of entry and the number arriving without valid certificates of vaccination were recorded as follows :—

| Number of arrivals. | Place of Entry. | Number without valid vaccination certificate. |
|---|---|---|
| 67,172 | Manama Jetty .. .. .. | 9,292 |
| 22,107 | Muharraq Airport .. .. | 721 |
| 2,112 | Muharraq Jetty .. .. | 684 |
| 2,344 | P. C. L. Jetty, Sitra .. .. | nil |
| 111 | Sitra Port .. .. .. | nil |
| Total 93,846 | | 10,697 |

This was an increase of 18,710 arrivals on last year's figures. Once again the heaviest traffic passed through Manama Jetty and also the largest number without vaccination certificates. This traffic was mostly local, coming from neighbouring Gulf ports by launch and dhow and necessitated a strict watch, but no quarantine measure other than vaccination was necessary.

Muharraq Airport still lacks adequate control arrangements for the segregation of passengers from the general public until they have passed through quarantine. To assist in this matter, a separate enclosure has now been provided for non-passengers, but due to lack of organisation it has not achieved its purpose.

The number of arrivals at Muharraq Jetty was small but important in that so many of them did not possess the necessary vaccination certificates.

Neither of the two remaining places of entry at Sitra presented any difficulty.

It was not necessary to place any person, ship or aircraft in quarantine and no case of quarantinable disease occurred during the year.

Medical attention was afforded to 1701 members of ships' crews, 1,258 attending the Port Health Dispensary at Sitra and the remaining 443 at the Public Health Dispensary in Manama. The Bahrain Government Hospital provided hospitalisation facilities and sick personnel from overseas tankers were accommodated in the Bahrain Petroleum Company's hospital. There were 36 heat cases with two deaths, otherwise illnesses were of a routine nature. Attention was again drawn to the inadequacy of arrangements on board many ships plying in the Persian Gulf in respect of insufficient supplies of cold drinking water, medicines, salt tablets, refrigeration, ventilation and air-conditioning facilities.

The Mecca Pilgrimage of the year 1372 Hegira (A.D. 1953). It is estimated that 2,578 pilgrims passed through Bahrain. All came by air, and a transit camp was established at the Airport. There was no case of infectious disease and all possessed the necessary certificates of vaccination against small-pox and cholera.

## EDUCATION

### Boys Schools

(From the report of Mr. Ahmed Umran, Director of Education).

**Schools.** Three new village schools, at Sanad, Tubli and Karzakan, were built and presented to the Government by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The schools were fully furnished and in each place there was space for a playground near the building. His Highness Shaikh Sulman was present at the opening of the Tubli school and His Excellency Shaikh Abdulla, Minister of Education, attended the openings of the other two schools. The gift of these three buildings was much appreciated by the Government and by the people of the villages for which the schools provided education.

A large new school, on the Muharraq sea front, for small boys, was opened at the beginning of the term, with this school and three new village schools, and some additional class rooms in existing schools, it was possible to increase the total number of boys in the state schools by 610.

The building of these three schools roused immediate demands from other villages for schools to be built in their districts. Some of these requests came from villages within easy walking distance from schools. The desire for schools and sometimes for dispensaries is not always governed by real need; the existence of a school now seems to confer on a village a certain cachet. It was decided by His Highness on his return from England that three more village schools should be built by the Government, at Jidhafs, Asker and Jaw, the last place being the most distant inhabited village on the western coast. Towards the end of the year work was begun on these schools.

The growth of schools in the villages has had some repercussions. In the past the Shia villages provided the tenants and labourers in the date gardens, most of which are owned by Sunni Arabs. Landlords now realise that when the village boys acquire education they will no longer be content to work in the gardens, or as fishermen, as their fathers did before them. There is already a shortage of local labour for the date gardens and little competition to lease them. The town-dwelling landlords therefore do not view with enthusiasm the spread of education in the villages.

**Staff.** Every year the expansion of education makes it necessary to employ more teachers; those who complete their training in Bahrain are insufficient and have not enough experience to fill all the posts so each term the number of foreign teachers increases. Among most people this is regarded with disfavour, although there is a tendency among some to assume that because a teacher comes from abroad he must necessarily be better than any local product. Again in 1372 more teachers were recruited from neighbouring countries. The Director of Education, with the valuable assistance of the British Council in Beirut, enlisted 22 Lebanese, Syrians and Palestinians and he obtained from Cairo 5 Egyptians teachers to fill vacancies made by retirements and to provide staff for larger schools. At the end of the year the number of teachers in the boys schools was as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Egyptians .. .. .. | 10 |
| Indians .. .. .. .. | 2 |
| Syrians .. .. .. .. | 6 |
| Lebanese .. .. .. | 24 |
| Palestinians .. .. .. | 23 |
| Others .. .. .. .. | 3 |
| Bahrainis .. .. .. | 136 |
| Total .. | 204 |

There was a continued improvement in the standard of English in the Secondary School, due principally to its being taught by a British teacher lent to the Government by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. This arrangement has proved extremely successful.

1 [A.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst]

875 **Teachers Training Courses.** Eight students graduated at the end of the school year from the teachers training class for secondary school students. They were posted to village and primary schools. At the beginning of the next term fifteen new students joined the class.

Evening classes for teachers were held during the term with an examination for certificates on the completion of the course.

**Special Courses.** In March, 1953, for the fourth time, the British Council Representative in Basra arranged a week's English course in Bahrain. This time the course was taken by Mr. W. R. Keight, M.B.E., of the British Council and Mr. W. Hedley, the British teacher lent by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The aim of the course was to teach masters and students in training for teachers, the correct use of the Oxford University English Course books.

In the summer eleven senior primary school teachers attended a refresher course at the American University of Beirut which was arranged for teachers from Bahrain and other Arab states. They lived in the British Council Hostel and had their meals in the University.

873 **Higher Education.** Four more boys, who passed out of the Secondary School, went to Beirut University for further education, three of them had scholarships from the Government and one had a scholarship from the Bahrain Petroleum Company. Two students were nominated for scholarships in Baghdad schools, allocated by the Government of Iraq to boys from Bahrain. One of these boys, however, did not take up the scholarship but entered the American University of Beirut at his own expense.

Again some of the Shaikhs and merchants sent their sons, sometimes after finishing only primary education, to schools and colleges abroad, in Beirut, Syria, Egypt and England, in one case a member of the Ruling Family was sent to a University in America. Privately made arrangements for educating young men abroad are not always successful, students who go to Europe, not under the auspices of the Government, seem disinclined to stick to one line of learning, sometimes they wander from one school to another which is an expensive waste of time.

873 177 183 It is very doubtful whether at present the education of Bahrain boys at schools in England is beneficial to them or desirable. A few boys who were at school in England have returned to Bahrain and if they can be taken as typical of the results of a European education then it is clear that the experiment is not usually successful. Parents, who in many cases have never been in Europe, send their sons to English schools with the hope that they will return equipped and eager to help their fathers in their business. The boys return. They have acquired some education, sufficient to make them critical and contemptuous of many things in their own homes and country, they resent having to resume the life which they used to lead and they have no inclination to settle down in Bahrain.

● 871 The Bahrain schools provide primary education for all and secondary education for a limited number of boys. The standard of education is about on a level with that in similar schools in other states in the Middle East. It is not proposed that higher education should be introduced in Bahrain, this can be obtained in neighbouring Arab countries, particularly at the American University of Beirut where 31 boys from Bahrain are now studying, 16 hold scholarships from the Government, four have scholarships from the Bahrain Petroleum Company and 11 are studying there at their own expense. In addition, the Government has sent six young men to study religion in Mecca and in Iraq.

872 Another 20 Bahrain boys are being educated, at their own expense, in schools and colleges in England and in the Middle East.

658 The policy of the Government is to give scholarships for higher education to boys from Bahrain schools to universities in the Middle East; it does not send boys to schools in England. It does, however, send young men from various government departments to do courses in England in the type of work on which they are employed in Bahrain. These candidates are sent at Government expense or, sometimes, they are granted bursaries by the British Council. This arrangement has produced satisfactory results in the case of men from the Passport Department, Municipalities, Technical School, Electric Department, Public Works Department and State Police. Men who have held positions of some responsibility for some years in Government service are improved by such courses in England and do not return to Bahrain with unsettled minds.

**Secondary School.** At the end of the year there were 168 boys in the school. At the end of the school year 20 boys graduated; nine became school teachers, seven went to Beirut, Egypt and Iraq for higher education and four either joined their parents in business or obtained employment in Saudi Arabia. 873

A new class with a special teacher, was started with the aim of providing a two years commercial course. The 12 students who joined this class are being taught typewriting, book-keeping and business methods. The course appeared to be very successful and it was decided that a second class, on the same lines should be started next year.

**School Hostel.** There were 84 boarders in the hostel throughout the year, distributed as follows:— 871

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Attending | Secondary School .. .. .. | 37 |
| „ | Technical School .. .. .. | 15 |
| „ | Primary Schools .. .. .. | 25 |
| „ | Teachers Training School .. .. | 7 |

Yusuf Shirawi continued temporarily to hold the post of Warden, which he relinquished when he went to the United Kingdom to enter Glasgow University.

**Town Primary and Village Schools.** In the towns the four primary and three infants schools were full to capacity throughout the year. In Muharraq a new infants school was opened, owing to lack of space in the Muharraq primary school classes of the lower primary stage were opened in two of the infants schools. In Manama it was not possible to take in all the children who were on the waiting list for admission. 872

Consideration is being given to building more primary and infants schools in Manama and Hidd.

In some of the village schools full primary courses were introduced, up to third form standard. In future village schools will provide a six years programme similar to the course in the town schools.

**Transport.** One of the difficulties in opening more village schools is the matter of transport. Almost all the teachers live in the towns of Manama and Muharraq and even those teachers who came originally from the villages almost invariably move to the towns when they obtain employment as teachers. Local bus services are unorganised and erratic and cannot be depended on. The department has to maintain an expensive transport system for taking teachers to and from schools and for conveying boys to special classes and to games. [487] 872

**Medical.** A school doctor was appointed, under the supervision of the Senior Medical Officer and a system of medical records has been started. The doctor paid regular visits to all the schools and dealt with minor ailments, other cases were passed by him to the Government hospitals.

The health of boys during the year was satisfactory.

**General.** During the Spring holiday a group of boys from the school hostel visited Zubara, on the coast of Qatar, where they camped for several days.

Other young boys went into camp at Safra, near Rafaa.

**Finance.** The amount spent during the year on boys' schools, excluding the cost of building and excluding the Technical School, was Rs. 20,22,500/-. 658 871

The cost of educating one boy at school in Bahrain for a school year, of nine months, was approximately Rs. 400/-.

1 [H.D. 1952-53 -- Annual]

871 875 **Statistics.** The numbers of teachers and students in the boys schools at the end of the year was as follows:—

| School. | Teachers. | Boys. |
|---|---|---|
| Secondary School | 20 | 168 |
| Manama West Primary School | 29 | 679 |
| East Primary School | 13 | 298 |
| Muharraq Primary School | 35 | 720 |
| Hidd Primary School | 16 | 356 |
| Manama Infants School | 13 | 475 |
| North Muharraq Infants School | 13 | 388 |
| South Muharraq Infants School | 10 | 358 |
| East Rafaa School | 7 | 154 |
| West Rafaa School | 6 | 73 |
| Budiya School | 7 | 171 |
| Khamis School | 11 | 270 |
| Sitra School | 7 | 135 |
| Samahij School | 4 | 101 |
| Tubli School | 3 | 64 |
| Sanad School | 2 | 23 |
| Karrakan School | 4 | 85 |
| Aali School | 4 | 62 |
| Total | 204 | 4580 |

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**Girls Schools**

(Report by Lady Belgrave, Directress of Girls Education)

872 In 1372 three new schools were opened, one in a hired house in Manama, one in a building which used to be a Police station, in Muharraq, and one in West Rafaa.

Zahra School in Manama and Mariam School in Muharraq were made into Kindergarten schools with first and second Primary classes. The school in West Rafaa has only four classes, one Kindergarten and three Primary, as it is only for the children from a group of houses at West Rafa, the other schools cover all the Primary years from class one to class six. It is very much more satisfactory to have the really small children in separate schools. The second year secondary class was started.

We again had excellent reports about the girl at school in the Lebanon, at the end of the year she was transferred to The British Syrian Training College in Beirut where the teaching is in English.

The nurse continued to work in the schools visiting one or two schools each day with very good results, but owing to domestic reasons she resigned at the end of the year. An arrangement was made with one of the dentists to treat children whose teeth needed fillings.

The health and cleanliness of the children has improved very visibly since regular medical work was undertaken.

875 Staff is still a problem, especially now that we have the Secondary School. We try not to engage Bahrain teachers with only a Primary certificate, but owing to the fact that the Secondary School has only been in existence for two years there is a gap in the supply of teachers, the better students preferring to continue studying. To bring more teachers from abroad creates a problem of accommodation, but more will have to be enlisted next year.

[A.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst]

We are already seeing the satisfactory results of having higher qualified teachers in the Kindergarten and lower sections of the schools, the children who are now coming up to the fourth year are much better grounded and able to advance further than the children in the higher classes. Those in school now will certainly make better teachers than their elders. 872

The needlework on show at the Annual Exhibition was as good as ever, although less time had been given to it especially in the higher classes. Undoubtedly many of the girls have a real aptitude for embroidery and it seems a pity not to develop it to the full. 874

There were nine Primary and one Secondary Schools during 1372, with a total of 2272 students. 1 871

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**Technical School** 874

(From the report of Mr. Said Tabbara, Headmaster, Technical School).

At the beginning of the year there were 66 boys registered as students at the school, 20 in the carpentry section and 46 on the mechanical side, at the end of 1372 (October 1953) the total number of students was 70. In addition to the ordinary students 17 Bapco employees did a special course at the school during the school year.

The school programme was the same as in the previous year and there were no changes in staff. Ahmed Ali Shoumali, one of the local teachers who started as a student in the school and did two years in the Cairo Technical School before becoming a teacher, some years ago, was sent to England for a course of instruction in Technical School teaching.

Transportation of students to and from Muharraq was made in the school bus whose body was built by the students last year.

Six students took their final examination in June 1953, five of them were successful. Two of these young men joined the Bahrain Petroleum Company, one joined the P.W.D. and two others are working in the bazaar.

Both health and attendance at school during the year were satisfactory. The usual show of work done by the students was held in the Spring.

There is at present an urgent need for wiremen in Bahrain and this need will increase when the Gas-Electric Scheme develops. Many of the electricians now working in Bahrain are foreigners though some local men have been successfully trained in the State Engineer's department. The Technical School is to be enlarged by the addition of a large new workshop, new plant is on order to replace some of the existing plant and a new branch is to be opened next year for training students as practical electricians. For this purpose one of the senior students now in the school will be sent to England to do a course and a teacher will be engaged from abroad to take charge of the new branch. This development has been planned in conjunction with the State Engineer. 874 464

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1 [A.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst]

659 **Aerial Survey.** One of the most important items in general use is a map, and throughout history it has been found that the mapping of new areas has been among the first of man's 133 activities.

114 The first reliable maps of Bahrain was produced in 1905, following a survey of the island which was carried out under the direction of Lieut. Colonel F. B. Longe, R.E., Surveyor-General of India. This map, copies of which can still be obtained in the Land Department, is a very good map and shows towns, villages, tracks, mounds and contours, but as it was produced many years ago, since when there have been many changes in the towns and villages and in the area under cultivation, it was thought desirable to carry out a new survey. Messrs. Hunting Aerosurveys Ltd., were commissioned to make an aerial survey of Muharraq Island, Manama town and the area south of Manama as far as the coast. This work was carried out in December 1951. In May 1952 the survey was extended by arrangement with the Bahrain Petroleum Company to cover the whole of Bahrain Island and the neighbouring islands.

During the first survey both vertical and oblique photographs were taken and by the end of 1952 a considerable amount of interesting material had arrived in Bahrain. It consisted of 51 oblique photographs produced in two sizes, 10-in. × 12-in. and 5-in. × 5 in. The series of vertical photographs covered the whole of the area which had been included in the survey.

From the vertical photographs maps were produced, one covering the whole of Muharraq Island, Muharraq town in seven sections at a scale of 200 feet to an inch, the area south east of Manama as far as Jufair, also in seven sections, on a scale of 200 feet to an inch and the town of Manama in thirteen sections, one for each district, a scale of 100 feet to an inch. In addition, mosaics of Manama and Muharraq were produced. All these photographs and mosaics are on sale to the public and can be obtained from the Land Department.

Following the first survey, the Bahrain Petroleum Company made available to the Government all the material which they had obtained from the aerial survey which had been carried out on their behalf and they also provided valuable information from their land surveys which included an initial survey of the town of Manama which was done some months before the aerial work. Last year all the available information was collected and a map was hand-drawn on the basis of this information. Hunting Aerosurveys was instructed to produce a map of Bahrain, in four colours, on the scale of 1 inch to the mile. The map is now in the hands of the printers. It will cover the whole of Bahrain and Muharraq islands as well as the nearby smaller islands, but not the Hawar group. It will contain inserts showing the town areas of Manama, Muharraq and Awali. This map will be on sale in London and New York, as well as in Bahrain, on plain paper or mounted on linen or folded on linen. To produce this map information has been obtained from the Survey of India Office, the Royal Geographical Society and the Bahrain Petroleum Company and from the War Office map of 1939 and with the information now available it will be a reasonable task to revise the map, in future, should it require again bringing up to date after some years have passed.

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## SUNNI WAQF DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Shaikh Atiyyatallah bin Abdurrehman AlKhalifah, Superintendent of the Department)

647 The Department is controlled by a committee of Sunni merchants and by a Superintendent
●871 and clerical staff, the latter are paid by the Government. All Waqf property is administered
795 by the Department which pays out of the revenue collected from the property the salaries and emoluments of mosque officials, it also contributes towards the cost of the religious school in Manama and towards the expenses of some young men who are studying religion abroad.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1920-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# EDUCATION

•871

**Formation of an Education Committee.**

The progress of education during the last ten years has not been altogether smooth, but the origin of some of the troubles which have occurred dates back to the time when schools were first started in Bahrain. In 1919, Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa returned from his first visit to England filled with enthusiasm for education. Bahrain was in a prosperous condition, as the pearl market was flourishing, and when the public were asked to subscribe to a fund for starting schools they responded generously, and over three lacs were collected. An education committee was formed under the presidency of Shaikh Abdullah, whose members were local merchants chosen rather on account of their wealth than their learning, many of them being entirely illiterate. Haji Yusuf Fakroo, a Persian merchant of Muharraq, was appointed as treasurer, and very soon acquired almost complete control of finance and administration.

**Muharraq School Built.**

The committee decided to build a large school beyond the northern edge of Muharraq town; it was unfortunate that a site in a more central position was not chosen for the school. The cost of building the school was said to have been about two lacs, but this sum included the cost of a quantity of material which was ordered by the treasurer from India and which did not arrive in Bahrain. To-day the school could be built for less than a quarter of this sum and, even taking into consideration the decrease in the price of building, the amount which was alleged to have been spent upon building the school was incredibly large. For many years much publicity was given in Syrian and Egyptian newspapers, which have always taken an impertinent interest in Bahrain educational affairs, to what was described as a case of gross mismanagement of public money. The school was opened with a teaching staff which included several highly paid Egyptian and Syrian masters. Shaikh Hafiz Wahba, who is now the representative of His Majesty King Ibn Saoud at the Court of St. James, was for some time the headmaster of the Muharraq school. A second school was opened in Manamah in a house in the centre of the town, which is now the Manamah girls' school.

[875]

**Education.**

For some years after the beginning of the period which is dealt with in this report the two schools were nominally under the management of the committee, but in fact they were run by the treasurer and the Syrian headmaster of the Muharraq school. Educational results were disappointing: boys who were two years at school were unable to read and write, and most of the boys who left the school after learning for several years were incapable of filling the simplest posts in the Government offices. Though attention was given to teaching the sons of important people, most of the boys received a very scrappy education. The examinations, which were held in public at the end of each term, were entirely unreliable tests of education. The boys' fathers attended these examinations, and when the boys gave wrong answers the parents usually applauded, and it was considered inadvisable to correct the boys in front of their fathers, who were equally ignorant.

The members of the committee took little interest in anything except the financial advancement of their relations and friends, who were appointed as teachers. One of the headmasters of Muharraq introduced a number of his own relations, and the pay of the teachers depended not upon their ability but upon their friendship with the headmaster and the committee. In general, nepotism flourished to an extraordinary degree.

At that time it was impolitic to question the administration of the schools. The amount paid by the Government on account of education during 1344 (1925-1926) was Rs 48,000/-; in the following year only Rs 20,000/- was spent, but in 1346 (1927-28) the annual grant towards education was raised to Rs 46,000/-. It was during this year that the Honorable the Political Resident, then Colonel Haworth, pointed out to the Bahrain Government that, in comparison to the revenue, the annual expenditure on education was very small. 'Education,' he wrote, 'is the dominant factor in Bahrain.' A small school was opened in Rafaa and another school in Hedd.

**Jaffarieh School.**

In 1347 (1928-29) the expenditure on education was increased to Rs 57,000/-, but in addition to the Rs 32,000/- which was paid to the treasurer of the education committee, this sum included the cost of building the first four classrooms of the new school in Manamah which was intended for Shias. Out of the Rs 13,000/-

5y Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

871

which was spent on the school during the year, Rs 5,000 - was contributed by public subscription. The school was managed by a committee of Shia notables, and a young Iraqi from Baghdad was appointed as the headmaster. His family had originally lived in Katif, and after being in Bahrain for some time he was discharged, as his active sympathy with the Shia subjects of His Majesty King Ibn Saoud made him a possible cause of political complaint. Owing to the lack of suitably educated men among the Shias in Bahrain, most of the senior masters at the school were subjects of Iraq. From its beginning the progress of the school was hampered by the dissensions among the members of the committee.

**Opening of a Girls' School.**

In the same year a school for girls was opened in Muharraq in response to a demand for female education by some of the more progressive and enlightened Arabs of that town. The clerical and conservative Arabs in Bahrain disapproved very strongly of this innovation. They said that it would increase immorality because, if the girls could read and write, they would correspond surreptitiously with men outside their own house. The school was publicly denounced in the Friday mosque, but in spite of this it has been a flourishing institution since it started. The school owed its existence mainly to Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa and Shaikh Mohamed Ali Zainal, the much-respected Hedjazi pearl merchant and educationalist, whose arguments convinced the general public that the school would be beneficial.

**Appointment of a School Inspector.**

The following year, 1348 (1929-30), was a year of disturbance, changes, and reforms. After a long period of expensive and unproductive school administration, the public began to demand a better return for the large sums of money which were paid every year by the Government to the treasurer of the education committee. The sudden dismissal by the education committee of a headmaster of the Manamah school who had quarrelled with the Muharraq headmaster caused a crisis. The Manamah headmaster was a popular man, and his supporters, who thought that he had been badly treated, openly criticised the conduct of the committee, especially that of the treasurer, and the unsuitable authority which was held by the Muharraq headmaster. Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa came to the conclusion that if the schools were to be properly managed it was essential that their finance and administration should be under the direct supervision of the Government, and that a qualified inspector of schools should be appointed. Mr. Faik Adham, a Syrian recommended by the President of the Beyrout University, who held a degree from that university and also a degree from the Islamieh College, was appointed as inspector of schools. His wife, a qualified teacher, was made the headmistress of a new school for girls which was opened in Manamah.

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**Strike of Students and Masters.**

The headmaster of the Muharraq school and many of the members of the education committee bitterly resented the appointment of a school inspector and what they regarded as the interference of the Government in school affairs. For many years they had mismanaged educational matters with impunity and no question had been asked about the accounts. When the treasurer was asked to explain certain financial transactions he promptly sent in his resignation, which was accepted. This was the signal for trouble. Without any warning the headmaster of the Muharraq school declared a strike of teachers and students. This action was intended to affect all the schools, but actually only the Manamah and Muharraq boys' schools took part in the strike. For several days the boys marched about the towns in procession in a typical Egyptian manner, making noisy demonstrations and delivering speeches against the Government, which they afterwards admitted had been taught to them by the masters. There was certain amount of disorder, and damage was done to the Muharraq school. Shaikh Abdullah immediately took strong action: he sent for the two headmasters, who refused to appear, but wrote a long letter, making ridiculous demands. They were promptly dismissed and sent back to Syria, where they organised a venomous press campaign against the Bahrain Government, which was taken up by several newspapers in Syria, Iraq, and Egypt. The schools were closed for ten days by order of the Government and then re-opened. At first the attendance was small, but soon the normal number of students returned and the schools settled down to their ordinary routine, which continued undisturbed until the end of the term. This demonstration was undoubtedly encouraged by some of the members of the committee whose authority from that time was deliberately curtailed by the Government.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

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Most of the parents of the boys disapproved of their children's behaviour, but they said that they could not prevent them from doing what they wished. Parental control in Bahrain is almost non-existent, and boys of twelve years of age and older usually act independently of their parents' wishes. Fathers frequently complain that they would like their sons to go to school, but as their boys do not wish to do so they cannot make them attend school.

**Reforms in the Schools.**

In 1349 (1930-1931), Rs 61,000 - was spent on education, which included the cost of completing the new Manamah school. The school was a large, handsome building capable of accommodating about five hundred boys, with a central hall, the largest room in Bahrain, which will seat over six hundred people. At the beginning of the year some trouble was caused by the Shia school committee and the members of the old education committee. An attempt was made to combine the Sunnis and Shias on one committee, but although the Sunnis agreed, the Shias refused to sit on a mixed committee. The presence of the Government's inspector was still much resented by some of the masters and by people who previously had undue influence in school affairs and finances. The curriculum of the schools was entirely re-organised and a simpler range of subjects was taught in all schools: subjects such as physics, music, and advanced mathematics, which were previously part of the programme and which were badly taught by unqualified teachers, were omitted. English lessons were given only in the higher forms. Several new masters were recruited from Syria, and three young Bahrain men who had been educated at Government expense in Beyrout were taken on as masters. The pay and the contracts of all masters were placed on a proper footing, and their salaries were made to depend upon their abilities. Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa became Minister of Education and was responsible for all matters concerning schools and education; the committees continued to exist, but instead of being an assistance they continually hampered the progress of education. By the end of the year there were over 500 boys and 100 girls attending the Government schools and, owing to the proper supervision of accounts, the monthly cost of running the schools was Rs 3,600/- instead of Rs 5,600/-.

**Disappearance of School Committees.**

During the following year, 1350 (1931-32), the expenditure on education was Rs 45,000/-. Owing to the internal disputes among the members of the Shia school committee the attendance at the Jaffarieh school dwindled to about fifty boys. Many of the Shias removed their boys from school because they objected to a Sunni school inspector. During the year the Sunni committee gave up any pretence of taking an interest in the school because they were no longer able to appoint the masters and to decide their salaries, so eventually this committee was allowed to disappear and, after a general quarrel among its members, the Shia committee was dissolved. The control of the schools remained in the hands of Shaikh Abdullah, assisted by the inspector of education and, when necessary, myself.

**Amalgamation of Manamah Boys' Schools.**

The year 1351 (1932-33) was a lean year financially. The salaries of all Government servants, including the staff of the education department, were subjected to a cut, and economies were made in every possible direction. The expenditure on education was reduced to Rs 34,000/-, but in spite of this the number of students increased, and from an educational point of view the year was satisfactory. The most important change was the amalgamation of the Sunni and Jaffarieh schools. The Jaffarieh school became the Manamah boys' school and the old Sunni school was taken over as a girls' school. The change was resented by most of the Shias, who adopted a dog-in-the-manger attitude. Although they refused to send their boys to the Jaffarieh school, they objected to its being used by Sunnis. At the same time another school was opened by a young man, Ibrahim al Arayadh, who had been dismissed from the department of education after the disturbances in the previous year. This school was financed by some of the wealthier Shia families in Manamah, and for a year or two it served a useful purpose.

During the next two years progress was satisfactory and undisturbed. In 1352 (1933-34), expenditure was reduced to Rs 22,000/- by means of combining classes under one teacher and various other methods of economy, but at the same time attendance at the schools increased from 828 to 966. During the following year there was a further increase in students, and a number of

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

871 Shia boys returned to the Manamah school. Towards the end of 1354 (1935-36) a new school was opened in Sitrah, which was attended by about 30 boys, and it is proposed that several more schools are to be opened in other districts in the Shia villages.

874 **Technical Education.** In 1936, classes were started in the Manamah and Muharraq boys' schools for teaching carpentry and simple mechanics. Two skilled carpenters and a mechanic were obtained from Syria through the Beyrout University. About a dozen boys are now learning carpentry and another class is being taught by the mechanic. They are now working in classrooms in the schools, but this arrangement is inconvenient as the noise disturbs the other classes and the space is small. A simple building is to be put up close to the school, to be fitted out as a carpentry and engineering shop.

463 In Bahrain, all carpenters, masons, and most of the mechanics are foreigners. There is great demand for good work, and masons, etc., earn very high pay. There are undoubtedly great opportunities for trained men in these professions, but the chief difficulty in teaching practical trades of this kind is that many of the boys and their parents regard such work as derogatory. They would prefer to work as clerks at lower pay than as carpenters, masons, or mechanics.

871 Education in Bahrain is not compulsory; all Government schools are free, but students are made to pay for their books and materials. It has been suggested that fees for attending school should be charged, but if this were done the attendance would be restricted to the sons and daughters of people of means, who are mostly foreigners. It has also been suggested that free education should be provided for Bahrain subjects only and that foreigners should pay, but when this question was examined it was found that almost all the children of foreign parentage attending the Government schools were legally Bahrain subjects, having been born in Bahrain and not registered as protected persons.

There is a difference in the subjects taught in the various schools. In the country schools the boys are taught reading, writing, simple arithmetic, and the Quran. Girls learn reading, writing, arithmetic, sewing, embroidery, hygiene, and Quran. They have made remarkably good progress in sewing and embroidery and now produce work which would find a ready sale. More advanced subjects are taught in the Manamah and Muharraq boys' schools, where the programme includes English, history, geography, mathematics, book-keeping, and the system of diving accounts. Leaving certificates are issued by the Department of Education to boys who pass an examination when they leave the schools from the two top forms. No boy if taken into Government service unless he possesses one of these certificates, but unfortunately their value has decreased since the Bahrain Petroleum Company has taken to employing boys who do not hold certificates. During the last two years, about sixty boys from the top classes in the Manamah and Muharraq schools left school and obtained employment as clerks and gaugers with the oil company; others have been taken into Government service as pupil teachers, apprentices in the Customs Department, and in other Government offices.

Games are encouraged at all schools, and the older boys play football. There is also a company of Boy Scouts in Manamah and Muharraq. At the end of each term a play is produced and acted by the older boys. The play is usually very topical. These entertainments are extremely popular with the public and are well produced and excellently acted.

The chief difficulties which beset the path of education are the complete lack of discipline among the boys in their own homes, the religious differences between the two sects, Shias and Sunnis, and the suspicious attitude of local people towards foreign teachers, who are essential until the people of Bahrain have attained a sufficient degree of education to fit them to be teachers. The question of punishments is another problem; none of the punishments, except corporal punishment, which are used in civilised countries have any effect in Bahrain. If boys are ordered not to come to school because they misbehave, they do not care, nor do they mind being kept back after school hours, and most of them are quite indifferent to losing marks.

**Bahrain Boys at Beyrout University.** In 1929, seven boys from the Government schools were sent to the Beyrout University to be educated there at Government expense. Three of them were members of the Ruling Family, the others were sons of merchants who were chosen by the headmaster of the Muharraq school. All of them were Sunnis,

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which caused considerable resentment among the Shias, although at that time the proportion of Shias at the Government schools was much lower than it is now. If more care had been given to the selection of the candidates, this experiment would have been more successful. The boys remained at Beyrout for two years; a longer course would have been more useful to them but, mainly owing to financial reasons, the Government decided not to extend their time.

Some years have now passed since these boys returned to Bahrain, and the result of their education can now be seen. In my opinion, it was successful in the case of three of the boys, moderately successful in the case of three, and a complete failure in the case of one boy. If the boys had been younger when they left Bahrain, I believe that the experiment would have been a complete success.

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**Education of the Ruling Family.**

In 1925, Shaikh Hamad allowed two of his sons to go as boarders to the American Mission school in Basrah. They stayed there for one term and did not return to school.

In 1930 a tutor was obtained from India to teach Shaikh Hamad's younger sons. He was well recommended and highly qualified and had previously been in charge of an Indian princeling. Although the tutor worked hard under difficult conditions and did his best to teach his pupils, it was soon apparent that his employment was a waste of his time and of the Government's money. The tutor lived in Shaikh Hamad's house, but the boys were disinclined to work and so did nothing. It was impossible to bring any compulsion on them to do their lessons. The experiment was a complete failure and, after completing one year, the tutor's agreement was not renewed.

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**Future Development of Education.**

There is danger in the creation of a class of semi-educated young men in Bahrain who, because they have a little learning, regard themselves as too superior to do manual work and who will become too many to find employment of a clerical nature. The people, however, especially the Shias, are urgent in their demands for increased education, and more schools, and in reply to this the Government intends to open more small country schools in the villages. A knowledge of reading, writing, and simple arithmetic is all that is needed by boys from the villages, most of whom will eventually become divers, cultivators, and fishermen. In these occupations, school education is unnecessary, though for divers and fishermen a knowledge of figures is some assurance against being swindled.

Boys who attend the town schools in Manamah and Muharraq are mostly sons of shopkeepers, merchants, and pearl traders, and many of them enter their fathers' shops and offices, where they benefit from a knowledge of accounts, book-keeping, and the more advanced education which is given at the two big schools.

If the newly started technical classes are successful, the Government will develop this experiment and, if possible, introduce more subjects which will provide lucrative employment for trained boys when they leave school. It should be possible for boys who have learned carpentry, etc., at school to secure employment with the Bahrain Petroleum Company in place of some of the many foreign artisans who are now employed by the Company.

## ELECTRIC DEPARTMENT

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**Original Installation.**

The possibility of introducing electricity in Manamah was first considered over ten years ago, and for some time funds were set aside for the purpose; it was not, however, till 1928 that any action was taken by the Government. That year the services of Mr. Stevenson, electrical inspector in Sind, were obtained in an advisory capacity and a scheme was prepared by him in Bahrain, together with plans for the layout and a rough specification. Bahrain was then in a prosperous condition, and it was estimated that the initial load would be not less than 2,000 lamps and 200 fans. The people in Manamah were anxious to form a public company, but after consideration this suggestion was dropped, and eventually it was decided that the scheme was to be undertaken by the Government and the Manamah Municipality.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

172 southwest toward Arabia[1] — an indication that it was from there that the people originally came. The existence of similar tombs along the Arabian coast tends to support this hypothesis. Finally, for what it is worth, there is an Arab tradition that the tribe of Thamud, driven out of Yemen and across the desert, found a home on the island of Bahrein about the beginning of the second millenium B.C.

Attempts to date the Bahrein tombs by the nature of the contents have brought to light only contradictory evidence. The finding of a jar that resembles a Babylonian jar of 2500 B.C. must be weighed against the finding of bronze weapons dating from 1500-1200 B.C. It is possible that future explorations of the thousands of tumuli will yet supply an answer to the riddle, but the meager results obtained from the examination of 134 of them can hardly be called encouraging.

## EDUCATION

658 The Bahrein government decided in 1934 to engage a number of Iraqi teachers for its schools. Iraq had done all in her power to attract the emirats of the Gulf into her orbit, and by 1934, when the British and Persians were fighting over the question of sovereignty over Bahrein, Iraq had made known her intention of creating a consulate in the island and establishing a school for the children of Iraqi subjects residing there. This was an effort to compete with the Persians, who since the end of World War I had conducted a school, "Tarbiat," founded originally for the education of Persian children but open also to children of other communities.

871 658 875 Bahrein today has nine elementary and one secondary school, the latter founded in 1940, and one school for girls, opened in 1939. The program of study of the Iraqi schools was adopted. At the end of 1937, a group of fifteen Syrian teachers were engaged by the government to teach in the newly founded schools. In 1940, the government engaged six Iraqi teachers to

1. According to Cornwall W.25's. is the most frequ[illegible] reading: were they oriented toward Mecca?

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

organize the secondary school system. The teachers received from £25 to £30 a month and "bed and board" paid by the Bahrein government. Interestingly enough, the first director of the first school opened at Muharraq was the present Saudi Arabian Minister to London, Sheik Hafiz Wahba.

At present, there is no newspaper in Bahrein. A weekly newspaper, Al Bahrein, was founded in 1939, but ceased its publication after the death of its publisher, Abdallah Za-id. In 1940 a broadcasting station was built, and the Al-Bahrein Radio started short-wave broadcasts on a 23-m, 50 band on November 4. During the war, Radio Bahrein was most useful to the Allied cause, since its four daily news broadcasts in Arabic and Persian were heard more easily throughout the Near East than those of Egypt.

Besides the schools, two "circles" for the discussion of political and literary matters were established in 1935 under the patronage of the brother of the Sheik. There was already a Cercle Israelite in the island.

## ECONOMY

The geographical features and the geological formation of the islands greatly reduce the economic value of Bahrein. The scarcity of water and the sandy nature of the soil exclude agricultural development. The application of modern methods of agriculture and the utilization of artesian wells and gasoline operated pumps are too recent and too inadequate to make Bahrein even partially independent of imported food. For many years to come, and probably forever, the islands will be dependent on food, meat, vegetables, and fruits brought chiefly from the Persian or Arabian mainland.

Fortunately, in most of the islands of the Persian Gulf and the surrounding regions, wherever water is found naturally or captured artificially, date palms grow with astonishing ease. The northern part of Bahrein Island, thanks to natural springs and more recently to artesian wells, is practically a string of oases with palm groves numbering several hundred thousands.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



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the course of development in Bahrain leaves no doubt that they will gradually be resolved. Bahrainis are receiving education at an increasing rate and are now gradually replacing these two foreign elements in clerical and intermediate positions. There will come a time when foreign labor is no longer needed. All foreign establishments in Bahrain, in response to local pressure, are now replacing foreign employees with Bahrainis, even if at the cost of some efficiency.

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Once the clerical and professional group becomes expendable, the major source of resentment will have been removed. Even if some Indians remain, the native Bahrainis will be able to compete with them on equal terms. In the case of the Persians, until the political issues primarily between the British and the Iranian governments concerning sovereignty over Bahrain are clarified, their position will stay the same.

What of the Westerners? It is my belief that the crisis is yet to come. Despite considerable talk, especially among the literate segment of the population, about exploitation, imperialism, and privileges, the Westerners' higher social status is accepted. The native population has been used for generations to think of them as a group with a special status over and above its own, and it will take some time before a mental reorientation is completed. In the second place, the native people fully realize that they need them. They may want to hate the foreign doctor but they need his medical skill; they may detest the oil company, but it supplies them with necessary royalties. The time, however, is drawing near when the problem will have to be faced. Negative nationalism and other political forces such as Communism (which at present has little influence in the Gulf) may force the issue prematurely if favorable circumstances arise.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Maritime Arabs MK2
Bahrain MZ2



such a number of chronic running ears. The lungs are often affected, and all along the diving coast pulmonary tuberculosis is common. This is not remarkable when we know that in the opening days of the season the men frequently dive in water that is so cold that they spit blood. Many return from their summer of semi-starvation and unsuitable diet of rice and dates with their gums sore and bleeding from scurvy.

Living conditions in the community are what might be expected. Disease is common. The death rate is high. Poverty is universal. In good years the standard of life is none too high. In bad years it is reduced almost to the starvation point. During a hard year the food of the divers is poor in quality and scanty in amount almost to the degree of partial starvation. They usually live in date-stick huts, and in the winter must frequently shiver in unwarmed houses because they have no money for fuel.

In such communities there is little or no interest in education. A diver has reason enough, one might suppose, for wanting to know how to read and write and keep his own accounts, but it is rare that one of them knows as much as that, and apparently it is equally unusual to find one who is trying to educate his children so that they may escape the slavery that binds him. The boys are frequently taken out to learn pearl diving while they are still under twelve. In Bahrein the American Mission has tried for many years to develop educational work of an elementary sort, but has found it practically impossible because there is no demand for such things. The considerable Persian community in the city has made efforts from time to time to establish educational work for its own boys. The Persian schools exist for a little

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
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Maritime Arabs MK2



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971 time and then break up and disappear. Few care whether
185 they live or die. One of the Bahrein sheikhs made a visit
658 to England at the invitation of the British Government about three years ago. On his return he collected nearly a hundred thousand dollars for the founding of a free public school. A large building was projected, but by inefficiency and carelessness, if not worse, the entire sum was spent on the first story of that building. Now the project languishes and seems about to die, purely because nobody cares whether it lives or not. Even Koran schools are few in number and poor in quality. There is nothing like the diffusion of education that prevails in the inland
M desert towns.

463 Although the vast majority of the people in these towns
226 are pearl divers, there are a few fishermen and a smaller number who gain a precarious livelihood as sailors in Arab sailing ships. There are abundant supplies of fish in all these harbors, but fishing is a very unpopular occupation. It is hard, disagreeable work, and the men must frequently be out in the little boats all night. When times are good and the captain's allowances liberal, nobody is willing to fish. When the pearl catch is bad or the price low every one feels poor, many eke out their small resources by this additional work, and fish becomes plenti-
M ful and cheap.

505 There were once many sea-going sail boats engaged in carrying various cargoes from port to port in this district, for the Arabs are bold navigators and can travel in these ships from India to the Suez Canal. They still bring goods from the various East African ports to Arabia, and rarely fail to make these long trips successfully, but the work is hard, and since the steamers of the "Ingleez" have absorbed more and more of the better

proximately 26,000 residents, and Hedd, a pearl fishing center, around 10,000. The population exceeded that of the 1941 census by almost 20,000: the increase was confined mainly to the towns of Manama and Muharraq, and was attributed in large part to immigration.

Since the organization of the first government school in 1919, education has made considerable progress, but expansion is handicapped by a shortage of trained teaching personnel. In 1950, the Bahrain government supported 13 primary schools for boys —8 in the towns and 5 in the villages. Educational facilities were made available to girls in 1928, and at present 6 primary schools are in operation. Of the 5,770 pupils registered in government schools in 1950-51, slightly over 1,700 were girls. A few private schools are established in Manama, while Koranic schools are found in most towns and villages. The government also maintains a secondary school, a technical school and a school hostel for boys, and provides scholarships for qualified students for advanced study at the American University of Beirut and in Great Britain. In the recent census, the literacy rate in the indigenous population was estimated at 10 per cent.

### Vital Statistics

The registration of births and deaths is not compulsory in Bahrain, and no data for the calculation of vital statistics are obtainable. Local medical authorities agree that the mortality rates in infancy and early childhood are uniformly high. Observations made by the census enumerators in 1950 suggest that the infant mortality is particularly serious in the rural villages, in contrast with the towns, where living conditions have improved within recent years. The maternal mortality rates are correspondingly high.

The size of the population remained practically stationary in the rural districts in the 9-year interval between the first and the second census surveys. The rate of increase in areas outside the towns of Ma-

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 MI Middle East
Bahrein M22



one went to the Sheikh for the maintenance of his household and family; one was for current Government expenses and development projects; and one for investments abroad as a reserve for future contingencies. With the increase in income—directly from oil revenue and indirectly from customs duties—as a result of the Company's activities, Government services increased and a number of development projects were undertaken. By 1951 there were three hospitals on the islands—the American Mission Hospital and the Company hospital mentioned above, a Government hospital for men and women operated by a British staff, including a section for the mentally ill—as well as a number of municipal clinics. General health conditions were not good: malaria and other fevers and dysentery were prevalent; bilharzia, trachoma and hookworm took a heavy toll; and above all, a large proportion of the population was infected with venereal diseases. Medical services were supplied to every Bahreini free of charge.

Though there had been some educational facilities before the development of the oil industry,[22] it was not until 1934 that the Government engaged a number of Iraqi teachers and enlarged the facilities. By 1951 there were nine elementary schools, one secondary school, founded in 1940, and one school for girls opened in 1939, all tuition-free. The schools were staffed with 258 teachers, who instructed some 6,000 boys and girls. The Government, in conjunction with the Company, also provided scholarships to graduates of the secondary schools for study abroad.

The Government built roads, bridges, harbors and a large airport; water was supplied from artesian wells instead of being brought in by boat; and efforts were made to improve housing conditions. Though without a single newspaper in 1951, Bahrein had a broadcasting station, built in 1940 for Allied war purposes, a dial telephone system, forty miles of roads and 2,000 automobiles. Most of the streets of the main towns were electrically lighted, and a sewerage system had been installed. The net result was a higher standard of living for the Bahreinis, not only in comparison with their own pre-oil standard, but also with the people of the neighboring states.[23]

[22] In 1926 there was one school for boys only, and it was poorly attended. James Bell, "He Said Forward! to the Backward," *Life*, Nov. 17, 1952.

[23] U.N., *Summary 1952-53*, 58-59; Sanger, *The Arabian Peninsula*, 148-149;

two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya. It was the home of the Dawasir tribe who came to Bahrain shortly after it was conquered by the al-Khalifah and established themselves here. The tribe acquired great wealth and prestige, owning many pearling dhows, and by degrees they became so powerful that they were able to raid with impunity the neighbouring Bahrana villages. They even challenged the authority of the al-Khalifah, but Shaikh Hamed, on becoming Deputy Ruler in 1924, threatened to punish them if they did not behave. This they considered as an infringement of their liberties and they therefore announced to the Ruler that if he prevented them behaving as they were accustomed, they would leave Bahrain and settle in Saudi Arabia. Shaikh Hamed refused to give way and the Dawasir left Bahrain. This, however, was not the last of them, for during many years it was believed that they were preparing to invade Bahrain. To prevent this a force was maintained in the Islands. However, the scare eventually died down and Budaiya after lying deserted, was later partly re-occupied by other Bahrainis, while some of the Dawasir gradually returned, many of them settling in Manama and Muharraq.

The ruins of great houses and mosques still remain, while scattered between them are the houses of the new inhabitants, who do much fishing in the prolific waters near the town, and also work in Manama and Awali. Before reaching the Police Post that marks the entrance to Budaiya the road passes through the Government Experimental Garden where new agricultural methods are tried and where cows and sheep, kept under scientific conditions, are studied for their productivity. From the Budaiya Pier launches go to Jidda, the prison island, many of whose inmates come over daily to work in the Budaiya Garden. The Pier is also used by the Ruler when he visits his island of Umm an-Nasaan.

The small Government school at Budaiya just south of the Government gardens, in addition to teaching the usual Primary School subjects gives lessons in agriculture for many of the boys' fathers own or work in gardens in the neighbourhood.

DIRAZ

Diraz is a village about half a mile north of the Budaiya Road and about 1½ miles from Budaiya itself. It consists mainly of stone houses, many of which are two-storied. The village stands on high ground among the sand dunes and is very similar to Beni Jumra which faces it a little way off on the opposite side of the road. It is so surrounded by clumps of date palms that its size is not appreciated from the road. A feature noticeable here, as well as in many other parts of Bahrain, is that date palms grow in groups at the bottom of depressions in the sand and are not irrigated by water channels but obtain moisture from below the surface of the ground.

North-west of the village there are mounds which indicate the existence of a much larger settlement in the past and an extensive area of ground is covered with glass and pottery sherds. Among the ruins



1/4 [the town of Budaiya . . Analysis]

**Secondary School.** At the end of the year there were 168 boys in the school. At the end of the school year 20 boys graduated; nine became school teachers, seven went to Beirut, Egypt and Iraq for higher education and four either joined their parents in business or obtained employment in Saudi Arabia. 873

A new class with a special teacher, was started with the aim of providing a two years commercial course. The 12 students who joined this class are being taught typewriting, book-keeping and business methods. The course appeared to be very successful and it was decided that a second class, on the same lines should be started next year.

**School Hostel.** There were 84 boarders in the hostel throughout the year, distributed as follows:— 871

| | |
|---|---|
| Attending Secondary School .. .. .. | 37 |
| " Technical School .. .. .. | 13 |
| " Primary Schools .. .. .. | 25 |
| " Teachers Training School .. .. | 7 |

Yusuf Shirawi continued temporarily to hold the post of Warden, which he relinquished when he went to the United Kingdom to enter Glasgow University.

**Town Primary and Village Schools.** In the towns the four primary and three infants schools were full to capacity throughout the year. In Muharraq a new infants school was opened, owing to lack of space in the Muharraq primary school classes of the lower primary stage were opened in two of the infants schools. In Manama it was not possible to take in all the children who were on the waiting list for admission. 872

Consideration is being given to building more primary and infants schools in Manama and Hidd.

In some of the village schools full primary courses were introduced, up to third form standard. In future village schools will provide a six years programme similar to the course in the town schools.

**Transport.** One of the difficulties in opening more village schools is the matter of transport. Almost all the teachers live in the towns of Manama and Muharraq and even those teachers who came originally from the villages almost invariably move to the towns when they obtain employment as teachers. Local bus services are unorganised and erratic and cannot be depended on. The department has to maintain an expensive transport system for taking teachers to and from schools and for conveying boys to special classes and to games. [487] 872

**Medical.** A school doctor was appointed, under the supervision of the Senior Medical Officer and a system of medical records has been started. The doctor paid regular visits to all the schools and dealt with minor ailments, other cases were passed by him to the Government hospitals.

The health of boys during the year was satisfactory.

**General.** During the Spring holiday a group of boys from the school hostel visited Zubara, on the coast of Qatar, where they camped for several days.

Other young boys went into camp at Safra, near Rafaa.

**Finance.** The amount spent during the year on boys' schools, excluding the cost of building and excluding the Technical School, was Rs. 20,22,500/-. 658 871

The cost of educating one boy at school in Bahrain for a school year, of nine months, was approximately Rs. 400/-.

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**Statistics.** The numbers of teachers and students in the boys schools at the end of the year was as follows:—

| *School.* | *Teachers.* | *Boys.* |
|---|---|---|
| Secondary School | 20 | 168 |
| Manama West Primary School | 29 | 679 |
| East Primary School | 13 | 298 |
| Muharraq Primary School | 35 | 720 |
| Hidd Primary School | 16 | 356 |
| Manama Infants School | 13 | 475 |
| North Muharraq Infants School | 13 | 388 |
| South Muharraq Infants School | 10 | 358 |
| East Rafaa School | 7 | 154 |
| West Rafaa School | 6 | 73 |
| Budiya School | 7 | 171 |
| Khamis School | 11 | 270 |
| Sitra School | 7 | 135 |
| Samahij School | 4 | 101 |
| Tubli School | 3 | 64 |
| Sanad School | 2 | 23 |
| Karzakan School | 4 | 85 |
| Aali School | 4 | 62 |
| Total | 204 | 4580 |

## Girls Schools

(Report by Lady Belgrave, Directress of Girls Education)

872

In 1372 three new schools were opened, one in a hired house in Manama, one in a building which used to be a Police station, in Muharraq, and one in West Rafaa.

Zahra School in Manama and Mariam School in Muharraq were made into Kindergarten schools with first and second Primary classes. The school in West Rafaa has only four classes, one Kindergarten and three Primary, as it is only for the children from a group of houses at West Raffa, the other schools cover all the Primary years from class one to class six. It is very much more satisfactory to have the really small children in separate schools. The second year secondary class was started.

We again had excellent reports about the girl at school in the Lebanon, at the end of the year she was transferred to The British Syrian Training College in Beirut where the teaching is in English.

The nurse continued to work in the schools visiting one or two schools each day with very good results, but owing to domestic reasons she resigned at the end of the year. An arrangement was made with one of the dentists to treat children whose teeth needed fillings.

The health and cleanliness of the children has improved very visibly since regular medical work was undertaken.

875

Staff is still a problem, especially now that we have the Secondary School. We try not to engage Bahrain teachers with only a Primary certificate, but owing to the fact that the Secondary School has only been in existence for two years there is a gap in the supply of teachers, the better students prefering to continue studying. To bring more teachers from abroad creates a problem of accommodation, but more will have to be enlisted next year.

7[A.D. 1952-53 -- Analist]

We are already seeing the satisfactory results of having higher qualified teachers in the Kindergarten and lower sections of the schools, the children who are now coming up to the fourth year are much better grounded and able to advance further than the children in the higher classes. Those in school now will certainly make better teachers than their elders. 872

The needlework on show at the Annual Exhibition was as good as ever, although less time had been given to it especially in the higher classes. Undoubtedly many of the girls have a real aptitude for embroidery and it seems a pity not to develop it to the full. 874

There were nine Primary and one Secondary Schools during 1372, with a total of 2272 students. 871

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**Technical School** 874

(From the report of Mr. Said Tabbara, Headmaster, Technical School).

At the beginning of the year there were 66 boys registered as students at the school, 20 in the carpentry section and 46 on the mechanical side, at the end of 1372 (October 1953) the total number of students was 70. In addition to the ordinary students 17 Bapco employees did a special course at the school during the school year.

The school programme was the same as in the previous year and there were no changes in staff. Ahmed Ali Shoumali, one of the local teachers who started as a student in the school and did two years in the Cairo Technical School before becoming a teacher, some years ago, was sent to England for a course of instruction in Technical School teaching.

Transportation of students to and from Muharraq was made in the school bus whose body was built by the students last year.

Six students took their final examination in June 1953, five of them were successful. Two of these young men joined the Bahrain Petroleum Company, one joined the P.W.D. and two others are working in the bazaar.

Both health and attendance at school during the year were satisfactory. The usual show of work done by the students was held in the Spring.

There is at present an urgent need for wiremen in Bahrain and this need will increase when the Gas-Electric Scheme develops. Many of the electricians now working in Bahrain are foreigners though some local men have been successfully trained in the State Engineer's department. The Technical School is to be enlarged by the addition of a large new workshop, new plant is on order to replace some of the existing plant and a new branch is to be opened next year for training students as practical electricians. For this purpose one of the senior students now in the school will be sent to England to do a course and a teacher will be engaged from abroad to take charge of the new branch. This development has been planned in conjunction with the State Engineer. 874 964

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[AD 1.2 53 -- Analyst]

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
MI Middle East,
BAHRAIN 1922

proximately 26,000 residents, and Hedd, a pearl fishing center, around 10,000. The population exceeded that of the 1941 census by almost 20,000: the increase was confined mainly to the towns of Manama and Muharraq, and was attributed in large part to immigration.

Since the organization of the first government school in 1919, education has made considerable progress, but expansion is handicapped by a shortage of trained teaching personnel. In 1950, the Bahrain government supported 13 primary schools for boys —8 in the towns and 5 in the villages. Educational facilities were made available to girls in 1928, and at present 6 primary schools are in operation. Of the 5,770 pupils registered in government schools in 1950-51, slightly over 1,700 were girls. A few private schools are established in Manama, while Koranic schools are found in most towns and villages. The government also maintains a secondary school, a technical school and a school hostel for boys, and provides scholarships for qualified students for advanced study at the American University of Beirut and in Great Britain. In the recent census, the literacy rate in the indigenous population was estimated at 10 per cent.

### Vital Statistics

The registration of births and deaths is not compulsory in Bahrain, and no data for the calculation of vital statistics are obtainable. Local medical authorities agree that the mortality rates in infancy and early childhood are uniformly high. Observations made by the census enumerators in 1950 suggest that the infant mortality is particularly serious in the rural villages, in contrast with the towns, where living conditions have improved within recent years. The maternal mortality rates are correspondingly high.

The size of the population remained practically stationary in the rural districts in the 9-year interval between the first and the second census surveys. The rate of increase in areas outside the towns of Ma-

1.256(6)

875 **Teachers Training Courses.** Eight students graduated at the end of the school year from the teachers training class for secondary school students. They were posted to village and primary schools. At the beginning of the next term fifteen new students joined the class.

Evening classes for teachers were held during the term with an examination for certificates on the completion of the course.

**Special Courses.** In March, 1953, for the fourth time, the British Council Representative in Basra arranged a week's English course in Bahrain. This time the course was taken by Mr. W. R. Keight, M.B.E., of the British Council and Mr. W. Hedley, the British teacher lent by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The aim of the course was to teach masters and students in training for teachers, the correct use of the Oxford University English Course books.

In the summer eleven senior primary school teachers attended a refresher course at the American University of Beirut which was arranged for teachers from Bahrain and other Arab states. They lived in the British Council Hostel and had their meals in the University.

●873 **Higher Education.** Four more boys, who passed out of the Secondary School, went to Beirut University for further education, three of them had scholarships from the Government and one had a scholarship from the Bahrain Petroleum Company. Two students were nominated for scholarships in Baghdad schools, allocated by the Government of Iraq to boys from Bahrain. One of these boys, however, did not take up the scholarship but entered the American University of Beirut at his own expense.

Again some of the Shaikhs and merchants sent their sons, sometimes after finishing only primary education, to schools and colleges abroad, in Beirut, Syria, Egypt and England, in one case a member of the Ruling Family was sent to a University in America. Privately made arrangements for educating young men abroad are not always successful, students who go to Europe, not under the auspices of the Government, seem disinclined to stick to one line of learning, sometimes they wander from one school to another which is an expensive waste of time.

873 177 185 It is very doubtful whether at present the education of Bahrain boys at schools in England is beneficial to them or desirable. A few boys who were at school in England have returned to Bahrain and if they can be taken as typical of the results of a European education then it is clear that the experiment is not usually successful. Parents, who in many cases have never been in Europe, send their sons to English schools with the hope that they will return equipped and eager to help their fathers in their business. The boys return. They have acquired some education, sufficient to make them critical and contemptuous of many things in their own homes and country, they resent having to resume the life which they used to lead and they have no inclination to settle down in Bahrain.

871 The Bahrain schools provide primary education for all and secondary education for a limited number of boys. The standard of education is about on a level with that in similar schools in other states in the Middle East. It is not proposed that higher education should be introduced in Bahrain, this can be obtained in neighbouring Arab countries, particularly at the American University of Beirut where 31 boys from Bahrain are now studying, 16 hold scholarships from the Government, four have scholarships from the Bahrain Petroleum Company and 11 are studying there at their own expense. In addition, the Government has sent six young men to study religion in Mecca and in Iraq.

873 Another 20 Bahrain boys are being educated, at their own expense, in schools and colleges in England and in the Middle East.

658 The policy of the Government is to give scholarships for higher education to boys from Bahrain schools to universities in the Middle East; it does not send boys to schools in England. It does, however, send young men from various government departments to do courses in England in the type of work on which they are employed in Bahrain. These candidates are sent at Government expense or, sometimes, they are granted bursaries by the British Council. This arrangement has produced satisfactory results in the case of men from the Passport Department, Municipalities, Technical School, Electric Department, Public Works Department and State Police. Men who have held positions of some responsibility for some years in Government service are improved by such courses in England and do not return to Bahrain with unsettled minds.

**Secondary School.** At the end of the year there were 168 boys in the school. At the end of the school year 20 boys graduated; nine became school teachers, seven went to Beirut, Egypt and Iraq for higher education and four either joined their parents in business or obtained employment in Saudi Arabia. 873

A new class with a special teacher, was started with the aim of providing a two years commercial course. The 12 students who joined this class are being taught typewriting, book-keeping and business methods. The course appeared to be very successful and it was decided that a second class, on the same lines should be started next year.

**School Hostel.** There were 84 boarders in the hostel throughout the year, distributed as follows:— 871

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Attending | Secondary School .. .. .. | 37 |
| „ | Technical School .. .. .. | 15 |
| „ | Primary Schools .. .. .. | 25 |
| „ | Teachers Training School .. .. | 7 |

Yusuf Shirawi continued temporarily to hold the post of Warden, which he relinquished when he went to the United Kingdom to enter Glasgow University.

**Town Primary and Village Schools.** In the towns the four primary and three infants schools were full to capacity throughout the year. In Muharraq a new infants school was opened, owing to lack of space in the Muharraq primary school classes of the lower primary stage were opened in two of the infants schools. In Manama it was not possible to take in all the children who were on the waiting list for admission. 872

Consideration is being given to building more primary and infants schools in Manama and Hidd.

In some of the village schools full primary courses were introduced, up to third form standard. In future village schools will provide a six years programme similar to the course in the town schools.

**Transport.** One of the difficulties in opening more village schools is the matter of transport. Almost all the teachers live in the towns of Manama and Muharraq and even those teachers who came originally from the villages almost invariably move to the towns when they obtain employment as teachers. Local bus services are unorganised and erratic and cannot be depended on. The department has to maintain an expensive transport system for taking teachers to and from schools and for conveying boys to special classes and to games. [487] 872

**Medical.** A school doctor was appointed, under the supervision of the Senior Medical Officer and a system of medical records has been started. The doctor paid regular visits to all the schools and dealt with minor ailments, other cases were passed by him to the Government hospitals.

The health of boys during the year was satisfactory.

**General.** During the Spring holiday a group of boys from the school hostel visited Zubara, on the coast of Qatar, where they camped for several days.

Other young boys went into camp at Safra, near Rafaa.

**Finance.** The amount spent during the year on boys' schools, excluding the cost of building and excluding the Technical School, was Rs. 20,22,500/-. 658 871

The cost of educating one boy at school in Bahrain for a school year, of nine months, was approximately Rs. 400/-.

[illegible]

At Awali are the offices and the homes of the European employees of BAPCO, while outside the fence is the Arab camp for the few Bahrainis who prefer to live there rather than in their own towns and villages. Near Awali's eastern gate is the Training School for Bahrainis, where something is done to equip them for higher posts in the company. This is a field of activity which the company is beginning to develop and it is very important that is should succeed.

South of Awali, in the desert around the Jebal ad-Dukhan, is the oil field, the *raison d'etre* of BAPCO, an unimpressive area with many little squares of cement decorated with taps and valves and surrounded by low fences, which are the oil wells, while here and there derricks mark the search for more oil which is always in progress.

After the Abadan Refinery the one on Bahrain is the largest in the Middle East and supplies large quantities of refined products to India, Pakistan, East Africa and other countries "East of Suez." During the day it would be difficult to describe the refinery as anything but a large and ugly mass of iron and steel, with the great Cat. Cracker rising above the squat silver tanks. The air is hot and dusty and in the summer the iron-work is so hot that to touch it raises blisters ; but in the evening the refinery takes on the appearance of a slightly shapeless but nevertheless well decorated Christmas Tree, covered in lights and set against a background of flares of burning gas which illuminate the sky like a lurid orange back-cloth.

The Sitra anchorage has at all times an appearance of feverish activity, it is being improved so that it will be possible to load ships and tankers round the clock. In order to do this the jetty is being floodlit with great arc lamps.

On low-lying Sitra Island all that can be seen from the sea are the storage tanks, it is only on approaching nearer that the island itself becomes visible. The Tank Farm spreads across the middle of Sitra, and as it expands it threatens to cut the island in two. To the south of the Tank Farm is a large group of buildings from which a crashing sound is continually heard ; this is the Drum Plant. Further evidence of this is present in the thousands of newly painted drums that are piled in huge rows near the plant.

The oil industry is directed from the main office in Awali, where from air-conditioned coolness in the summer and air-conditioned warmth in the winter instructions go out to all parts of Bahrain where BAPCO has its installations. Bahrain is well situated for an oil industry. The oil wells are about eight miles from the Refinery, which itself is scarcely more than half that distance from the Pier and Tank Farm, while from Awali it is possible to see on a clear day both the Refinery and the Field. The radio-telephone and the aeroplane used in other Middle Eastern fields have no place in Bahrain where phones and cars are quite sufficent.

Of the 7,749 workers employed by BAPCO at the end of 1951, 4,937 were Bahrainis and 1,035 were British, American and other

two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya. It was the home of the Dawasir tribe who came to Bahrain shortly after it was conquered by the al-Khalifah and established themselves here. The tribe acquired great wealth and prestige, owning many pearling dhows, and by degrees they became so powerful that they were able to raid with impunity the neighbouring Bahrana villages. They even challenged the authority of the al-Khalifah, but Shaikh Hamed, on becoming Deputy Ruler in 1924, threatened to punish them if they did not behave. This they considered as an infringement of their liberties and they therefore announced to the Ruler that if he prevented them behaving as they were accustomed, they would leave Bahrain and settle in Saudi Arabia. Shaikh Hamed refused to give way and the Dawasir left Bahrain. This, however, was not the last of them, for during many years it was believed that they were preparing to invade Bahrain. To prevent this a force was maintained in the Islands. However, the scare eventually died down and Budaiya after lying deserted, was later partly re-occupied by other Bahrainis, while some of the Dawasir gradually returned, many of them settling in Manama and Muharraq.

The ruins of great houses and mosques still remain, while scattered between them are the houses of the new inhabitants, who do much fishing in the prolific waters near the town, and also work in Manama and Awali. Before reaching the Police Post that marks the entrance to Budaiya the road passes through the Government Experimental Garden where new agricultural methods are tried and where cows and sheep, kept under scientific conditions, are studied for their productivity. From the Budaiya Pier launches go to Jidda, the prison island, many of whose inmates come over daily to work in the Budaiya Garden. The Pier is also used by the Ruler when he visits his island of Umm an-Nasaan.

The small Government school at Budaiya just south of the Government gardens, in addition to teaching the usual Primary School subjects gives lessons in agriculture for many of the boys' fathers own or work in gardens in the neighbourhood.

### DIRAZ

Diraz is a village about half a mile north of the Budaiya Road and about 1½ miles from Budaiya itself. It consists mainly of stone houses, many of which are two-storied. The village stands on high ground among the sand dunes and is very similar to Beni Jumra which faces it a little way off on the opposite side of the road. It is so surrounded by clumps of date palms that its size is not appreciated from the road. A feature noticeable here, as well as in many other parts of Bahrain, is that date palms grow in groups at the bottom of depressions in the sand and are not irrigated by water channels but obtain moisture from below the surface of the ground.

North-west of the village there are mounds which indicate the existence of a much larger settlement in the past and an extensive area of ground is covered with glass and pottery sherds. Among the ruins



1 [The town of Budaiya .. Arad, 21]

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[LAD 1.2 53 -- Analyst]

**Abolition of visas.** An order was issued at the beginning of the year allowing nationals of Oman, the Trucial Coast, Muscat, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the Yemen to enter Bahrain without being in possession of visas for Bahrain, issued by the British Consular or other authorities, provided that they had valid national passports or travel documents endorsed for Bahrain. Unfortunately this arrangement enabled a large number of Persians to enter Bahrain carrying travel papers describing them as being subjects of Trucial Shaikhdoms. The Government has no wish to restrict Arabs from other parts of the Gulf from coming to work in Bahrain, where there is still a demand for unskilled labour, but it views with distaste any increase in the Persian minority which exists in Bahrain. When it became evident that a number of Persians were entering Bahrain under the guise of being permanent residents of Oman or the Trucial Coast the passport authorities were ordered to allow such persons to remain in Bahrain not longer than 15 days. It is estimated that during the year about 9,075 immigrants from Oman and the Trucial Coast entered Bahrain in order to find work, they were issued with permits to remain in Bahrain for one year, subject to renewal. In almost every case the immigrants were men.

**Illegal Entries.** The number of persons who were arrested and repatriated to their countries, having attempted to enter the country without travel documents, was 124, consisting of 68 Pakistanis, 23 Omanis and 33 Persians. The number of persons who succeeded in entering Bahrain without being caught is undoubtedly large. The Pakistanis crossed the Gulf to Muscat by dhows and continued their journey by foot up the coast to Doha, there they chartered a dhow to take them to the nearest port in Saudi Arabia, on their way to Mecca. The Nakhuda, however, landed them on the Bahrain coast, somewhere near Jaw, probably telling them that it was the coast of Arabia. These unfortunate pilgrims were eventually sent back by steamer to Karachi.

During the year the Bahrain courts heard four cases against Bahrain Nakhudas who had landed passengers in Bahrain knowing that they were illegal entrants. They were severely dealt with. Most of the passenger smuggling is done by Qatar Nakhudas who land the people on unfrequented stretches of coast or on shoals on the Eastern side of Bahrain. Two Persian Nakhudas were prosecuted in the Agency Courts and sentenced to imprisonment and fines for the same offence.

In January 1953 information was received that a certain Persian Nakhuda, Ghulam Reza, a naturalised Bahrain subject, had arranged to ship a number of Persians to Bahrain. His launch arrived with 63 Persians on board who were refused permission to land, not being in possession of papers. They were transferred to another launch bound for Kuwait. Later some of the same passengers were found in Manama and it was discovered that the Nakhuda had, after leaving Bahrain, transferred the passengers to another vessel and landed them on the coast where they were met by motor buses which conveyed them to Manama. Ghulam Reza was subsequently arrested, prosecuted, imprisoned for one year and fined Rs. 4,000. His charge was Rs. 150 a head for landing Persians in Bahrain.

**Bahrain Nationality.** During the year 31 applications were received from people of various nationalities applying for Bahrain nationality. Of these 19 were accepted, being from persons long resident in Bahrain and possessing immovable property; three of these were Indian subjects and three were Pakistanis. The courts investigated 44 applications by Persians who claimed to have been born in Bahrain. Proof of birth, especially in the case of older people, cannot easily be produced. Only 9 of these applicants were able to prove that they were born in the country. At the beginning of the year an order was issued to the effect that no Persian whose application for Bahrain nationality was accepted would be issued with a passport until two years had elapsed from the date on which he was granted nationality. As a result of this order only a small number of Persians submitted applications. The main object of the Persians who applied for Bahrain nationality was to obtain passports with which to enter Saudi Arabia where their presence was not appreciated.

**Passport Official's Course.** Ali bin Abdulla, a clerk in the Passport Department, did a course in England studying and learning passport and immigration methods and procedure. The course was arranged by the British Government, the results appear to be satisfactory.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

871 Shia boys returned to the Manamah school. Towards the end of 1354 (1935-36) a new school was opened in Sitrah, which was attended by about 30 boys, and it is proposed that several more schools are to be opened in other districts in the Shia villages.

874 **Technical Education.** In 1936, classes were started in the Manamah and Muharraq boys' schools for teaching carpentry and simple mechanics. Two skilled carpenters and a mechanic were obtained from Syria through the Beyrout University. About a dozen boys are now learning carpentry and another class is being taught by the mechanic. They are now working in classrooms in the schools, but this arrangement is inconvenient as the noise disturbs the other classes and the space is small. A simple building is to be put up close to the school, to be fitted out as a carpentry and engineering shop.

463 In Bahrain, all carpenters, masons, and most of the mechanics are foreigners. There is great demand for good work, and masons, etc., earn very high pay. There are undoubtedly great opportunities for trained men in these professions, but the chief difficulty in teaching practical trades of this kind is that many of the boys and their parents regard such work as derogatory. They would prefer to work as clerks at lower pay than as carpenters, masons, or mechanics.

871 Education in Bahrain is not compulsory; all Government schools are free, but students are made to pay for their books and materials. It has been suggested that fees for attending school should be charged, but if this were done the attendance would be restricted to the sons and daughters of people of means, who are mostly foreigners. It has also been suggested that free education should be provided for Bahrain subjects only and that foreigners should pay, but when this question was examined it was found that almost all the children of foreign parentage attending the Government schools were legally Bahrain subjects, having been born in Bahrain and not registered as protected persons.

There is a difference in the subjects taught in the various schools. In the country schools the boys are taught reading, writing, simple arithmetic, and the Quran. Girls learn reading, writing, arithmetic, sewing, embroidery, hygiene, and Quran. They have made remarkably good progress in sewing and embroidery and now produce work which would find a ready sale. More advanced subjects are taught in the Manamah and Muharraq boys' schools, where the programme includes English, history, geography, mathematics, book-keeping, and the system of diving accounts. Leaving certificates are issued by the Department of Education to boys who pass an examination when they leave the schools from the two top forms. No boy is taken into Government service unless he possesses one of these certificates, but unfortunately their value has decreased since the Bahrain Petroleum Company has taken to employing boys who do not hold certificates. During the last two years, about sixty boys from the top classes in the Manamah and Muharraq schools left school and obtained employment as clerks and gaugers with the oil company; others have been taken into Government service as pupil teachers, apprentices in the Customs Department, and in other Government offices.

Games are encouraged at all schools, and the older boys play football. There is also a company of Boy Scouts in Manamah and Muharraq. At the end of each term a play is produced and acted by the older boys. The play is usually very topical. These entertainments are extremely popular with the public and are well produced and excellently acted.

The chief difficulties which beset the path of education are the complete lack of discipline among the boys in their own homes, the religious differences between the two sects, Shias and Sunnis, and the suspicious attitude of local people towards foreign teachers, who are essential until the people of Bahrain have attained a sufficient degree of education to fit them to be teachers. The question of punishments is another problem; none of the punishments, except corporal punishment, which are used in civilised countries have any effect in Bahrain. If boys are ordered not to come to school because they misbehave, they do not care, nor do they mind being kept back after school hours, and most of them are quite indifferent to losing marks.

**Bahrain Boys at Beyrout University.** In 1929, seven boys from the Government schools were sent to the Beyrout University to be educated there at Government expense. Three of them were members of the Ruling Family, the others were sons of merchants who were chosen by the headmaster of the Muharraq school. All of them were Sunnis,

Sukal Khamis and Karzakkan. Venereal disease and trachoma clinics were carried on in the boys' schools, and regular school health services in the girls' schools. 743

The Reformed Church of America started a medical mission in Manama at the end of the last century. Its Mason Memorial Hospital has sections for men and women which, in 1951, had a combined capacity of 100 beds, as well as outpatient clinics. 747 743

The Bahrain Petroleum Company maintains a hospital at Awali for the care of its employees. The division for the British and the American staff had a capacity of 40 beds in 1951, while that for the Arab and the Indian personnel had a capacity of 70 beds. The Company also operates dispensaries at its refinery and in the towns of Manama and Sitra. 743

Laboratories. A laboratory which undertakes examinations for all the government institutions is connected with the men's hospital in Manama. It has facilities for the performance of microscopic, bacteriologic, serologic and biochemical tests. Serologic, bacteriologic and clinical laboratories are attached to the hospital of the oil company in Awali. Clinical facilities are also available in the mission hospital. X-ray departments are incorporated in the government and the industrial hospitals. 742

Schools. No schools for the training of medical personnel exist in Bahrain, but plans are under consideration for the development of a course for the training of nurses in the government hospitals at Manama. Medical assistants are trained in all the general hospitals. 874 185

## Personnel

Physicians. Twenty-four British, American and Indian doctors were associated with hospitals in Bahrain in 1952. Of this number, 11 were in the government hospitals, 2 in the mission hospital and 11 in the oil industry hospital. A few Indian doctors are engaged in private practice in the town of Manama. 759

Dentists. One dentist is engaged by the

692 cases if the defendant is a Bahrain citizen and the plaintiff is a foreigner the case is heard in a Joint Court. The language of the Bahrain Courts is Arabic and no barristers or wakils who are not Bahrainis are allowed to appear in them.

647 At the eastern end of the sea road[1] is the Adviserate, the Ruler deals with affairs of State in this office on Tuesdays and Saturdays. Beyond the Adviserate is H.B.M.'s Political Agency which was built early in the century.

743 At the western end of the Sea Road is the Government Hospital. It includes a men's and women's hospital, administrative offices, X-Ray, laboratories, operating theatres and out-patients' rooms. There are beds for men and for women, with a few private rooms in each section. The Indian Staff occupy a large three storied building close to the hospital and behind the Women's Hospital is the house of the British nursing sisters. On Awal Road there is a large Public Health Office and beyond it a T.B. Sanatorium and a Mental Hospital. Opposite the Police Fort there are also two small isolation hospitals. In Muharraq there is a maternity hospital in the centre of the town and a clinic on the sea front. In Hedd and in some of the villages there are also small clinics. The Government Medical Staff includes a number of British and Indian doctors and nurses.

871 Education in Bahrain is not, at present, compulsory, but every year the number of boys' and girls' schools increases. The oldest school
658 in Bahrain is the Muharraq Boys' School in North Muharraq town, which was built in 1919, and there are now 28 government schools including village schools, town schools, a boys' secondary school, and a technical school where carpentry and engineering are taught. At the beginning of the 1952-53 term there were 4000 boys and 2,500 girls attending government schools. Except in the secondary school, education is free and every year scholarships are given by the Government and BAPCO to enable students to obtain advanced education at the American University of Beirut. There is a students' hostel in Manama which accommodates about 100 boys, here students from the villages and other towns are housed while they attend the more advanced town schools.

[875] Most of the teachers are Bahrainis though there are a certain number of teachers from neighbouring Arab countries. English is taught in the higher classes as well as the usual subjects. All the schools close during the summer from about the middle of June till the end of September. Some of the government schools are among the most noticeable of the modern buildings in Manama.

871 In addition to the Government schools there are a number of private schools including a European day school at Awali, Catholic, Persian and Indian schools in Manama and a girls school run by the mission of the Dutch reformed Church of America. The Oil Company also has a trade school for its Arab employees.



[1] [at Manama -- Analyst]

## EDUCATION

### Boys Schools

(From the report of Mr. Ahmed Umran, Director of Education).

**Schools.** Three new village schools, at Sanad, Tubli and Karzakan, were built and presented to the Government by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The schools were fully furnished and in each place there was space for a playground near the building. His Highness Shaikh Sulman was present at the opening of the Tubli school and His Excellency Shaikh Abdulla, Minister of Education, attended the openings of the other two schools. The gift of these three buildings was much appreciated by the Government and by the people of the villages for which the schools provided education.

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A large new school, on the Muharraq sea front, for small boys, was opened at the beginning of the term, with this school and three new village schools, and some additional class rooms in existing schools, it was possible to increase the total number of boys in the state schools by 610.

The building of these three schools roused immediate demands from other villages for schools to be built in their districts. Some of these requests came from villages within easy walking distance from schools. The desire for schools and sometimes for dispensaries is not always governed by real need; the existence of a school now seems to confer on a village a certain cachet. It was decided by His Highness on his return from England that three more village schools should be built by the Government, at Jidhafs, Asker and Jaw, the last place being the most distant inhabited village on the western coast. Towards the end of the year work was begun on these schools.

The growth of schools in the villages has had some repercussions. In the past the Shia villages provided the tenants and labourers in the date gardens, most of which are owned by Sunni Arabs. Landlords now realise that when the village boys acquire education they will no longer be content to work in the gardens, or as fishermen, as their fathers did before them. There is already a shortage of local labour for the date gardens and little competition to lease them. The town-dwelling landlords therefore do not view with enthusiasm the spread of education in the villages.

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**Staff.** Every year the expansion of education makes it necessary to employ more teachers; those who complete their training in Bahrain are insufficient and have not enough experience to fill all the posts so each term the number of foreign teachers increases. Among most people this is regarded with disfavour, although there is a tendency among some to assume that because a teacher comes from abroad he must necessarily be better than any local product. Again in 1372 more teachers were recruited from neighbouring countries. The Director of Education, with the valuable assistance of the British Council in Beirut, enlisted 22 Lebanese, Syrians and Palestinians and he obtained from Cairo 5 Egyptians teachers to fill vacancies made by retirements and to provide staff for larger schools. At the end of the year the number of teachers in the boys schools was as follows :—

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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Egyptians | .. | .. | .. | 10 |
| Indians | .. | .. | .. | 2 |
| Syrians | .. | .. | .. | 6 |
| Lebanese | .. | .. | .. | 24 |
| Palestinians | .. | .. | .. | 23 |
| Others | .. | .. | .. | 3 |
| Bahrainis | .. | .. | .. | 136 |
| | Total | .. | | 204 |

There was a continued improvement in the standard of English in the Secondary School, due principally to its being taught by a British teacher lent to the Government by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. This arrangement has proved extremely successful.

2 A [9.2.1952 - 53 - Annual]

875 **Teachers Training Courses.** Eight students graduated at the end of the school year from the teachers training class for secondary school students. They were posted to village and primary schools. At the beginning of the next term fifteen new students joined the class.

Evening classes for teachers were held during the term with an examination for certificates on the completion of the course.

**Special Courses.** In March, 1953, for the fourth time, the British Council Representative in Basra arranged a week's English course in Bahrain. This time the course was taken by Mr. W. R. Keight, M.B.E., of the British Council and Mr. W. Hedley, the British teacher lent by the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The aim of the course was to teach masters and students in training for teachers, the correct use of the Oxford University English Course books.

In the summer eleven senior primary school teachers attended a refresher course at the American University of Beirut which was arranged for teachers from Bahrain and other Arab states. They lived in the British Council Hostel and had their meals in the University.

873 **Higher Education.** Four more boys, who passed out of the Secondary School, went to Beirut University for further education, three of them had scholarships from the Government and one had a scholarship from the Bahrain Petroleum Company. Two students were nominated for scholarships in Baghdad schools, allocated by the Government of Iraq to boys from Bahrain. One of these boys, however, did not take up the scholarship but entered the American University of Beirut at his own expense.

Again some of the Shaikhs and merchants sent their sons, sometimes after finishing only primary education, to schools and colleges abroad, in Beirut, Syria, Egypt and England, in one case a member of the Ruling Family was sent to a University in America. Privately made arrangements for educating young men abroad are not always successful, students who go to Europe, not under the auspices of the Government, seem disinclined to stick to one line of learning, sometimes they wander from one school to another which is an expepsive waste of time.

873 177 183 It is very doubtful whether at present the education of Bahrain boys at schools in England is beneficial to them or desirable. A few boys who were at school in England have returned to Bahrain and if they can be taken as typical of the results of a European education then it is clear that the experiment is not usually successful. Parents, who in many cases have never been in Europe, send their sons to English schools with the hope that they will return equipped and eager to help their fathers in their business. The boys return. They have acquired some education, sufficient to make them critical and contemptuous of many things in their own homes and country, they resent having to resume the life which they used to lead and they have no inclination to settle down in Bahrain.

871 The Bahrain schools provide primary education for all and secondary education for a limited number of boys. The standard of education is about on a level with that of similar schools in other states in the Middle East. It is not proposed that higher education should be introduced in Bahrain, this can be obtained in neighbouring Arab countries, particularly at the American University of Beirut where 31 boys from Bahrain are now studying, 16 hold scholarships from the Government, four have scholarships from the Bahrain Petroleum Company and 11 are studying there at their own expense. In addition, the Government has sent six young men to study religion in Mecca and in Iraq.

873 Another 20 Bahrain boys are being educated, at their own expense, in schools and colleges in England and in the Middle East.

652 The policy of the Government is to give scholarships for higher education to boys from Bahrain schools to universities in the Middle East; it does not send boys to schools in England. It does, however, send young men from various government departments to do courses in England in the type of work on which they are employed in Bahrain. These candidates are sent at Government expense or, sometimes, they are granted bursaries by the British Council. This arrangement has produced satisfactory results in the case of men from the Passport Department, Municipalities, Technical School, Electric Department, Public Works Department and State Police. Men who have held positions of some responsibility for some years in Government service are improved by such courses in England and do not return to Bahrain with unsettled minds.

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**Statistics.** The numbers of teachers and students in the boys schools at the end of the year was as follows:—

| *School.* | *Teachers.* | *Boys.* |
|---|---|---|
| Secondary School | 20 | 168 |
| Manama West Primary School | 29 | 679 |
| East Primary School | 13 | 298 |
| Muharraq Primary School | 35 | 720 |
| Hidd Primary School | 16 | 356 |
| Manama Infants School | 13 | 475 |
| North Muharraq Infants School | 13 | 388 |
| South Muharraq Infants School | 10 | 358 |
| East Rafaa School | 7 | 154 |
| West Rafaa School | 6 | 73 |
| Budiya School | 7 | 171 |
| Khamis School | 11 | 270 |
| Sitra School | 7 | 135 |
| Samahij School | 4 | 101 |
| Tubli School | 3 | 64 |
| Sanad School | 2 | 23 |
| Karzakan School | 4 | 85 |
| Aali School | 4 | 62 |
| Total | 204 | 4580 |

## Girls Schools

(Report by Lady Belgrave, Directress of Girls Education)

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In 1372 three new schools were opened, one in a hired house in Manama, one in a building which used to be a Police station, in Muharraq, and one in West Rafaa.

Zahra School in Manama and Mariam School in Muharraq were made into Kindergarten schools with first and second Primary classes. The school in West Rafaa has only four classes, one Kindergarten and three Primary, as it is only for the children from a group of houses at West Rafa, the other schools cover all the Primary years from class one to class six. It is very much more satisfactory to have the really small children in separate schools. The second year secondary class was started.

We again had excellent reports about the girl at school in the Lebanon, at the end of the year she was transferred to The British Syrian Training College in Beirut where the teaching is in English.

The nurse continued to work in the schools visiting one or two schools each day with very good results, but owing to domestic reasons she resigned at the end of the year. An arrangement was made with one of the dentists to treat children whose teeth needed fillings.

The health and cleanliness of the children has improved very visibly since regular medical work was undertaken.

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Staff is still a problem, especially now that we have the Secondary School. We try not to engage Bahrain teachers with only a Primary certificate, but owing to the fact that the Secondary School has only been in existence for two years there is a gap in the supply of teachers, the better students preferring to continue studying. To bring more teachers from abroad creates a problem of accommodation, but more will have to be enlisted next year.

7 [A.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst]

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

# EDUCATION

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**Formation of an Education Committee.**

The progress of education during the last ten years has not been altogether smooth, but the origin of some of the troubles which have occurred dates back to the time when schools were first started in Bahrain. In 1919, Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa returned from his first visit to England filled with enthusiasm for education. Bahrain was in a prosperous condition, as the pearl market was flourishing, and when the public were asked to subscribe to a fund for starting schools they responded generously, and over three lacs were collected. An education committee was formed under the presidency of Shaikh Abdullah, whose members were local merchants chosen rather on account of their wealth than their learning, many of them being entirely illiterate. Haji Yusuf Fakroo, a Persian merchant of Muharraq, was appointed as treasurer, and very soon acquired almost complete control of finance and administration.

**Muharraq School Built.**

The committee decided to build a large school beyond the northern edge of Muharraq town; it was unfortunate that a site in a more central position was not chosen for the school. The cost of building the school was said to have been about two lacs, but this sum included the cost of a quantity of material which was ordered by the treasurer from India and which did not arrive in Bahrain. To-day the school could be built for less than a quarter of this sum and, even taking into consideration the decrease in the price of building, the amount which was alleged to have been spent upon building the school was incredibly large. For many years much publicity was given in Syrian and Egyptian newspapers, which have always taken an impertinent interest in Bahrain educational affairs, to what was described as a case of gross mismanagement of public money. The school was opened with a teaching staff which included several highly paid Egyptian and Syrian masters. Shaikh Hafiz Wahba, who is now the representative of His Majesty King Ibn Saoud at the Court of St. James, was for some time the headmaster of the Muharraq school. A second school was opened in Manamah in a house in the centre of the town, which is now the Manamah girls' school.

●[875]

**Education.**

For some years after the beginning of the period which is dealt with in this report the two schools were nominally under the management of the committee, but in fact they were run by the treasurer and the Syrian headmaster of the Muharraq school. Educational results were disappointing: boys who were two years at school were unable to read and write, and most of the boys who left the school after learning for several years were incapable of filling the simplest posts in the Government offices. Though attention was given to teaching the sons of important people, most of the boys received a very scrappy education. The examinations, which were held in public at the end of each term, were entirely unreliable tests of education. The boys' fathers attended these examinations, and when the boys gave wrong answers the parents usually applauded, and it was considered inadvisable to correct the boys in front of their fathers, who were equally ignorant.

The members of the committee took little interest in anything except the financial advancement of their relations and friends, who were appointed as teachers. One of the headmasters of Muharraq introduced a number of his own relations, and the pay of the teachers depended not upon their ability but upon their friendship with the headmaster and the committee. In general, nepotism flourished to an extraordinary degree.

At that time it was impolitic to question the administration of the schools. The amount paid by the Government on account of education during 1344 (1925-1926) was Rs 40,000/-, in the following year only Rs 20,000/- was spent, but in 1346 (1927-28) the annual grant towards education was raised to Rs 46,000/-. It was during this year that the Honorable the Political Resident, then Colonel Haworth, pointed out to the Bahrain Government that, in comparison to the revenue, the annual expenditure on education was very small. 'Education,' he wrote, 'is the dominant factor in Bahrain.' A small school was opened in Rafaa and another school in Hidd.

**Jaffarieh School.**

In 1347 (1928-29) the expenditure on education was increased to Rs 57,000/-, but in addition to the Rs 32,000/- which was paid to the treasurer of the education committee, this sum included the cost of building the first four classrooms of the new school in Manamah which was intended for Shias. Out of the Rs 13,000/-

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which was spent on the school during the year, Rs 9,000 - was contributed by public subscription. The school was managed by a committee of Shia notables, and a young Iraqi from Baghdad was appointed as the headmaster. His family had originally lived in Hasa, and after living in Bahrain for some time he was discharged, as his active sympathy with the Shia subjects of His Majesty King Ibn Saoud made him a possible cause of political complaint. Owing to the lack of suitably educated men among the Shias in Bahrain, most of the senior masters at the school were subjects of Iraq. From its beginning the progress of the school was hampered by the dissensions among the members of the committee.

**Opening of a Girls' School.**

In the same year a school for girls was opened in Muharraq in response to a demand for female education by some of the more progressive and enlightened Arabs of that town. The clerical and conservative Arabs in Bahrain disapproved very strongly of this innovation. They said that it would increase immorality because, if the girls could read and write, they would correspond surreptitiously with men outside their own house. The school was publicly denounced in the Friday mosque, but in spite of this it has been a flourishing institution since it started. The school owed its existence mainly to Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa and Shaikh Mohamed Ali Zainal, the much-respected Hashari poet merchant and educationalist, whose arguments convinced the general public that the school would be beneficial.

**Appointment of a School Inspector.**

The following year, 1348 (1929-30), was a year of disturbance, changes, and reforms. After a long period of expensive and unsatisfactory school administration, the public began to demand a better return for the large sums of money which were paid every year by the Government to the treasurer of the education committee. The sudden dismissal by the education committee of a headmaster of the Manamah school who had quarrelled with the Muharraq headmaster caused a crisis. The Manamah headmaster was a popular man, and his supporters, who thought that he had been badly treated, openly criticised the conduct of the committee, especially that of the treasurer, and the unsatisfactory authority which was held by the Muharraq headmaster. Shaikh Abdullah bin Isa came to the conclusion that if the schools were to be properly managed it was essential that their finance and administration should be under the direct supervision of the Government, and that a qualified inspector of schools should be appointed. Mr. Fuad Adham, a Syrian recommended by the President of the Beyrout University, who held a degree from that university and also a degree from the Islamic College, was appointed as inspector of schools. His wife, a qualified teacher, was made the headmistress of a new school for girls which was opened in Manamah.

**Strike of Students and Masters.**

The headmaster of the Muharraq school and many of the members of the education committee bitterly resented the appointment of a school inspector and what they regarded as the interference of the Government in school affairs. For many years they had mismanaged educational matters with impunity and no question had been asked about the accounts. When the treasurer was asked to explain certain financial transactions he promptly sent in his resignation, which was accepted. This was the signal for trouble. Without any warning the headmaster of the Muharraq school declared a strike of teachers and students. This action was intended to affect all the schools, but actually only the Manamah and Muharraq boys' schools took part in the strike. For several days the boys marched about the town in procession in a typical Egyptian manner, making noisy demonstrations and delivering speeches against the Government, which they afterwards admitted had been taught to them by the masters. There was a certain amount of disorder, and damage was done to the Muharraq school. Shaikh Abdullah most lovely took strong action: he sent for the ring headmasters, who refused to appear, but wrote a long letter, making ridiculous demands. They were promptly dismissed and sent back to Syria, where they organised a venomous press campaign against the Bahrain Government, which was taken up by several newspapers in Syria, Iraq, and Egypt. The schools were closed for ten days by order of the Government and then re-opened. At first the attendance was small, but soon the normal number of students returned and the schools settled down to their ordinary routine, which continued undisturbed until the end of the term. This demonstration was undoubtedly encouraged by some of the members of the committee whose authority from that time was deliberately curtailed by the Government.

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6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

southwest toward Arabia[1] — an indication that it was from there that the people originally came. The existence of similar tombs along the Arabian coast tends to support this hypothesis. Finally, for what it is worth, there is an Arab tradition that the tribe of Thamud, driven out of Yemen and across the desert, found a home on the island of Bahrein about the beginning of the second millenium B.C.

Attempts to date the Bahrein tombs by the nature of the contents have brought to light only contradictory evidence. The finding of a jar that resembles a Babylonian jar of 2500 B.C. must be weighed against the finding of bronze weapons dating from 1500-1200 B.C. It is possible that future explorations of the thousands of tumuli will yet supply an answer to the riddle, but the meager results obtained from the examination of 134 of them can hardly be called encouraging.

## EDUCATION

The Bahrein government decided in 1934 to engage a number of Iraqi teachers for its schools. Iraq had done all in her power to attract the emirats of the Gulf into her orbit, and by 1934, when the British and Persians were fighting over the question of sovereignty over Bahrein, Iraq had made known her intention of creating a consulate in the island and establishing a school for the children of Iraqi subjects residing there. This was an effort to compete with the Persians, who since the end of World War I had conducted a school, "Tarbiat," founded originally for the education of Persian children but open also to children of other communities.

Bahrein today has nine elementary and one secondary school, the latter founded in 1940, and one school for girls, opened in 1939. The program of study of the Iraqi schools was adopted. At the end of 1937, a group of fifteen Syrian teachers were engaged by the government to teach in the newly founded schools. In 1940, the government engaged six Iraqi teachers to

1. According to Cornwall W.25°s. is the most frequent reading: were they oriented toward Mecca?

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 'MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

organize the secondary school system. The teachers received from £25 to £30 a month and "bed and board" paid by the Bahrein government. Interestingly enough, the first director of the first school opened at Muharraq was the present Saudi Arabian Minister to London, Sheik Hafiz Wahba.

At present, there is no newspaper in Bahrein. A weekly newspaper, Al Bahrein, was founded in 1939, but ceased its publication after the death of its publisher, Abdallah Za-id. In 1940 a broadcasting station was built, and the Al-Bahrein Radio started short-wave broadcasts on a 23-m, 50 band on November 4. During the war, Radio Bahrein was most useful to the Allied cause, since its four daily news broadcasts in Arabic and Persian were heard more easily throughout the Near East than those of Egypt.

Besides the schools, two "circles" for the discussion of political and literary matters were established in 1935 under the patronage of the brother of the Sheik. There was already a Cercle Israelite in the island.

## ECONOMY

The geographical features and the geological formation of the islands greatly reduce the economic value of Bahrein. The scarcity of water and the sandy nature of the soil exclude agricultural development. The application of modern methods of agriculture and the utilization of artesian wells and gasoline operated pumps are too recent and too inadequate to make Bahrein even partially independent of imported food. For many years to come, and probably forever, the islands will be dependent on food, meat, vegetables, and fruits brought chiefly from the Persian or Arabian mainland.

Fortunately, in most of the islands of the Persian Gulf and the surrounding regions, wherever water is found naturally or captured artificially, date palms grow with astonishing ease. The northern part of Bahrein Island, thanks to natural springs and more recently to artesian wells, is practically a string of oases with palm groves numbering several hundred thousands.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



609 foreigners are "kept in their place" there circulate by word of mouth — a method of communication highly developed in the Middle East — and exaggerated several times in the process. One of the central themes of the local Bahrain press is a comparison between Saudi Arabia and Bahrain in this respect. As is to be expected, this is causing a feeling of frustration among the natives and creating an atmosphere of restiveness and increasing antagonism toward foreigners.

In Kuwait a rather ambitious development program has been under way for several years, made possible by increasing oil royalties. There is an atmosphere of feverish activity, psychologically exaggerated because of its concentration in a small area. By contrast, life in Bahrain is slow and development sober but limited, in view of the comparatively small oil revenues. This causes some jealousy which finds an emotional outlet in an increasing suspicion of foreigners and increasing demands on the major companies, such as the Bahrain Petroleum Company, to do more for the country than they have been doing so far.

## *FOREIGN ARAB GROUPS*

563 167 463 A rather large number of foreign Arabs live in Bahrain. They can be divided into two main groups which in custom and social mores have little in common. The first group is composed of Arabs from Saudi Arabia, Oman, Muscat, Qatar, and Yemen. These people have always been part of the scene. They come and go as they have always done, with hardly any restriction on their movement. Many of them are related to people in [601] Bahrain by blood or marriage and are looked upon as "cousins," *awlad al-'amm*, a term which carries with it all the emotional overtones of the traditions of tribal life. Some of them are merchants; a large number, especially of those from Oman, Muscat, Qatar, and Yemen, are employed by the oil industry as common laborers, and others work with local industries. Their community life and standard of living do not vary a great deal from that of the local population; in fact they are hardly distinguishable from it.

The second group of foreign Arabs, made up of a small number of Egyptians, Syrians, Lebanese, Iraqis, and Palestinians, is comparatively new to the area. On the whole, their standard of living is probably higher than that of any other group with the exception of the Westerners. Few are engaged in trade; the majority are white-collar workers.

563 ● 875 208 177 Although they are largely new arrivals, they already exert considerable influence on the life of the country. Unlike all other foreigners, they are genuinely welcomed and looked up to by the local population. They are the missionaries of Arab nationalism. Most of the high-school and a good number of the elementary-school teachers in Bahrain come from this group (see Table IV); in this key position, it can be truly said of them that they

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2



are the moulders of the new generation of Bahrainis. It is significant that all these teachers come from countries which have just emerged from British or French control.

## *TRENDS FOR THE FUTURE*

Social realignment among the Sunnis and the Shi'is must be thought of in terms of the distant future. It is true that secular and technical education, nationalism, and economic forces are all operating to bring these two groups together. As a result they have begun to cooperate with each other in certain areas of common interest as nonreligious groups; nevertheless, the old loyalties and social patterns are still strongly entrenched, as is very graphically illustrated by the religious riots of 1953 and 1954. It is even conceivable that when and if religion loses the depth of meaning it has at present to both groups, it may still remain as the basis of political alignment or power, as is the case in highly literate Lebanon.

Nationalism has replaced religious tradition as the basis of the relations of the Jews with the major segments of society. The resultant tension is being resolved through emigration, but a few will no doubt remain. All indications are that the political struggle between the Arabs and Israel will leave them little chance of reintegrating themselves on some new basis into society in Bahrain. It is possible, although highly improbable thanks to the presence of the British, that mass violence may be used against them. If this does take place, the problem in all likelihood will assume an international character. Israel, which has established itself as the protector and defender of Jewish minorities, no doubt would use every measure to dramatize the plight of this minority to the world.

The animosity of the native population toward Persians and Indians does not arise from fundamental issues of a permanent nature. There is, for instance, no parallel feeling toward Iran, India, or Pakistan; on the contrary, warm sympathy prevails for them as combatants against Western domination. Both the causes and the issues are transitory in character, and

*Table IV.* FOREIGN TEACHERS IN BAHRAIN

| *Year* | *Egypt* | *Syria* | *Lebanon* | *Palestine* | *Other Arab Countries* | *Other Nationalities* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1944/45 | 12 | 8 | 12 | — | — | 8 | 28 |
| 1945/46 | 20 | — | 13 | .. | 0 | 8 | 26 |
| 1946/47 | 23 | 9 | 12 | — | 0 | 3 | 27 |
| 1947/48 | 21 | 7 | 14 | — | 0 | 3 | 35 |
| 1948/49 | 22 | 6 | 14 | — | 0 | 3 | 46 |
| 1949/50 | 20 | 7 | 14 | 9 | 0 | 3 | 54 |
| 1950/51 | 9 | 9 | 13 | 10 | 0 | 3 | 47 |
| 1951/52 | 9 | 7 | 17 | 13 | 0 | 0 | 47 |

Source: Government of Bahrain, Dept. of Education, *Report on the Condition of Education in Bahrain* (Bahrain, 1952), p. 47. (In Arabic.)